

ALITION SLOGAN:
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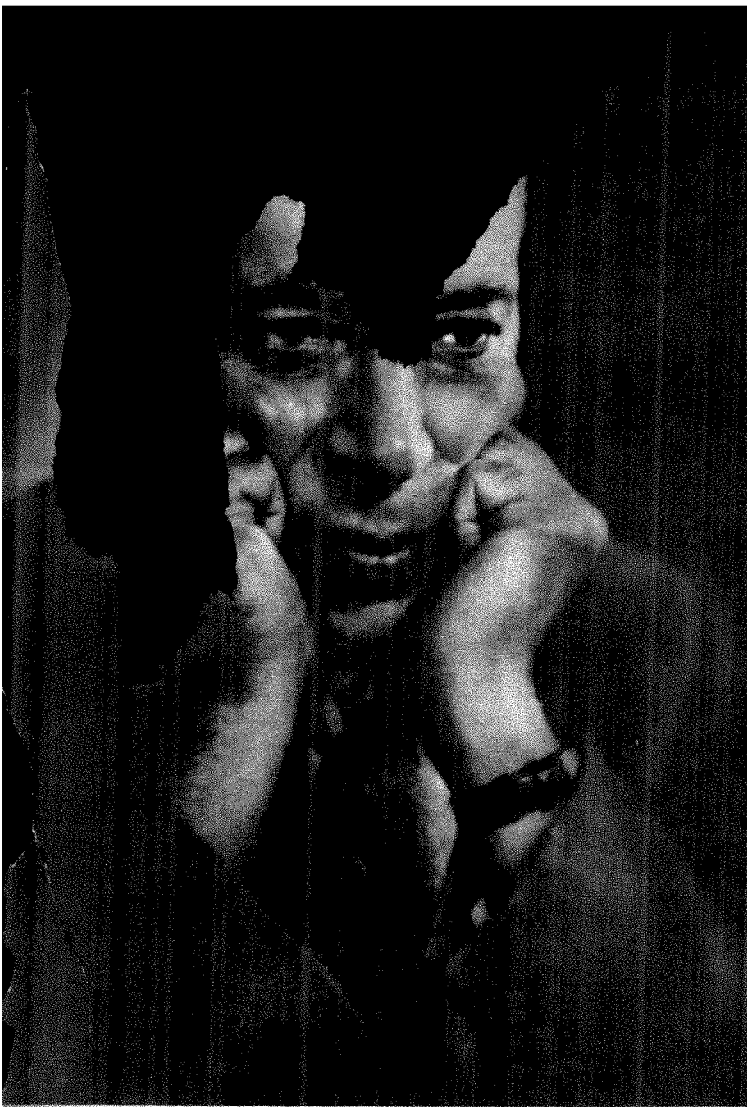
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INDIA'S NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

7
CRISIS
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Spotlight on CSIR



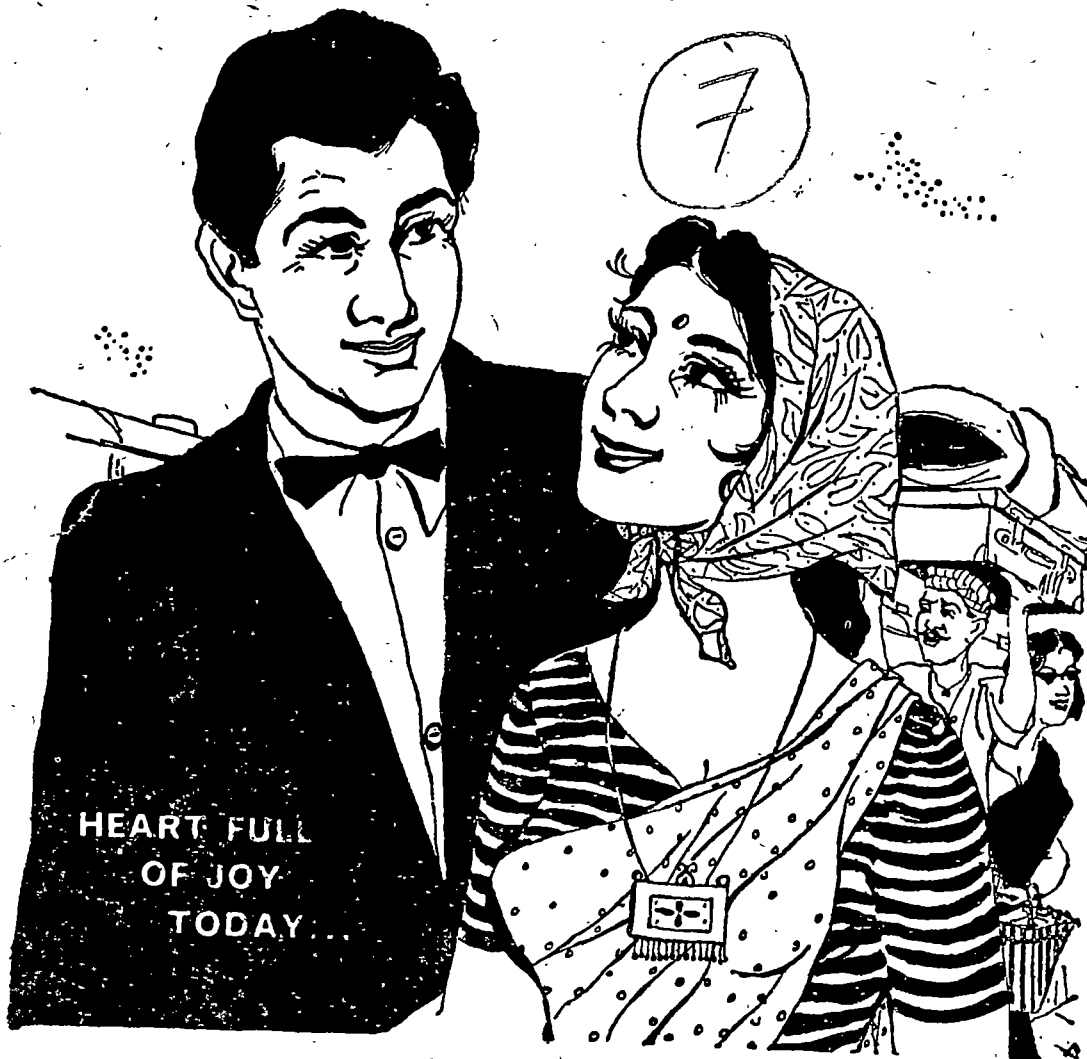
OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

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Left Must Unite

HISTORY once again beckons the progressive Left forces to play their historic role in the destiny of our country. Many past opportunities have been thrown away but time and again the historical process has inevitably placed the progressive Left in a decisive position. This is true once more.

More than ever, reaction, today poses a great challenge to the future and well-being of our country. The Right forces, either in the overt shape of obscurantism or in the guise of spurious enlightened free enterprise and democracy have gained a renewed and stronger foothold in the shaping of the affairs of India. It is not without significance that these forces which have no popular base have nevertheless managed to beguile large masses of people into supporting them even to the extent of their being able to form governments in collaboration in some States. Ironically, some of these most nefest representatives of anti-people forces have actually been able to pose as the champions of popular aspirations and desires. On the other hand the disarray in the Left progressive forces has led to disastrous consequences in many areas, whereas the unity of the left forces wherever achieved, has led to impressive victories. The message is simple and clear. If Right reaction is to be rebuffed, as it must be, the Left must unite.

The Left must unite for a positive goal also, to give a clear, unambiguous vision of a society and social and political order where all men may have a place of justice, opportunity, honour, achievement, reward and freedom where this nation may fulfil itself in the greatness that is its due. The Indian peoples have never in their long history been aggressively chauvinistic. They do not in exercising their greatness intend to encroach upon other peoples but it is their right equitably to earn the fruits of their

toil and to have their proper place in the sun.

The Right forces, in spite of all their promises, can never achieve for the country this position and lift it from its sunken fortunes. All they can offer India is a today that is a shadow and a tomorrow that is a mirage, an inevitable wandering through time, brother to despair and anguish while their elite batten upon the striving of the people.

On the contrary, a union of all the progressive forces in a rally with the peasantry, working class, youth and the enlightened bourgeoisie can give our peoples a faith to live with, a vision to live for, a dream to build on, and a goal to surge toward in a mighty herculean endeavour.

Every hour as the old order with its outmoded and irrelevant attitudes and approaches totters helplessly towards the brink of collapse, the need for Left progressive unity becomes ferociously imperative.

The reactionary forces which have no record of participation in the people's struggles in half a century, nevertheless, today stand expectantly to wrest initiative in a bid for power through every means at their command. Progressive forces must rally quickly to thwart this hope and decisively crush this ambition by its superior ideology and popular appeal. All parties of the Left without exception must unite. As far as the Congress is concerned, its total and summary destruction should not be an objective of the United Left. It still plays a cognisable role which will recede under the sharpening conflict of Right and Left; to it, also, large sections of the people with a progressive outlook still owe loyalty. They must not be alienated. The Congress can act as a brake on the depredations of the Right, and within the Party progressive elements with encouragement can swing the organisation towards progress.

The foremost task is to call an immediate moratorium on all inter-party and intra-party polemics which without advancing the progressive cause of the Indian people, have only sapped the strength of the Left parties, and aggravated unnecessary and avoidable conflict. Inter-party and intra-party discussion must continue but only within the framework of immediate, meaningful issues.

The Left parties must meet without delay to work out a common, minimum radical, principled programme of national extrication and liberation, understandable, achievable and acceptable to the broadest progressive sections of the nation. This programme can be enlarged in successive phases to encompass wider and longer ranged issues and to provide the superstructure for a powerful edifice of popular prosperity, peace and welfare.

The Left parties must create conditions for maximum popular participation in national tasks both within the ranks of the parties and without. Working cadres must be raised throughout so that disciplined task forces are available. A sustained recruiting programme must be undertaken forthwith.

Peasants and workers must be guaranteed that they will cease to be exploited and equitably benefit from the common good.

The youth of the country must be assured that they are not considered a liability to the nation but that their dedication is an asset for the present and a reward for the future when they come into their own.

The intelligentsia must be enabled to offer their enthusiastic and unfettered support to the Left progressive movement. They must be given the inspiration and uninhibited opportunity to provide intellectual and ideological tone and content to the movement.

Creative artists from every discipline must be enlisted to help in enthusing the people in the programme of the Left.

In a country of the size of India, historically held back in development and faced today with

(Continued on page 38)

WISDOM ON LANGUAGE

THE decision of the State Education Ministers to make the regional languages the media of instruction at all levels of education in the country marks the beginning of a new effort to restore national self-respect as also to lift the entire educational system out of the rut into which the drift of the last two decades had thrown it.

Neglect of the regional languages during the long years of foreign rule continued in a modified form even after the advent of independence, and this was due to the outlook of national policy-makers as much as to the failure of educationists and intellectuals to organise a systematic drive to enrich the languages of India so that they could replace English at the higher levels of education, including the fields of science, technology, medicine, law and the rest. Even the political parties which have been over the years clamouring for the regional languages getting their due place in national affairs have done little constructive to bring about the transformation, although it cannot be said that many of them did not realise the magnitude of the task and the nature of the effort needed to achieve it in a country so vast and diverse as ours.

The failure of the political parties, including the Congress which enjoyed total power till the recent General Election, and of the educationists and intellectuals helped the reactionaries who wanted English to have primacy in the interests of the entrenched classes to mount an agitation for its retention and largely succeed. The future of the small English-knowing minority was sought to be protected at the cost of the millions who know only their mother-tongues. The Ministers' Conference decision is of historic significance because it shows at least the intention to put an end to this anomalous position.

Education in India has suffered greatly because it has been subjected to endless experimentation. Not only on the issue of medium of instruction or the languages to be taught at various stages but also in regard to the curricula and the content of instruction, the types of facilities to be provided for higher education and so on, there has been neither uniformity nor even a planned approach. Each State has gone ahead shaping its educational policies according to the whims of the person occupying the position of Education Minister. The classic example is Madras where one Education Minister introduced Tamil as the medium in select colleges on an experimental basis and his successor promptly ended the experiment. Universities too have not made any serious attempt to correlate their schemes of study in the interests of uniformity and quality. The Union Education Ministry has all along played the role of a tightrope-walker content to let things be so long as no one felt unduly offended.

Last week's decision is significant chiefly because it marks a break from this vicious drift. It is obvious that it is not going to be easy to implement the proposal to have the regional language as the medium in all schools and colleges in the whole country within five years. Apart from problems like quality textbooks, technical terms, etc., the influential English lobby will get to work on a campaign to frighten the Central authorities over the imaginary consequences of such a switchover.

The Ministers probably felt that they should fix a short period to ensure that the policy change is given effect to without delay and is not allowed to lie over indefinitely. But it is doubtful if they have given serious thought to the series of steps needed to be taken immediately if the

target date is to be honoured even substantially. To give a few examples: textbooks in subjects of higher study and research have to be prepared in the regional languages, making sure that a whole range of common terms will be evolved so that a person qualified in a subject in one State will not feel at sea in another; the quality of such textbooks has to be of the highest order, and precautionary steps must be taken against the mushrooming of the kinds of textbook rackets this country has known in the past; even under the present system which has been in force for so long there is a great shortage of adequately trained and competent teachers, and to get the large number of able teachers needed under the new scheme within five years is bound to be an arduous task; it has to be ensured that the students in each State do not grow up totally insulated from healthy influences from outside the State. These are illustrative of the problems ahead.

The difficulty that has arisen over the question of link language was not unexpected. This is a problem to which an acceptable solution could have been found but for the rigid postures of the Hindi fanatics and the reciprocal obstinacy of linguistic chauvinists elsewhere.

Union Education Minister Triguna Sen has indeed shown imagination and vision in postulating that the field should be left free for some years so that the link language will be chosen by the people them-

selves in the natural course. The view that if Hindi and English are both available the tendency over a period of time will be to opt for the language spoken by the largest number of people in the country seems sensible enough. It is difficult to see what better formula than this the nine-member committee of State Education Ministers set up last week can find within the time-limit of one month prescribed for it. The solution may not be ideal, but it has the virtue of being capable of preventing recurrence of the frustrating agitations of recent times on the language issue.

But one important question remains. Will the entrenched classes permit the new thinking on the subject to prevail? They dare not raise their voices against the regional languages but they certainly will try to fight doggedly to retain the pride of place for English. The delays that are bound to occur in the switchover will be utilized to cast doubts on the wisdom of change. Finding Dr Triguna Sen an obstacle these forces may even begin attempts to remove him from the key office in which he has shown the capacity to play the role of moderator to perfection, keeping in view the needs of national self-respect and regeneration.

Political parties, educationists and others who cherish these values must from now on be on the alert for such an onslaught, while at the same time helping the Union Education Minister to get the new plan into stride without avoidable delay.

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COALITION SLOGAN : COVER FOR SUBVERSION ?

AFTER the ordeal of the Presidential election—which will be over by the time these lines reach the reader—the Congress leadership now expects to do a round of self-introspection and work out the strategy for a regrouping of its forces.

Although the history of India provides no case of a Delhi empire recovering lost territories once its distant parts revolted from the Central authority, the modern Moghuls of the Congress High Command have other ideas and are least inclined to read the writing on the wall. The recent trend towards unity that dominated the deliberations in the highest organs of both the Communist Parties has no doubt been noted in New Delhi's political circles, though the full significance of such a development is yet to be grasped by the powers-that-be.

Judging by past practices, there is little to warrant a very dispassionate and objective discussion of the Congress prospects at the marathon meeting of the Working Committee scheduled to begin on May 7. What is being emphasised here is the fact that the Congress still is the premier political organization in the country, and the Prime Minister's circle seems to be more hopeful than others about the possibility of the Congress recovering lost grounds. The Congress success in the recent by-elections, ranging from Bombay to Madras, the victory in the Calcutta mayoral election, Sri Sukhadia staging a come-back in Rajasthan—all these are being highlighted to boost the sagging morale of a large section of the middle leadership of the Congress.

It is admitted on all hands that there is hardly any scope for mounting a multi-pronged mass attack on the non-Congress Ministries as was done against Sri Nambudiripad's Government in Kerala in 1959. Smt Gandhi herself must have realised the impossibility of repeating her

old performance in the changed political context of eight States having gone out of the Congress orbit of power.

But the same game is sought to be played under a different set of rules today. There are serious plans to break the united front of the Opposition parties in the States where they have come to power. That is why the talk of 'coalitions' is not confined to Sri Patil alone: it is very much to be heard in Smt. Gandhi's circle as well, and Sri Dinesh Singh naturally has become its principal architect.

The term, coalition in this specific connotation does not embrace any cluster of political parties. It is restricted to an understanding with rebel Congress groups which after quitting the Congress hold key positions in the new non-Congress Ministries in some of the States. By this calculation, there is little scope for such coalitions in Kerala, Madras and Orissa (It is interesting to note there is very little anxiety in New Delhi to win over Orissa dissidents: could this be because any change of government in Orissa today would result in the comeback of Sri Biju Patnaik, who today is closer to Sri Morarji Desai than to Smt Gandhi ?).

The four States where this new coalition strategy is planned to be applied are U.P., Bihar, Hariana and West Bengal. About Punjab, there is still hope that Maharaja of Patiala may oblige. West Bengal is regarded as the toughest nut to crack, because Sri Ajoy Mukherji's close relations with the other united-front partners are well known: but hope is not yet given up about a crack in the united front as it faces difficult policy challenges.

Every incident that may help to discredit the United Front Ministry is likely to be magnified by the interested quarters at the Centre. This could be seen in the reactions over the Calcutta incident relating to a Sikh Gurdwara; however, this could not be

adequately exploited because of the correct stand of the Punjab Chief Minister who did not hide his suspicions about some Congress elements on that score. The latest leaflet in Calcutta against some South Indians is also being magnified in certain circles in New Delhi. The Big Business clamour against the labour policy of the West Bengal Ministry has received encouraging response not only from the US Ambassador but from some circles of Central leadership.

Meanwhile there is a move to reorganise the Pradesh Congress leadership so that the Atulya taint may be removed from public eye. It is worth noting that recent emissaries from even Sri P.C. Sen's circles were received by the Prime Minister, bypassing Sri Atulya Ghosh.

A move to disrupt the U.P. Ministry is also understood to be afoot where the line of communication between the Prime Minister and some elements in Sri Charan Singh's camp is not totally disconnected. Sri Dinesh Singh's contacts in U.P. in the meantime expect to bring about the necessary pressure on the Pradesh Congress itself. A possible target of High Command blandishments in UP as could be gauged in New Delhi, is Sri Triloki Singh's PSP group. For this purpose, Sri Asoka Mehta is expected to play a significant role.

A more active role however is being played by Sri Dinesh Singh in Bihar, where the Raja of Ramgarh is related to him by a recent dynastic marriage. In New Delhi circles, it is being said that Ramgarh may soon have an uncomfortable time in the united-front Government, since the Leftist Ministers are likely to press for his paying off the arrears in Government revenue which have accumulated to the tune of several crores. To make things easy for the Raja of Ramgarh to come over, Sri Dinesh Singh is believed to be arranging for the exit from

Bihar politics of Sri Satyendra Narayan Sinha (Raja's rival as the leader of the Rajput faction), by getting him appointed as Ambassador to Nepal.

There are, however, differences of opinion inside the Congress leadership about the efficacy of such a strategy. While Sri Patil and Sri Atulya Ghosh together with the Prime Minister's closest advisers like Sri Dinesh Singh, Sri Subramanian and Sri Asoka Mehta, are believed to be inclined to give this strategy a trial, Sri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Sri Jagjivan Ram and Sri Nanda are worried that this might boomerang against the Congress in the long run. This school points to the fate of the Congress in Kerala, where such a strategy brought only shortlived success.

* * *

A question which is being asked in New Delhi is, why the Prime Minister did not post a letter to the Minister for Planning when she wrote to so many of her other Cabinet colleagues urging them to declog the governmental machine. One would have expected Smt Gandhi to urge Sri Asoka Mehta to expedite at least the finalisation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. As things now stand one does not know whether there is going to be a Fourth Plan at all; or, if there is to be one, what is going to be its dimension and its priorities. Admittedly, the establishment of non-Congress Governments in eight States has upset the Planning Commission's shaky schedule, and a new dialogue has to be conducted with these State Governments. What is not happening, as far as one can fathom, is the kind of energy and enterprise one would expect the Commission to show at this bleak moment. The question is bound to be asked whether at least some of the highlights in Yojana Bhavan are developing cold feet about the Plan, and a non-Plan ennui.

Yojana Bhavan does present a picture of confusion and contradictions. There seems to be little organised thinking on what should be the shape and functions of the Planning Commission in the new political setup, though

one cannot help noticing a refreshing initiative on the part of the Commission's organ. *Yojana*, in starting a debate and discussion not merely on the draft outline of the Fourth Plan but also on the proposed reorganisation of the Planning Commission itself. This journal has also been publishing exclusive interviews with the non-Congress Chief Ministers, thus establishing a useful channel of communication between the non-Congress Governments and the Planning Commission. The point to be noted is that in certain sections in Yojana Bhavan there seems to be an awareness of the demands placed on the Commission by the sea-change in Indian polity, and there is an appreciable desire to cultivate a meaningful dialogue with the people. Much good work continues to be done in the Perspective Division.

Against these positive points, there are other symptoms which are ominous of the decline that now marks the Planning Commission's career. For instance the flight of talent from the Commission. In recent weeks several senior experts of the Commission have left India accepting UN assignments or jobs offered by African Governments. It is learnt that about a dozen others are anxious to leave. Is it the deliberate policy of the Commission to release its trained hands at a time when the increasingly complex Indian economy should need all the expertise the country can command? Or are the experts of the Planning Commission leaving because there is no satisfying work for them to do and because they refuse to be lost in the limbo of the Commission's past glory?

Anyone whose business it is to go round the corridors of Yojana Bhavan knows that the vast majority of its 250-strong research staff have had practically nothing original or creative to do and that they have been kept either more or less idle or making long and "comprehensive" reports piecing together what was done over the last three or four years. Many of the young specialists frankly admit that they have nothing to do, and that they would

like to leave if they had a chance to work elsewhere. Perhaps, it would have been useful if the Commission had offered the services of these talented young men and women to the State Governments. Some of these actually feel they could serve the cause of planning better by working with the State Planning bodies.

With the Planning Commission reduced to this sorry state under the Asoka Mehta dispensation, it has not come as a surprise to New Delhi observers that the Administrative Reforms Commission should propose its formal downgrading.

There is little to substantiate the view that the Government would be able to defend the present sprawling set-up of the Planning Commission. At the same time it finds it difficult to accept the proposal that all Ministers including the Prime Minister should stay away from the Commission. One of the arguments against this proposal that is being circulated in the Capital is that a Minister-less Commission might put the Government in an embarrassing situation every time a State Government or an Opposition party in Parliament quotes a Commission opinion against the Government itself, particularly in cases where the Commission's stand may not tally with that of the Government.

The Administrative Reforms Commission's recommendations do open the gates for Big Business interests to intrude into the Planning Commission in a big way. However, the Government at the moment does not know how to cut down the status of the Commission without creating a new thorn on its side. There is however no doubt that the ARC proposals would get a strong hearing from a large section of opinion inside Parliament. One more landmark of the Nehru period is thus about to disappear—or fall into disrepute—thanks to the strategy of scuttling through discredit that some of Smt Gandhi's close associates like Sri Asoka Mehta and Sri Subramaniam have been allowed to push through under her Prime Ministership.

May 2,

N. C.

AIR's Mini Lords

LISTENER

THE story behind the attempt at censoring the West Bengal Minister's planned May Day broadcast—leading to the Minister rightly refusing to make use of the radio network for the purpose—requires to be exposed so that the public may know how bureaucracy functions today in an uninhibited way, thereby trying to undermine the very foundations of democracy.

The Calcutta Station Director of AIR is a *chhota shaib* with a frankly pro-West bias. He is fondly called "Tiny" Chatterji by his smart-set admirers and friends. It is nothing unusual that he should find himself out of tune with the prevailing climate in West Bengal today: for him to understand the import of the speech of a Minister of a Left-oriented Government is no doubt a difficult essay.

So, when Tiny got the Labour Minister's speech—the very idea of a May Day message over the AIR must have shocked him—he merrily used his red pencil. According to the official version doled out subsequently in New Delhi, Chatterji "did not have an opportunity to discuss the script" with the Labour Minister, but he did have time to trunk call his own boss in New Delhi.

The Director-General of All India Radio, when contacted by the Calcutta Station Director, upheld the veto by his man over there. This is not in the least surprising. For one thing, Tiny is a favourite of Dr Narayana Menon, the present Director-General. Dr Menon whose appointment as Director General had raised a storm in Parliament (since the Union Public service Com-

mission had received adverse reports against him) is widely known in the Capital for his pro-West leanings; and under him, radio talks by American Lobby men have become almost a regular feature. His wife, incidentally, heads an outfit which is involved in the recent CIA exposures.

The point to note in this connection is that the Director General gave his okay to this highly political decision with out caring to consult his superiors in the Ministry.

Next day, the Secretary of the Ministry, instead of saying that the matter would be looked into, tried to protect his own official flock, but came out badly in the bargain: he referred to two cases of Chief Ministers whose scripts had been corrected by the AIR authorities. But these are cases which can provide poor precedents: a former Chief Minister of Bihar, Sri K.B. Sahay, once attacked the Communists in a radio talk. It was only *after* his broadcast that the AIR authorities politely told him that it would be safer to leave out the Communists, since this might touch off an uproar in Parliament. A similar piece of advice was once given to Sri P.C. Sen, who was then the Chief Minister of West Bengal. What is worth noting is that in both these cases the persons concerned had accepted the AIR's suggestion, and there was no disagreement between a Minister and an official in which the official had won.

The AIR authorities are now doling out lame excuses that no political party is allowed to be criticised over the radio. When the Home Minister spoke against the Left Com-

munists in 1965, was it cut out by the AIR bosses? Way back in 1948-49, the Communists were attacked by the Government: were these not broadcast over AIR? And in both these cases, it may be noted, the Communist Party was a recognised political party; it was not declared illegal.

* * *

A more fundamental aspect of this episode involves the Centre-State relations, apart from the question of bounds of bureaucratic interference against the democratic set-up.

If the AIR is guided solely by the Central authority, there is likely to be many more instances of such high-handedness, and the duly-elected State Ministries may find that the AIR, in their respective States, is functioning as the propaganda organ of the Centre, that is, of a different political party than the one which runs the government in the State. It is time that this serious drawback is immediately rectified, and the State governments should have their say in the running of the AIR within their respective boundaries.

Secondly, should an official have the right to sit in judgement over the speech of a duly accredited Minister, elected by the people? In our country, as the Central Government's political influence has of late weakened, the *Burra Sahibs* of the Secretariat and other government outfits have begun to boss over the show. The impudence of the Tiny Chatterjis and the Narayana Menons comes from this state of affairs. It is time that they are divested of their unauthorised powers and put in their places in a democratic set-up.

The Elephant and Seven Blind Men

ECONOMIST

FOR about three weeks, feverish activity has been going on in the Government's Brains Trust. And a new signboard has been put up—the so called 'New Economic Policy', N.E.P. in short. And why not? If Lenin could have his NEP after the Bolshevik Revolution, why should Indira Government not have its own NEP after all the victory that the Prime Minister and her party has scored in the 1967 elections?

We do not challenge the legitimate right of the new Government to evolve a new economic policy. But what had all this labour produced? In fact the deliberations in the Economic Sub-committee of the Cabinet reminds one of the story of seven blind men and the elephant. Here blind men are the economic Ministers and the elephant is the country's economic problems of rising prices, recession and the slowing down of development.

Each Minister seems to be looking at the problem from his 'occupational' point of view—the Finance Minister from the budget point of view, the Planning Minister from the point of view of the plan, and the Commerce Minister from the export point of view. This is inevitable when the Ministers depend for their briefs on the ICS burra sahibs, and do not themselves strive to evolve a national approach.

Ultimately, two distinct but divergent points of view have emerged. One section which includes the coterie of the 'Kitchen Cabinet' like Sri Asoka Mehta, Sri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Sri Dinesh Singh and the new entrant, Dr. Chenna Reddy want the new policy to be directed to ward off the recession and step-up the tempo of development even with deficit financing. They concede that their strategy would abet the price rise in the initial period. After sometime, they argue, the

price rise would be taken care of by the increase in production.

The other section, which includes Sri Morarji Desai and Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, want the policy to be directed to hold the price line. They, on their part concede, that this would result in further slowdown in the tempo of development and add to the recessionary trends. However, they argue that once the price line is held, development and recession could be taken care of later.

What is most interesting is that the starting point of the whole debate is that the problems of price rise and recession as well as slow-down in development could not be tackled simultaneously. Still worse is that both the prescriptions presuppose that while curing one disease, the other disease will get worse in the initial period. In fact, a little probe would reveal that the claim of both the sections to cure even one disease is fallacious.

Let us first examine the hypothesis of Sri Asoka Mehta and Co. They claim they are the progressive lot and would like to see the development of the economy through at all cost. They argue that the rate of marginal savings has gone down from about 10 per cent in the Third Plan to about eight per cent in the first year of the Fourth Plan. The Plan expenditure has been curtailed. The Government's investment programme is slowing down. The result is the recession. Before the recession overtakes the country, the Plan expenditure must increase. Since they could see no other way, let there be recourse to deficit financing.

There is nothing novel about the approach of Sri Mehta and Co. Big Business has, of late, begun to support this policy approach. Sri L. N. Birla, the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, is already making

guarded public statements to this effect. But lobbies of business houses, particularly of the Birlas, which become very active on the eve of the budget, have started canvassing for deficit financing. Their only quarrel with the Government is that the share of the private sector in the Plan expenditure should be larger than hitherto.

However, it is obvious that deficit financing would add fuel to the fire of price rise. The price rise, besides causing hardships to common people and widening its disparities in income, increases the cost of investment and of implementing the Plan. It leads to increase in non-developmental expenditure of the Government and would reduce the resources for development. Thus, the Plan expenditure undertaken with genuine savings would lead to only paper development. It is no coincidence that if we look back we would find that the development began to slow down just when the price position started getting out of hand. In other words, development and galloping price rise today are in antithesis to each other.

As regards Sri Morarji Desai, he thinks he could hold the price line only through the gimmicks of a balanced budget. But in the given situation, a balanced budget will have only a marginal salutary effect on the price line. Prices have risen at phenomenal rate primarily because of speculation and hoarding which is facilitated by the lack of State trading, circulation of black money and liberal bank credits. The element of increased cost which push up prices is represented by devaluation, unutilised capacity, increasing wages and high bank rates.

And wherever State trading has been introduced, its inefficient handling adds to the prices. For instance, the cost of operation of the Food Corporation of India is as high as about

25 to 30 per cent of the food prices as against only about 10 per cent by the private trade. The inefficiency of the State trading, which ultimately the consumer has to pay in one form or the other, is most illustratively revealed by the Super Bazar of Delhi which was opened with great fanfare in the wake of devaluation. Now it is found it is incurring a huge loss. Pilferage alone accounts for nearly one per cent of the gross sale.

None of these factors which are responsible for the price rise, whether in conditions of State trading or in the absence of it, can be taken care of by a balanced budget. Unfortunately, neither Sri Morarji Desai nor his adversaries have any integrated programme to hold the price line.

In fact, the helpless admission of the powers-that-be to solve the twin problem of rising prices and recession and development simultaneously arises out of their incapacity and unwillingness to attack the vested interests. These gentlemen whether of the Asoka Mehta brand or of the Morarji brand, have no programme to curtail conspicuous and non-essential consumption even by fiscal measures, let alone by physical means.

This unwillingness is most strikingly revealed by their objection to permit a public-sector undertaking, Indian Airlines Corporation, to increase air fares to neutralise the increase in its cost of operation, consequent upon devaluation. The annual report of the Corporation has revealed that it incurred a loss of Rs. Two crores on account of devaluation.

The Government's concern for air passengers is significant in the light of its decision to back out of its promise that prices of imported food would not be increased consequent upon devaluation. Cases of contrast like this could be multiplied.

Similarly, the Government is reluctant to block the opportunities of amassing wealth and to take measures to divert money from unproductive sources to productive means. This would amount to declaring a war on black money. But who will do it? The hoarders of black money

are represented by landlords, big farmers, traders, contractors, industrialists. But these are precisely the classes which have entrenched themselves and now constitute the backbone of the system.

Economic tools are available to solve simultaneously the problem of rising prices and recession and development. The discussion whether price problem should be tackled first or the problem of recession is as futile an exercise as the age-old one—which came first, egg or the chicken. The solution of the twin problem would, however, require a number of hard decisions with a variety of social and political consequences.

In short, it requires a concerted and an integrated policy to curtail non-essential consumption, both by fiscal measures and by physical means, and to block, largely through physical means, the avenues which permit the diversion of money from productive ends to unproductive ends. It would necessitate a new scheme of taxation—introduction of agricultural income tax, reintroduction of expenditure tax, lowering of the exemption limits on nonproductive expenditure permissible to companies for availing tax concessions and excise duties at prohibitive rates on all items of non-essential consumption. Simultaneously, it would require the expansion of State trading and the elimination of inefficiency and corruption from it.

Unfortunately, none of these things are being considered in the search of the contours of the so-called New Economic Policy. Where will this search lead us to? It should not be difficult to answer this question if previous experience is any guide. The first attempt to search for a new policy was made by Lal Bahadur Shastri, when the present phase of economic crisis had just began to unfold. The search led to the conclusion that our difficulties were due to controls, restriction, licensing system and long-gestation projects. Thus began a policy of decontrol, delicensing and quick-yielding projects. But it did not deliver the goods.

on the scene. He diagnosed that the country's ills are due to paucity of imports of raw materials, spares and components. Thus, the rupee was devalued and national honour was compromised to secure more foreign aid to liberalise imports. But this bluff has also been now called.

After blaming controls, licensing system and foreign exchange shortage, our leaders have now become fatalistic. Both Sri Mehta and Sri Desai are now cursing the weather god for all our present ills. Once there are good rains, things will start moving. Even Sri Morarji Desai has agreed to become bold if monsoons behave this year. In fact, a compromise is reported to have been reached after three weeks of shadow boxing in the Cabinet Subcommittee. The essence of the compromise is that the Government should sleep over the next six to eight months. If the rains are good, it would rise and step-up the investment programme.

However, neither will it succeed in holding the price line, as is evident from its decision to increase cloth and steel prices as also to withdraw subsidies from imported grains, nor will it be able to reverse the process of petering out of the tempo of development.

But rains alone can hardly solve our problems. 1964-65 which produced a record bumper food crop of 89 million tonnes did have no salutary effect on the price line and precisely that year marked the beginning of the down-hill journey in the history of the country's economy.

Only through a set of correct policies and their truthful implementation, should it be possible to cash in on the advantages of a good monsoon. Correct policies can emerge only if the diagnosis is correct. But the tragedy is that since the economic crisis overtook the country, no serious attempt has been made by the Government leaders to diagnose scientifically the ills of the economy. No wonder, therefore, that with every new prescription, the patient's condition is getting worse.

1967 Elections and the Future Outlook

S. KUMAR

It is now over two months since the 1967 elections. The votes have been counted. The victors have been named. The people have chosen 521 Members for the Lok Sabha and 3,352 Legislators for the Vidhan Sabhas. In more than one respect, the elections are likely to be a watershed in India's history—not only because of what the people chose, but also—and more so—for the prospects they have opened up. In this study, an attempt is being made to assess the outcome of the elections. Their importance for the future of the country will be analysed in a subsequent contribution.

This study is necessarily statistical and may prove boring to those who are looking for really inflammatory material. But the significance of this dry recital of details is not likely to be any less for India's future than the hot bulletins from the battlefronts of a protracted civil war in some faraway country.

Level of Popular Participation

Of a total electorate of 250 million persons, 156 million went to the polls in 1967. Excluding some 8.5 million invalid votes, the valid votes amounted to 147.5 million—or 62 per cent of the total. The proportion of participation was higher than in 1962, when it was only 53 per cent; but it is good to keep in mind that it was about the same as in 1952 (60 per cent) and lower than 1957 (64 per cent). Thus, as is to be expected, the degree of participation varied according to the intensity of the election campaigns—hopeful in 1952, excited in 1957, listless in 1962 and somewhat uncertain in 1967. The results of four elections may be used as a fair indication of the extent of popular participation—over 60 per cent in three out of four instances.

Election expectations

In order to assess the results, it is helpful to begin by surveying the expectations on the eve of the elections. The *Eastern Economist* had issued its 1967 Annual Number entitled "Whither India?" It contained a broad review of the economic and political trends in the country. In a long article, it characterised the early fifties as an "Assault from the Left"; late fifties as "the Congress at its climax"; and the sixties as the "challenge from the Right." In recent years—the analysis suggested—the Congress had lost its capacity to govern; the Left was a house divided; but the Right was gaining. Discussing individual Left parties and dismissing their claims to

eminence, it counselled the Jan Sangh to join with Swatantra to be ready to act as the inheritor of power from the aging Congress. It concluded:

"It seemed to most political observers that its (Jan Sangh's) larger future lay in linking up with a party, such as the Swatantra, with which it could easily find ideological common ground in many matters, particularly economic. Such a marriage of political interests could be an important development in preparing India's political stage for an eventual two-party system in which the Communists did not necessarily have to be the alternative to the Congress." (*Annual Number*, December 1966, pp. 1225-26).

A glance at newspaper columns during the few months preceding the elections would suffice to show that this prayerful desire was so carefully cultivated as to become the accepted expectation. Consolidation of the Right—this had become the foregone conclusion, even among the Left-wing parties and individuals.

To this was added the mumbo-jumbo of sample surveys, and statistical analysis. Eric da Costa, former editor of the *Eastern Economist*, contributed a series of articles in which he tried to unravel the deepermost thoughts of the Indian people through sample surveys. And his estimates were more than satisfying to his expectations. This is how the people's minds were read and the results forecast with a few assumptions added of course (Conveniently, his definition of the Rightist was very wide indeed):

	1962 Actual	1967 Expected	1962 Actual	1967 Expected
				(a)
	Percentage of votes		Seats in Lok Sabha	
Congress	44.7	39.5	361	295
Rightist (b)	34.2	41.0	82	156
Leftist (c)	21.1	19.5	51	75
TOTAL :	100.0	100.0	494	526

(a) Approximate middle range of estimates.

(b) All other parties and Independents except those listed below under "Leftist".

(c) Communist, PSP, SSP, Marxist and Left-supported Independents.

"The hour of ideological realignment" for the Congress, and "inevitably, then for the country as a whole" had arrived; and da Costa and all the political

This contribution is from a distinguished Indian economist writing under a pen name.

pundits (including of the Left) had become its prophets. The "wise" had forecast the inevitable result; the illiterate Indians were then called upon to go through the agony of voting to place their callous thumb-prints on it.

If da Costa's estimates were confirmed by the election results, it would have meant relatively little difference to the position of the Congress; but his estimates are of great interest as far as the balance between the Rightists and the Leftists is concerned. He expected the Right-wing in India to obtain more votes than even the Congress, and to get over one-half of the seats in the Lok Sabha won by the Congress. And the Left? Its share in the votes was estimated to fall; it was to get less than half the seats won by the Right. With the Left thus languishing, the Right was expected to become the legitimate heir to the Congress throne.

But what did the people do in the elections? For that we turn to an analysis of the results.

The Election Results

The main elements of the election results are summarized in Table I. It needs no emphasis here that

though the Jan Sangh and Swatantra made important gains, these were due to the erosion of the Independents and small parties.

Of these three aspects, the second one—the breakthrough of the Left from its stagnation over the preceding 15 years—has profound implications for India's future. But before we come to that, let us look at the actual performance of the Congress and the Left and the Right parties in some detail.

Disintegration of the Congress

The Congress had never commanded allegiance of the majority of the active population in India. Both in 1952 and 1962 it received backing, from 45 per cent of the voters. It was only in 1957, when Panditji was campaigning for "socialistic pattern of society" and for the Second Five Year Plan as the instrument of its attainment, that this proportion rose to 48 per cent, but still below one-half of the votes.

The actual Congress vote in 1967 amounted to 59.2 million. The Congress campaigned under the most adverse circumstances in its history—just think of Nehru's death, near-famine conditions, soaring prices,

TABLE 1

The Pattern of Electoral Participation						In per cent of valid votes					
Item	1952	1957	1962	1967	Change between 1962 and 1967	Item	1952	1957	1962	1967	Change between 1962 and 1967
(in million)											
Population	367	395	450	507	57	Congress	45	8	45	40	22
Electorate	176	190	216	247	31	"Left" parties	21	21	21	25	37
Valid votes	106	121	115	150	35	"Right" parties			14	17	27
of which :						DMK and Akali	34	31	4	5	9
Congress	47.7	57.6	51.5	59.2	7.7	Unclassified			16	14	6
"Left" parties(a)	22.7	25.1	24.1	37.0	12.9	NOTE: Figures are approximate, particularly for the non-Congress parties; and percentages are rounded.					
"Right" parties											
(b)	—	—	16.5	25.9	9.4						
DMK and Akali	—	—	4.3	7.3	3.0						
Unclassified (c)	—	—	18.6	20.6	2.0						

(a) For details, see Table 2; and also footnote 'd' to it.

(b) Jan Sangh and Swatantra only.
All other parties and Independents.

the data are incomplete; gaps have been filled in at places by estimates. They should be used only as orders of magnitude. Despite the limitations of data, they are striking indeed in three major respects:

1. The Congress vote fell, heavily, almost to the precise point which da Costa's estimates indicated; and the Congress won even fewer seats than da Costa had allowed for.
2. The Left vote, instead of declining relatively as predicted, in fact rose almost by the same percentage points as the Congress vote fell; and
3. The Right vote (even as gratuitously inflated by da Costa), instead of climbing above the Congress total, trailed behind the Left; al-

though the Jan Sangh and Swatantra made important gains, these were due to the erosion of the Independents and small parties. And yet, it is well to keep in mind, for a proper perspective, the fact that its vote in 1967 (59.2 million) was higher than in 1962 by as much as 7.7 million. On the other hand, it was only a little higher than in 1957—the peak point of Congress popularity; so that, while the electorate increased by 57 million persons between 1957 and 1967, only 1.6 million of them (or under three per cent of the total) decided to vote for the Congress.

The percentage of the popular vote lost by the Congress between 1962 and 1967 was five per cent—from 45 to 40 per cent. The effect of this on the proportion of seats lost was, however, considerable. In 1962, the Congress had 361 seats in the Lok Sabha out of a total of some 494, or 73 per cent of the total. In 1967, on the other hand, it won 280 out of 526, or only 53 per cent of the total. For each percentage point of the popular vote lost by the Congress

between 1962 and 1967, it thus lost four per centage points of the seats. This is the specific consequence of an election system, which worked magnificently to the advantage of the Congress so long as there was no near rival in the field. As soon as the Opposition solidified, the very system turned against it, as shown by the results in Kerala and Madras in particular. One need not wonder if many in the Congress would soon become converts to the virtues of proportional representation!

The Congress has formed Government at the Centre with a bare majority of some 20 members in the Lok Sabha. Actually, if only one-half of them crossed the floor (or died and the new candidates lost in the bye-elections), the majority would be lost. And even this bare majority, by a curious turn of history, was a gift to the Congress of Left disunity, particularly the quarrels between the two Communist Parties. In fact, many more seats were lost by the Left because of its disunity (particularly in Andhra, Madras, West Bengal, U.P. and Bihar) than the margin of Congress majority. In consequence, the shaky Congress majority must be regarded as a direct contribution of Left disunity at the time of the elections. If the Left now forges working unity, it can justly treat the present Government with no more than the perfunctory respect due to a lame-duck, a transitory, Government.

Nowhere is this characterization of the Congress power more evident than in the balance of power at the State level. The Congress has formed Governments in only seven States—Andhra, Assam, Gujarat, Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Mysore. These together account for 38 per cent of India's population. The southern triangle (Kerala and Madras) and the broad Indo-Gangetic belt in the north have non-Congress Ministries. The base of Congress power is now reduced to West-Central India, with the Opposition from the South, the East and the North.

And add to these facts the Congress performance in the largest of India's cities—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Ahmedabad. All the major cities, the centres of influence of new ideas and organizations, have voted for the Opposition parties. The Congress base was at no time weaker than at present among the working and the middle classes.

Advance of Left

In the history of independent India, the 1967 elections marked the first sizeable advance of the Left. In all earlier elections, the Left parties together never succeeded in getting more than 21 per cent of the popular vote. It varied between 23 million in 1952 to 25 million in 1957, and fell to 24 million in 1962 (see Table 2). There were differences in the fortunes of individual Left parties, but together they did not succeed in enlarging their popular following—a fact which is a good measure of Nehru's success in attracting a significant part of the radical opinion to the Congress. The year 1967 marks the first breakthrough in this stagnation.

In 1967, the valid votes received by the Left parties rose to 37 million, or nearly 13 million above the figure for 1962. The Left parties are defined to include the CPI, CPM, SSP, PSP, FB, RSP, PWP

and a number of other parties (Kerala Muslim League, Banga Congress, Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad, Jan Congress, Jan Kranti Dal), which during or after the elections cooperated with the main Left Parties. The increase in the vote was 53 per cent between 1962 and 1967 against near stagnation between 1952 and 1962.

The actual Left vote was even larger than 37 million suggested above. During the elections, the Left parties actively supported a number of Independents. Assuming that the Left vote amounted to the same percentage share in the votes for all the Independent candidates—the winners as well as the losers—as it did in the national average, it would add nearly five million votes to the total for the Left—or all in all, some 42 million votes.

TABLE 2
The Composition of "Left" Vote

Party	1952	1957	1962	1967
<i>(in million)</i>				
CPI	3.48	10.75	11.45	13.60(a)
SSP	—	—	3.10	12.85
"Left" parties (b) ..	19.24	14.34	9.58	6.52
Other "Left" parties(c)	—	—	—	4.02
TOTAL :	22.72	25.09	24.13	36.99

<i>Percentage share</i>				
CPI	15	43	47	37
SSP	—	—	13	34
"Left" parties (b) ..	85	57	40	18
Other "Left" parties (c)	—	—	—	11
TOTAL :	100	100	100	100

NOTE : Based on Lok Sabha votes, except for the other 'Left' parties vote in 1967 which is based on Vidhan Sabha votes.

(a) CPI—7.19; and CP (Marxist)—6.41.

(b) At various periods these were : SP, KMPP, KLP, PSP, FB, RSP, PWP; owing to changes in combinations, the figures are approximate only.

(c) Kerala Muslim League, Bangla Congress, Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad, Jan Congress, Jan Kranti Dal.

In order to estimate the total "left" vote, two other figures should be added here : (i) other parties and Independents which were supported by Left; the total vote for those (see Table 1) was 20.6 million in 1967 and assuming that the "Left" accounted for the same percentage share in it as the "Left" share in the national total, this would be about five million; and (ii) the same percentage of invalid votes (total 8.5 million in 1967) as the share of the Left in the national vote would add another two million. In sum, the "Left" vote in 1967 would approximate 44 million. In rounded terms, therefore, it may be

taken to have been between 42 and 45 million, and disregarding the invalid votes, between 40 to 43 million.

In total, the major Left parties, their allies among other parties and Independents, plus a share of invalid votes, give us a sum of 44 million or a little over 29 per cent of the national total. Depending upon the possibility of some over or under estimation in the Left's share in the votes for the Independents and in invalid votes, one can conclude that the total would be somewhere between 42 and 45 million, or 28 to 30 per cent of the national vote.

The measure of the advance of the Left can be seen from the fact that if all the adjustments, which had been made for the 1967 votes, were carried out for the 1967 votes (it would have been 27 to 28 million in 1962) that is, there was an increase of some 14 to 15 million votes between 1962 and 1967. The Left was the largest and the most decisive victor in the 1967 elections—and this, not because of but despite the main Left parties conceding in advance of the elections the consolidation of the Right as the major outcome.

Spectacular Advance

The advance of the Left in 1967 was a tribute to the innate common sense and wisdom of our people. Before the leadership of any left party indulges in glorification, vindication or justification of its quarrelsome policies, it needs to humble itself before the faith of the people in the Left-wing cause. Like some of our insensitive gods, the Left leaders may overlook this deep loyalty, despite many pains, agony and anger: but at no time was it more amply shown than in 1967.

While the general advance was indeed spectacular, it is even more significant for the future to examine in some detail the changes in the broad composition of the Left votes. As shown in Table 2, the CPI received only 15 per cent of the total Left vote in 1952, with the overwhelming majority going to other Left parties (SP, KMPP, etc.), which were heterogeneous in character. The consolidation of the Left vote around parties with radical programmes has continued throughout the period despite the near stagnation in the total Left vote. Thus, the vote for the CPI, as a percentage of the total Left vote, rose from 15 per cent in 1952 to 43 per cent in 1957. The SSP and the CPI together received 60 per cent of the Left vote in 1962: and this share rose to as high as 72 per cent in 1967 or a near-reversal of the position in 1952. Now, an overwhelming majority of a much greater Left vote centres around the more radical parties in the broad Left spectrum.

In the country, then, there was a broad advance of the Left vote, and more and more of it concentrated around the CPs and the SSP, which now form the main body of the Left vote.

While the Left vote as a whole rose by over 50 per cent between 1962 and 1967, one would have to be blind to miss the relatively poor performance of Communists, both CPI and CPM, which raised their vote by only 18 per cent. This was lower than even the increase between 1962 and 1967 in the total votes cast in the country—which was about 30 per cent.

One may as well remember that the luxury of doctrinal and almost personal warfare between the two CPs had to be paid for by a relative decline in popular favour in a period when the Left as a whole made a splendid advance. Its lessons are obvious. The impressive gains by the SSP stand out in sharp contrast.

One final point may be noted. That relates to the Governments in the States. Kerala and West Bengal have Left Governments; and a somewhat milder form of Left Government has taken shape in Bihar. These three together account for nearly 23 per cent of India's population. The position in the U.P. and Punjab is less clear, and perhaps less certain. But if these two are added to the list, the proportion of India's population which is under Left Governments or under Governments in which the Left participates as a respectable partner would rise to more than 42 per cent of the total—or, in other words, more than the 38 per cent under the Congress rule. Thus, at the State level the Left has moved to significant positions of power.

DMK and Akalis

The DMK has won the majority of seats in Madras and formed a Government. It received 6.22 million votes. Both the Akali groups received over one million votes and are now an important factor in the Punjab. The DMK and the Akalis together increased their vote from 4.3 million in 1962 to 7.3 million in 1967, or by three million. They are definitely anti-Congress, but it is not easy to characterise them in terms of Right-or-Left wing inclinations. Both of them are certainly not anti-Communist, as is the Swatantra Party; in fact they had made electoral adjustments during the elections. They have become the recipients of popular support in their specific areas; votes which earlier went to the Congress are now hopefully given to them. Their future evolution will therefore be decisively influenced by the sweep of change in the country over the years to come.

Consolidation within the Right

The popular vote received by the two main parties of the Right, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra, is shown below in Table 3 :

TABLE 3

	1962	1967	In-crease 1962- 67	Percent of national total
				1962 1967
(in million)				
Right-wing parties				
Jan Sangh ..	7.4	13.4	6.0	6.4 8.9
Swatantra ..	9.1	12.5	3.4	7.8 8.3
TOTAL :	16.5	25.9	9.4	14.2 17.2
Unclassified vote (a)	14.7	15.5	0.8	12.7 10.3

(a) Small parties, and Independents (excluding the vote counted for the Left).

The parties of the Right made significant gains between 1962 and 1967. Their combined vote rose from 16.5 million in 1962 to 25.9 million in 1967, or a net gain of 9.4 million. As a share of the national vote, their position strengthened during this period—from 14.2 per cent of the total to 17.2 per cent. To a large extent, this increase is accounted for by the inroads these two organized parties made in what is shown in the table above as “unclassified vote”—comprising the non-Left small parties and the Independents. The relative position of the “unclassified vote” fell from 12.7 per cent of the national total in 1962 to 10.3 per cent in 1967, or by 2.4 percentage points. The percentage gain by the two parties of the Right amounted to 3.5, or only one point more than the loss in the “unclassified vote”.

There is a tendency among the Right-wing leaders to count the whole of this “unclassified vote” as belonging to them. Disregarding for the moment the disinclination of some parts of the unclassified to be classified as Right-wing, let us explore the full implication of the claims of the Right-wing leaders. If the unclassified vote (shown in Table 3) is added to that of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra, it would show a grand total of 31.2 million in 1962 and 41.4 million in 1967—a rise by about 32 per cent in the period, or by about the same per cent as the rise in the national vote. Clearly then, the Right-wing vote (so defined) made no significant relative gain in national standing between 1962 and 1967; its share would have risen from 26.9 per cent in 1962 to only 27.5 per cent in 1967; and would have in fact fallen if our estimates of the Left's share in the votes for

Party. The Jan Sangh vote increased from 7.4 million to 13.4 million between 1962 and 1967 or by 6.0 million. In contrast, the gains by the Swatantra amounted to only 3.4 million. In any future consultation between the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra, it would be unlikely therefore that the Jan Sangh would concede the leadership to the Swatantra, just because the latter is more brash and noisy.

One final point about power at the State level. The only State where the new Opposition Ministry may be considered mainly anti-Left is Orissa, accounting for under four per cent of the population of the country. This may be compared with Left Ministries in Kerala and West Bengal which account for 12 per cent of the country's population, and near-Left Ministries (some of them quite shaky) in Bihar, UP and Punjab with 33 per cent of India's population.

Concluding Reflections

The elections in 1967 have decisively altered the size of the colour belts in India's political spectrum. Its main features, adjusted for changes discussed above, are summarized in the Table below :

The Left-wing vote has emerged as the most dynamic factor. If the Left parties can keep up the tempo upto the next election—in 1972 and may be even earlier—they have the possibility of raising their popular vote (at an increase of another 58 per cent) to a grand total of some 68 to 69 million. With an estimated national vote of 165 to 175 million in the next election, this would bring the Left's share to about 40 per cent of the national total—or enough, under specific conditions, to offer them a chance of forming

TABLE 4

Political Group	1962	1967	Gain 1962-67	Share in per cents 1962	1967	Change in per cents (a) 1962 to 1967
<i>(Votes in million)</i>						
Congress ..	51.5	59.2	7.7	45	40	15
Left vote ..	27-28	42-45	15.0	24	29	58
DMK & Akali ..	4.3	7.3	3.0	4	5	70
Rightist parties ..	16.5	25.9	9.4	14	17	57
Unclassified ..	15-16	13-16	—	13	10	—
TOTAL :	115	150	35	100	100	30

(a) Using the average where a range of two figures is given.

Independents and other parties eventually proved to be an under-estimate. If this is the measure of India's supposed swing to the Right in 1967 elections, the Left parties would be better advised to let the Rightwing bask in its self-inflated glory. No need to disturb the fool's paradise !

It is of some interest to explore a little more closely the individual performance of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra. It is the Jan Sangh which made by far the more impressive gains in vote than the Swatantra

a Left Government at the Centre.

What are these conditions ?

How can this be done ? What would be the necessary tactics and strategy for such a perspective ? How real is the possibility ? If real, is it worth pursuing ? These are the questions which the Left-wing parties ought to be addressing to themselves. It may be worthwhile attempting to explore answers to some of these questions in a subsequent contribution

India's Nuclear Diplomacy: The Wrong Foot Forward

RAJDOOT

LIKE *The Economist's* Harold Wilson, Smt Indira Gandhi is India's Unknown Politician. We do not really know what she stands for. Does she know herself? Her highly educated speechwriters find it a hard job to put into the lines they write the outlines of a clear home or foreign policy. Her particular brand of socialism is as elusive as the will-o-the-wisp of the Arabian desert. Her non-alignment has been progressively losing the non. In Viet Nam she hovers between feeble support and feebler opposition to the American line. To put it bluntly, Smt Gandhi's search for a foreign policy is as purposeful as is her quest for a creative dialogue with the Opposition.

And yet problems and issues pursue her as India's Prime Minister. If she has been able, however temporarily, to strike a posture of being lost-in-the-limbo over the question of war and peace in Viet Nam, she has been finding it difficult to do the same on the question of nuclear proliferation. For her the question is to have or not to have the Nuclear Bomb.

Neroesque Posture

Smt Gandhi is not the renouncing type of political leader. She would, left to herself, have the Bomb. In fact, if by opting for an Indian Bomb would win her the applause of the nation, and a clear five-year term as Prime Minister, she would have it today. But the Bomb is not a national issue; it was hardly talked about during election time. And she knows that when millions

die in Bihar for lack of food, when prices are taller than all Government non-policies put together, when there is a rising clamour all over the country for a cut-back on the elephantine defence budget, to declare that India wants the Bomb will be misinterpreted in the country and abroad as a Neroesque posture rather than an act of brave and bold patriotism.

Disturbing Fact

Why doesn't she, then, accept the Moscow-Washington advice and announce India's acceptance of the general terms of the up-and-coming non-proliferation treaty? Why can't she emulate her father who had made India the first country outside the two super-powers to sign the 1963 partial test ban treaty? The answer lies in the rather disturbing fact that the treaty as it now stands in its broad outlines circulated to numerous Governments through diplomatic channels cuts across the sovereignty and independence of non-nuclear nations. It has been rejected by nations less inhibited by PL 480 wheat, like the UAR. How can India accept it without a face-saving face-lift?

There is no treaty yet; it is not certain that there will be any. The Americans and the Russians have exchanged drafts which are said to be strikingly similar in essential features. Both want to freeze the Nuclear Club at the current five which amounts to recognition of China as a nuclear power; neither seems to be unduly concerned that the treaty has no chance of being accepted by China and France. Both the United States and the Soviet Union want the countries on the verge of a nuclear breakthrough—there are about ten of them at

this moment—not to cross the watershed, and to be content with their present could-be-nuclear-power status. All signatories to the proposed treaty should submit their nuclear programmes, albeit for peaceful purposes, to international inspection, through—this is still a subject of agreement—the UN sponsored International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, whose powers and status are to be suitably increased. No non-nuclear country is to be allowed to test nuclear devices even for peaceful purposes: such testings are to be conducted by one of the club members. In return for this semi-global collective renunciation, the three nuclear powers will join in some kind of a nuclear protection for the non-nuclear world. The terms and terminology of this "umbrella" are being negotiated; so far there has been no agreement.

Political Settlement

There are several aspects of this proposed non-proliferation treaty that is open to objection from countries like India and the UAR. The first question that remains unanswerable in the present context of the international situation, is how, in the absence of Chinese and French acceptance, is the treaty going to rid the world of the menace of nuclear war? There is no perceptible way of bringing China to its acceptance unless there is an overall political settlement between Peking, Washington and Moscow. Perhaps the latter two would argue that if it were possible to freeze the nuclear club at the present five, it should not be difficult to contain, and eventually eliminate, the possibility of a Chinese or French nuclear attack on a non-nuclear country. How

Contributions embodying different points of view on this controversial subject will be published in the subsequent issues of Mainstream.

this is going to be done is, however, proving to be difficult. For neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is inclined, for very good reason of national survival, to commit itself to rush to the rescue of a victim of nuclear attack without first ascertaining its own safety from nuclear war.

This is where India's nuclear diplomacy has put its wrong foot forward. The fact that you can have effective nuclear diplomacy only when you have a clear-cut, palpable nuclear policy is one of the many uncomfortable questions the Indian press, in its expansive desire not to harass the Establishment, chooses not to ask. When India unhesitatingly signed the partial test ban treaty, she had, thanks to Jawaharlal Nehru, a precise policy of nuclear renunciation. That policy was that India would not go in for the Bomb, but would exploit nuclear energy for the peaceful development of her economy. After the death of Nehru, and following China's attainment of nuclear capability, a chorus of demand was raised in a limited, vocal Indian circle that India too must have the Bomb. Lal Bahadur Shastri took a somewhat resilient line that India would not have the Bomb *for the time being*. This qualifying clause aroused the world's suspicious interest in the Indian progress in nuclear research, and it was discovered that if a decision was taken at the political level, India could make the Bomb in a matter of six to twelve months, and could without much difficulty pile up a small stock of plutonium bombs.

Bomb, No Burden

Since then the Bomb Lobby has steadily grown in India, and, at one time, it had the powerful backing of the late Dr Homi J. Bhabha. The Chinese, in the meantime, leapt into the Hydrogen Bomb stage and fired successfully an intermediate-range ballistic missile. What was worse, they proved that nuclear bombs could be made much more cheaply than in the United States, France and Britain, and presumably in the USSR, both in terms of capital outlay and consumption of electricity. The Chinese nuclear pro-

gramme does not appear to have crippled their economy, nor imposed an unbearable burden on the Chinese peasant. In fact, it has been established by American experts that what the Chinese have spent so far on their nuclear programme amounts to about three days' expenditure of the Chinese Government.

No Threat to Asia

It is the Chinese nuclear breakthrough that has shocked the world to a spate of re-thinking on the nuclear question. Many sober people have tried to examine Peking's nuclear argument dispassionately. And they have found it not entirely nonsense. The Chinese have determined to build their own independent nuclear deterrent not to threaten Asia (this is an inevitable result of their nuclear strength), but to buy a permanent non-war with the United States and the Soviet Union. Those who have tried to follow the intense debate that has been raging in China for the last five years on a national defence policy, know that the protagonists of an independent nuclear deterrent have been able to convince Mao Tse-tung that to have a minimum effective nuclear arsenal with a minimum effective delivery system is the most inexpensive and most effective way to safeguard China from an American nuclear attack. In other words, it is now admitted that in the next ten years China will have an independent nuclear deterrent that will actually deter the United States from attempting a nuclear war with her. This, according to the Chinese, is the most economic and at the same time effective way of safeguarding their independence and national frontiers. It will also, incidentally, make China Asia's first nuclear power and establish her parity with the major nuclear powers.

The Chinese leaders including Mao have made it clear, with considerable grasp of nuclear realism, that China does not have to compete with the United States in nuclear arms. In nuclear parity, it is not the equality of arsenal that matters, but the combatant's ability to deliver several fatal blows. The Soviet nuclear arsenal

is admittedly much smaller than the American, but that does not make the USSR an inferior nuclear power. The United States has virtually ruled out the prospect of nuclear war with Russia because it knows that it will lead to mutual annihilation. All that China wants to acquire in the next ten or fifteen years is a deterrent that will deter an American nuclear attack; it appears that China is within sight of achieving this modest goal without in any way crippling her economic progress.

When this happens, it will lead to a wholesale readjustment of relations between China and its major opponents in the international field, particularly the United States. It will be impossible not to concede to China the status of an equal partner in the community of nations, and a sphere of influence that goes with the recognised status of a big power. Naturally the United States does not want to concede this status to another Asian country, and hence its anxiety to prevent, by whatever pressures it may command, India from opting for a policy of independent nuclear deterrent.

Proposal Scuttled

If China is America's major concern, West Germany is the Soviet Union's. Moscow is ready to go to the utmost length to prevent Bonn from having nuclear weapons either lent by the United States or made in its own initiative. The American proposal for a Multilateral Nuclear Force was scuttled by France because General de Gaulle refused to allow the Americans for ever to control and direct Europe's power and political role. The current Soviet-American move for a non-proliferation treaty springs from this mutuality of interest: to prevent Germany and any other Asian power from acquiring nuclear status.

Examined in the context of these developments, India's nuclear diplomacy seems to be singularly devoid of any muscle at all. We have pinned our not-so-latent nuclear aspirations on the menace posed by China's nuclear power. Lacking the cou-

rage of conviction to declare that in reply to this power we must build our own independent deterrent, we have taken refuge under the unseen nuclear umbrella. Our nuclear ambassadors have gone from door to door begging for a multi-power nuclear umbrella, a joint, written guarantee by the three nuclear powers that they will protect us from the Chinese nuclear blackmail or attack. We have ventured to add, like a truculent child, that the guarantee must be to our satisfaction.

Absurd

This is an absurd position to take. Suppose the United States and the Soviet Union do agree to a non-proliferation treaty providing for joint protection to non-nuclear powers from blackmail or attack by any nuclear power, does this automatically guarantee our national security? Will they act *when we want them to act*? Or will they determine *independently or jointly* whether to act and how? Will the United States and the Soviet Union agree in measuring the gravity of a Chinese nuclear threat to India or Malaysia or Indonesia? In the entirely hypothetical, and highly improbable event of a Chinese nuclear attack on us, will they jointly retaliate with nuclear bombs regardless of China's ability to hit back? Even during the Chinese power-political intervention during the Indo-Pakistan war, the American and Soviet estimation of the menace did not converge, and we were treated to the demonstration of an abundant American reluctance even to promise us immediate military assistance. If this could happen in conventional war, what should we expect of the big powers in the unlikely event of a nuclear war? And what happens to the umbrella if either of the nuclear super-powers initiate a nuclear war? Will a non-proliferation treaty totally rule out the employment of American tactical nuclear weapons in Viet Nam? If it does not, what is the meaning of an umbrella?

The umbrella is, therefore, a big hoax. But Smt Indira Gandhi's Government lacks the

courage to say so. In its pathetic search for the umbrella, it has, in the meantime, abdicated India's sovereign rights in a most vital field: peaceful development of nuclear energy. Nehru had persistently refused to open our nuclear research projects to international inspection for the simple reason that it amounted to cynical suspicion of the bonafides of our declared policy. Smt Gandhi's Government has gone back on the Nehru stance and agreed to have periodical inspection of our atomic energy projects by the International Agency in Vienna. Our programmes so far have been open to periodical Canadian inspection because the reactors came from Canada. But we have now been building our own reactors, and soon we are going to have a totally independent peaceful nuclear capability. Our policy should be to protect this capability, from international espionage. This is what the UAR has decided to do; President Nasser has categorically refused to open up his country's nuclear projects to international inspection.

Independent Decision

Sooner or later India will have to take her own independent decision on the nuclear bomb. We should be mature enough to realise that our possession of the Bomb is not going to bring the world nearer to nuclear war. In any case we shall never have the Bomb to wage war, but only to prevent a nuclear war on us. If at any stage we are convinced that an independent Indian nuclear deterrent—the cost of which is not going to cripple our economy—is essential to buy non-war with China, the United States and Pakistan—we should be free to take that decision.

In the meantime, our proliferation policy should undergo some drastic revision.

We should mobilise Afro-Asian and European opinion in favour of a nuclear non-aggression treaty between the five nuclear-powers. We have to campaign for China's participation in the Geneva talks on terms of equality,

and for a treaty that will outlaw the use of nuclear bombs in offensive war. At present, the Soviet Union and China are the two powers which have committed themselves to unilateral declarations not to be the first to use nuclear bombs. We should campaign for similar commitments from the United States, Britain and France.

International Treaty

These commitments could lead to an international treaty banning the use of nuclear bombs except in national self-defence. We must, at the same time, insist on widening the scope of the 1963 test ban treaty to include underground tests as well. The treaty has in no way limited the systematic perfection of the nuclear capability of the two super-powers; nor has it reduced the danger of nuclear war by an iota.

Regarding non-proliferation, our argument to the super-powers should be simple. They must practise renunciation before they preach it to the whole world. They have no moral right to ask any country not to make the bomb if they cannot show the slightest inclination to reduce their nuclear arsenal, or to come to an agreement between themselves. They must convince us by action that they are ready to rid the world of the nuclear menace which is entirely their own making. They can do this by stopping all underground tests, by issuing a joint or separate declarations that the bomb will not be used except in self-defence, and by entering into negotiations, with China and France participating, on a phased programme of nuclear disarmament.

Until this is done, the option to make or not to make the nuclear bomb is too precious a component of national sovereignty to be written away for any consideration. If the bomb is at any time going to secure our frontiers from attack from *any* source, we must be free to make it. In order to persuade us not to make it, the super-powers must first do a few things by themselves.

Marxism and Maoism

PYOTR FEDOSEYEV

THE Soviet Union's and other freedom-loving people's victory over German Nazism and Japanese militarism gave a powerful impetus to the people's liberation movements throughout the world.

Led by the Communist Party, the Chinese people accomplished a great national-liberation peoples' democratic revolution in a severe struggle against the imperialists and domestic reactionary forces. The Communist Party of China and its leaders roused the masses to the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the US imperialists and for national and social liberation. The progress in the national liberation, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle enabled the Chinese people to proceed, under the leadership of the Communist Party to the socialist stage of the revolution.

Intelligentsia Oppressed

The Soviet people and the working people of all countries welcomed ardently the Chinese people's victory and invariably rendered them all-out support. The Communist Party of China enjoyed a great prestige and respect of the world communist movement.

Today the group of Chinese top functionaries headed by Mao Tse-tung is baiting and persecuting most of the Party's leading workers and rank-and-file who carried the brunt of revolutionary work during the liberation war and the building of socialism. The supporters of the above group are waging an offensive against the vital interests of workers and peasants, they are oppressing the

intelligentsia in every way they can and are humiliating outstanding intellectuals. Internationally their struggle is spearheaded not against imperialism but against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the CPSU and all fraternal Communist Parties. The Chinese leaders' splitting policy undermines the unity of the world revolutionary forces, hamstrings the national liberation movement and plays into the hand of imperialism, above all US imperialism.

What accounts for this turn of events? How could the revolutionaries have gone to the length of destroying the main leading force of the Revolution—the Party—and massacre its leading personnel? How could they have gone to the length of malicious anti-Sovietism, having surpassed the most rabid anti-Communists in slandering the Soviet Union? How did this political degradation and degeneration of the Chinese leaders become possible?

When Mao Entered Party

First of all, it should be borne in mind that Mao Tse-tung and his supporters entered the Communist Party at that stage of the national-liberation struggle in which various class forces and political groups participated. At this stage the differentiation of social groups and political leaders on the issues of social reforms, the ways and means of building socialism, was not yet on the agenda. Having declared themselves Marxists, they called for the socialist way of development and the Party entrusted leading posts to them and rendered them support.

The rout of Chiang Kai-shek's bands supported by the US imperialists and the seizure of political power by the masses headed by the working class cleared

the road for transforming social life on the socialist basis.

It is well known that the opposition of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element becomes especially strong during the transition to socialism. As it happened, the Chinese leaders could not resist these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois pressures, they yielded to the nationalist petty-bourgeois poison.

Danger of Chauvinism

Evidently, the process was helped by peculiar Chinese realities like the predomination of the petty-bourgeois strata in the social structure of society and a relatively small inter-layer of the industrial proletariat in a vast population. Account should also be taken of the old traditions of the great-power, great-Han chauvinism the propounders of which tried to speculate on the legitimate resentment of the masses of China against the national humiliation under the conditions of the country's semi-colonial position. The documents of the Chinese Communist Party once emphasized the danger of great power chauvinism and the need of struggle against it. Thus in December 1956, the editorial of *Jenmin jihpao* noted: "We Chinese, should remember especially well that under the Hun, T'ang, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties our country was also a great empire, but for approximately a hundred years, since the second half of the nineteenth century, our country, having become an object of aggression, was converted into a semi-colony; though our country is at present still backward economically and culturally, when the conditions have changed, the trend towards great-power chauvinism will no doubt be a great danger unless prevented in every way possible. It should also

This article on Chinese developments by a leading member of USSR Academy of Sciences, was published in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Kommunist (No. 5, 1967).

be pointed out that at present this danger has already begun to show up among some of our personnel. Therefore, in both the Resolution of the Eighth All-China Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China of November 1, 1956, our personnel is instructed to fight against the trend of great-power chauvinism."

However, the Mao Tse-tung group not only neglected these warnings but proved to be, during a sharp class struggle of the transitional period, the mouth-piece of great-power chauvinism and petty-bourgeois adventurism.

Mao's Deviation

It is during the period of transition from capitalist and pre-capitalist relations to socialism that Mao Tse-tung's deviation from the earlier accepted principal course of the Chinese Communist Party and the international communist movement became ever more pronounced, that his individual line in China's home and foreign policy began to take shape ever more distinctly. This deviation was manifest especially profoundly when Mao Tse-tung began to impose on the Chinese Communist Party the adventurist policy of the "big leap" and "people's communes" and a no less adventurist policy in international affairs.

Historical experience indicates that manifestations of revolutionary adventurism expressing the psychology of the petty-bourgeois gone mad become more intense in the situation of a sharp breakup of the outdated social order. During this process the dizziness from the of success of a revolutionary overthrow fancifully combines with the fear of difficulties coming up during the building of socialism, especially in a backward country. On this soil there grow ultrarevolutionary lame attempts to solve at a blow all problems of international politics and domestic development, to skip all the necessary stages and burst into the "realm of communism" by storm.

The Mao Tse-tung group has discarded the resolutions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC which

reflected the Marxist-Leninist positions on the main foreign and home issues and defined the CPC's main line for the period of transition to socialism. "The great proletarian cultural revolution", turned out to be the raids against the Communist Party and the massacre of its personnel, unbridled chauvinism and anti-Sovietism, continued and culminated this group's policy of petty bourgeois adventurism.

Complex Process

Many cases are known in history when the people who had taken part in a national-liberation movement or a bourgeois democratic revolution or even a socialist revolution then took up a stand hostile to communism as the country went over to socialist development. The growth of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is a complex process, a major historical boundary signifying a drastic rearrangement of class forces. For the petty-bourgeois parties and leaders this boundary proves to be critical. Sober-minded revolutionaries from among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia go over to the proletariat's positions and gradually arrive at scientific socialism. But by no means all petty bourgeois revolutionaries (who play at times a positive role at the democratic stage of a revolution, along with the vacillations and negative influences) rise to the occasion during the transition to socialist reforms. Many of them do not cross this boundary and do not go forward, along the road of socialism, but swerve into crooked blind alleys of history and finally meet with political bankruptcy. This is for example, what happened to some statesmen in our country who swerved either "to the Right" or "to the Left" and the situation occurred in other countries as well. It is at this critical boundary, during the transition to the building of socialism, that it becomes clear that such people are not proletarian revolutionaries, not Marxist Leninists, but bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideologists. The political bankruptcy and degeneration of such statesmen is no accident but is inherent in their class positions,

in their theoretical views, in their interpretation of policy and tactics.

Mao Tse-tung's abject degradation is the consequence not of separate mistakes and deviations from Marxism, but of a defective philosophy and a defective political line of petty-bourgeois adventurism.

The Chinese splitters and anti-Sovietists, sponsors of the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" have declared Maotsetungism to be the "highest stage" in the development of Marxism. Mao Tse-tung, indeed, studied, some Marxist works and even presented Marxist views on some issues, but on the whole his theoretical concept is a vulgarization and revision of the Marxist theory in terms of petty-bourgeois nationalism and adventurism.

Maotsetungism has replaced materialist dialectics by sophistry and eclecticism, the materialist interpretation of history by voluntarism, and the theory of class struggle and revolution by, essentially, a militarist distortion of the revolutionary process. Maotsetungism is the denial of the proletariat's leading role in the Communist transformation of society, the denial of the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. Maotsetungism means a depreciation of the role of the masses in history, an idealist theory of "heroes" as the primary movers of history; it is a faith into the supernatural power of the "leader" and an unrestrained personality cult. Maotsetungism opposes scientific communism on the vital issues of strategy and tactics.

II

Materialist Versus Voluntarist Interpretation of History: Dialectics Versus Sophistry

THE materialist interpretation of history proceeds from the proposition that the development of society is based on the production of material values. Materialism is inseparably linked with the recognition of the fact that the economic relations are decisive in the entire system of social relations and that the struggle of classes is the principal moving force of history in antagonistic societies.

For a whole century the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theorists have been assailing these cardinal productions of Marxism and opposed all kinds of idealistic concepts to the materialist principles in history.

An expression of the voluntarist interpretation of history was, for example, the "theory of coercion" according to which the course of social life and the position of classes and nations are determined by coercion, and not by economic development, not by economic relations. In particular, this theory was persistently put forward and propounded in the last century by the notorious German petty-bourgeois Socialist Dühring who regarded political power rather than economic development as a decisive factor of social life.

Role of Coercion

Marx and Engels demonstrated the unsoundness of the "theory of coercion", revealed the interaction between economic and political activity, between objective conditions and the subjective factor in history, and determined the role of coercion in social changes. Coercion cannot create new productive forces and new social relations. However, when conditions are ripe for a revolutionary transformation, revolutionary coercion becomes a tool for overthrowing an outdated social system and transforming social life in accordance with the level and requirements of development of productive forces. "Coercion", said Marx, "is the midwife of an old society when it is pregnant with a new society" (Works, Vol. 23, p. 761). Revolutionary coercion does not abolish the laws of economic development, it does not replace material production, but eliminates the socio-political obstacles preventing the development of productive forces.

The petty-bourgeois trends of anarchism and other varieties of revolutionary adventurism set voluntarism and subjectivism against the materialism of Marx. Thus, in Bakunin's opinion, the "ideal" and "rebellion" are the movers of the social revolution which is called upon to build life "at will without restraints."

Criticizing Bakunin's understanding of the premises for the revolutionary transformation of society, Marx wrote: "Will, and not economic conditions, is the basis of his social revolution" (Works, Vol. 18, p. 615).

Marxism "Sinicized"

Having decided to "sinicize" the Marxist theory, Maotsetungism has taken the petty-bourgeois ideologists' stand, rejecting the basic principles of materialism and substituting voluntarism and subjectivism. Essentially, the Chinese theorists are replacing the materialistic concept of history by the notorious "theory of coercion".

In the history of social thought of China, just as in the countries of the West, the "theory of coercion" ascends to some old philosophical schools. For example, the main exponent of the ideas of the ancient Chinese school of the Legalists Han Fei-tzu taught that the most extreme and severe measures are necessary in politics, and power rests only on force and coercion.

The history of ideological struggle shows that the "theory of coercion" is closely interlinked with the apology of wars, with the ideology of militarism. Characteristically, this theory spread especially widely in the age of imperialism when solutions by force and war began to play an increasing role in the development of historical events.

Nowadays the inseparable connection between the "theory of coercion" and chauvinism, the struggle for world domination, is expressed more clearly than ever before. Obviously, those who are infected by chauvinism and hegemonism inevitably gravitate to the "theory of coercion", banking on military means of struggle and underestimating or ignoring the importance of economic development and economic problems.

The Chinese exponents of the "theory of coercion" under the camouflage of revolutionary phraseology believe that war is the key means of solving all social contradictions. The essence of the historical concept of Maotsetungism is expressed in the

following thesis: "Wars began from the moment of the origin of private ownership and classes and constitute the highest form of struggle, the form to which recourse is made to resolve the contradictions between classes, nations, states, political blocs at a certain stage of development of these contradictions" (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. 1, the Publishing House of Foreign Literature, Moscow, 1952, pp. 307-308).

Thus, the Marxist theory that the entire history of society as long as it is differentiated into classes is the history of class struggle is replaced by Mao Tse-tung, with his militarist concept of history as the history of wars. It is not the laws of class struggle but the laws of war that should guide in politics, according to Mao Tse-tung. While it is believed, according to Marxism, that in class society the causes of all social phenomena and events, including wars, should be traced to the relations of classes, class struggle should, according to Mao Tse-tung, be interpreted in the light of the laws of war: "War is the highest form of struggle between nations, states, classes, political blocs; all laws of war are used by belligerent nations, states, classes and political blocs for gaining victory" (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 325).

Rifle—Power

From the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, war continues the policy of certain classes pursuing their own class purposes; in other words, war is *one of the forms* of struggle for the interests of certain classes. According to Mao Tse-tung, class struggle itself should obey the laws of war.

Using Marxist terms and in particular employing, for the sake of appearance, the concepts "classes" and "class struggle", Mao Tse-tung ignores the Marxist theory of class struggle and proletarian revolution and persistently replaces it everywhere by his militarist "theory of coercion"—the theory of a military coup d'état. "The rifle produces power", writes Mao Tse-tung

(Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 388); according to his own admission this maxim repeats the Chinese militarists' behest: "If there is an army, there is power" (ibid, p. 386). It is not economic relations that decide in the final analysis whom political power in the country belongs to, but the rifle, the army as a certain self-sufficing force, determining the destinies of society: this is the conclusion to which Maotsetungism is led by its intrinsic logic. This fetish of military power is also well pronounced in Mao Tse-tung's discourses on the future of human society. "... Rebuilding the world is possible only by means of the rifle" (Works, Vol. 2, p. 388).

Against Lenin's Principle

Mao Tse-tung insists that the attainment of a lasting peace and the victory of socialism on the world scale are possible only by world war: "... There is only one means, and it is the struggle by war against war..." (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 312). Mao Tse-tung's supporters reason, very calmly, that if half of mankind is destroyed in a world war, half will still remain. By way of compensation, imperialism will be destroyed, and socialism will reign all over the earth. This perfectly corresponds to Mao Tse-tung's theoretical views.

Mao Tse-tung's group comes out against Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The group denies Lenin's proposition that having triumphed originally in one country or several countries, socialism exercises its influence on world development first of all by the force of its example, its economic policy, its economic and cultural progress.

The Chinese "Marxists" are, essentially, propounding the theory of the "export" of revolution by means of war. It is implied that the Soviet Union must begin war and if the Soviet Union does not, this points to its collusion with US imperialism and its lapse into "revisionism." The Maotsetungists often repeat the Chinese proverb: "Watch from a mountain the struggle of

tigers." Perhaps, they intend to inveigle the Soviet Union into a world war and watch it "from a mountain"?

In accordance with his militarist interpretation of history, Mao Tse-tung has replaced materialist dialectics by the metaphysical concept of the duel of antagonistic forces and has thus converted dialectics into sophistry.

Instead of the dialectic theory of development, of the resolution of contradictions in the course of struggle, Mao Tse-tung is propounding the thesis on the transposition of the opposites. In his opinion, development is each side's occupation, in the course of movement, that position which has earlier been occupied by its opposite. As for the opposites themselves, they are considered metaphysically, without any change, as something constant and intransient. Thereby is ignored a major proposition of dialectics: development is essentially the transition from one quality to another in the process of which the old opposites are cancelled.

Changes Ruled Out

Instead of dialectics, Mao Tse-tung presents his theory of struggling forces which have no bearing on qualitative changes and may only exchange places, drawing each other alternatively from one side to another, upward or downward. The result is something like the notorious theory of equilibrium according to which contradictions balance. Equilibrium is disturbed from time to time, then restored, and so movement continues. Obviously, this interpretation of dialectics undermines its basis and essentially denotes the denial of development. If the entire process reduces to the opposites exchanging places, if history reduces to the transposition of the opposites, to the violation and restoration of equilibrium, nothing new can originate, any qualitative social changes are ruled out.

The admirers of Mao Tse-tung try to apply their primitive interpretation of the struggle of the opposites to the essence of the historical process, to the

determination of the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement. This is how this kind of "dialectics" looks if applied to the revolutionary process: "... Through the revolution, the proletariat, once a subjugated class, becomes the ruling class, while the bourgeoisie who have ruled before become a subjugated class, go over to the position which has been occupied by its antipode" (Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 453).

"Dialectic" Exchange

A similar "dialectic" exchange of the opposites occurs, in Mao Tse-tung's opinion, during the revolutionary reforms in the countryside: "... the class of landlords owning land becomes a class deprived of land while the peasants deprived of land become small owners who have received land" (ibid., p. 454).

It is perfectly obvious that this interpretation of the dialectics of history has nothing in common with the real course of historical development. Certainly, the bourgeoisie have never passed nor will pass "to the position occupied by its antipode", that is the working class, no more than the proletariat will ever become the bourgeoisie. In reality individual capitalists sometimes go bankrupt and become hired workers, while some workers become entrepreneurs. But from this it does not follow that the essence of the socialist revolution is the conversion of the proletariat into the bourgeoisie and vice versa. Nor can any historical example be given when the class of peasants would take the place of the class of landlords and the class of landlord the class of peasants. Whenever a new mode of production appears, a qualitatively new class structure of society takes shape. Revolutionary transformations result not in a simple transposition of opposite classes, but in a vital change of the classes themselves, in the origin of new class relations. Only metaphysicians may believe that the old classes, which had merely exchanged places, may result from a revolution and remain under a new mode of production.

From these examples it is clear that there is a vital difference between Marxist dialectics and the Chinese theorists' sophistry. In the Marxist-Leninist theory of development they fail to understand the key proposition, namely, that contradictions do not remain fixed, constant, eternal, that they are in a process of constant motion and change. The revolutionary meaning of Marxist-Leninist dialectic is precisely that internal contradictions lead to the substitution of the old concept by a new and higher concept. Thus, the replacement of capitalism by socialism means not an exchange of places between socialism and capitalism but the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a new, socialist society.

The interpretation of dialectics in the spirit of "transposition" of the opposites is not just a particular detail in Mao Tse-tung's views. In the final analysis this interpretation furnishes a methodological basis of that militarist interpretation of the historical process, which is so characteristic of Maotsetungism. Indeed, dispensing with the need of taking into account the qualitative changes of social phenomena, this metaphysical scheme

makes it possible to group historical phenomena not in terms of their concrete social meaning but in terms of abstract, "timeless" concepts of war and "peace"

Peace into War

"It is well known", Mao Tse-tung writes, "that war and peace are phenomena changing into each other. War changes into peace... peace changes into war..." (Selected Works, Vol.2, p. 455). This abstract formula fails to take into account the real course of historical development. History knows quite a few examples when wars of a certain type gave way not to peace but to other wars having a different social character. For example, the liberation wars of the French Bourgeois Revolution became later the Napoleonic Empire's reactionary wars of aggrandizement which brought foreign oppression to many nations and which entailed in turn a series of national-liberation wars.

Or here is another historical example. The First World War did not simply give place to peace. In Russia the imperialist war grew into a civil war. A characteristic of the subsequent historical development since the October Revolution was a split of the

world into two camps: socialist Russia and the capitalist encirclement. Nor did the Second World War culminate in a mere return to the pre-war peace. A vital qualitative peculiarity of the postwar period is the establishment of a world social system. The relation of forces between socialism and capitalism changed, and as a result the national-liberation movement obtained new unprecedented possibilities; while the colonial system of capitalism collapsed. Hence the opportunities for the struggle against aggression were multiplied, realistic premises sprang up for preventing a new world war by joint efforts of socialist countries and all peace-loving nations, fighting against imperialism.

Thus, essential qualitative changes in the course of historical development, the complex interdependence of phenomena, by no means fit the abstract metaphysical scheme: peace giving place to war and war leading to peace so that eternal peace can only be arrived at through war. The allegedly "dialectic" interpretation of history by Maotsetungism proves in fact a purely subjective sophist distortion of the real process of social development.

(To be concluded next week)

WEST BENGAL

The Crisis in the Engineering Industry

KRANTI SEN

THE crisis in the engineering industry in West Bengal has become quite acute, posing a serious problem to the United Front Ministry. According to the State Labour Minister, between January 1 and March 15 this year, 23,218 workers were laid off from 95 units, retrenchment took place in 53 units and eight units declared total closure.

Signs of the crisis first appeared in November-December last year. The employers were even then insisting on largescale retrenchment and lay-off, but the

then Congress Government, apprehensive of the possible repercussions of such a step on its election prospects, persuaded the employers to keep the contemplated measures in abeyance until after the elections when, it fondly hoped, it would be returned to power for a fresh term of five years.

Political Motivation

The elections, however, dislodged the Congress from power and installed the United Front of the Left and democratic parties.

The Policy Statement of the United Front, issued on the eve of its assumption of office, categorically stated that henceforth police interference in the normal trade union struggles of the workers would not be allowed so long as workers' actions did not go beyond the bounds of law. The declaration evoked the expected reaction from the captains of industry. To the economic factor of a 'recession' was added the political factor of a Government following a pro-labour policy. Heavy retrench-

ment and lay-off started from the beginning of March. The intention obviously was to throw a spanner in the new Government's wheel before it could move.

To be sure, the magnitude of the crisis is being deliberately exaggerated, so as to bring pressure on the non-Congress Government. The crisis has spread to other industries as well, especially the textile industry, as evidenced by the en-masse lay-off, declaration of lock-outs and total closure of units. The workers have been compelled to resist the attacks on their jobs and wages by normal trade union practice of *gheraos* and stay-in strikes. This, again, is used against the U.F. Government as proof of its inability or reluctance to deal properly with labour intransigence and a case is sought to be made out that West Bengal has become unsafe for industry and a 'flight of capital' is imminent. The logic of a general 'crisis', however, goes ill with the threat of a 'flight of capital.'

Political motivation notwithstanding, there is no gainsaying the fact that the crisis is real. So far as the engineering industry is concerned, the worst affected are the small-scale and medium-scale units concentrated in and around Calcutta and Howrah. A small-scale or medium-scale industrial unit is one with a capital investment below Rs. 10 lakhs. Briefly, they may be classified simply as 'small-scale industry'.

Most of the small-scale industrial units are engineering establishments—from the way-side motor repairing shop to the comparatively big workshop employing a complement of, say, half a dozen lathes and other machines. Besides engineering, other industries coming under the small-scale category are: power-looms, soaps and cosmetics, plastic goods, paper and pulp, hosiery etc.

Railways' Role

The small engineering firms are subsidiaries and ancillaries to the big industrial concerns, supplying them with such parts and components as are more

economical for them to manufacture, for instance, those for automobiles, sewing machines, bicycles, industrial machinery, machine tools, hand tools, measuring instruments, etc.

They, however, depend mainly on the Railways' orders, specific items from which, like components and parts of track mechanism (namely cast-iron sleepers, fish-plates and dog-plates etc.) and small components of signalling equipments, are farmed out to them by the big engineering firms—the primary recipients of the orders.

The slashing of the Railways' development programme in last year's (1966-67) budget, according to the spokesmen of the small-manufacturers, has triggered off a chain reaction in which they are the worst sufferers. While the big firms are better equipped, financially as well as organizationally, to absorb the shock, the small units face the prospect of being pushed to the wall.

Calculation Imperfect

Authorities in the policy-making level of the Railway Ministry admit that the calculations on which the Ministry had drawn up its perspective plan for development were subsequently found to be defective and imperfect. An adverse balance in the Railway budget also necessitated a cut on development expenditure.

They point out that the railway administration is now depending more on its own workshops for certain essential equipments and parts, for example steel sleepers. Cast-iron sleepers, manufactured by private engineering firms, are being replaced by steel-casting sleepers manufactured in the railway workshops. So long as the demand for steel sleepers does not exceed the existing capacity of the workshops, there can be no 'spillover' to the private manufacturers.

The imbalance caused by the cut in the Railways' orders can be partially rectified if their shopping list is suitably adjusted. Negotiations to that end have already been started by the

State Government, mainly under the initiative of the State Labour Minister. But, as we shall presently see, railway orders are not the sole factor; the problem of the small-scale engineering industry in West Bengal has some special characteristics which need to be studied in some detail.

Special Characteristics

It is the contention of the small manufacturers' organizations like the Federation of the Associations of Small Industries (FASI) and the Federation of Small and Medium Industries (FSMI) that the difficulties and disadvantages of the small-scale engineering firms have not been adequately considered by the Government. They point out that small-scale industrial units are capital-light and labour-intensive and as such have an important role to play both in providing employment and in the general industrial development of the country.

Small-scale industries account for only 15 per cent of the total capital invested in industry, though they contribute as much as 33 per cent of the total industrial output and get, on an average, a return of 15 per cent on capital. The quantum of capital investment per person employed is between Rs. 8 and 10 thousand as against a minimum of Rs. 50 thousand in the case of big industries.

The care for the small-scale industries may be put as follows: Due to the heavy concentration in West Bengal of big industries—basic as well as consumer—they cannot expand or diversify production. In the case of the small engineering industries there is an additional limitation in that being essentially 'feeders' to the giant concerns—who determine the variety and quantity of their products—they are necessarily restricted to a highly selective market.

Another acute problem they face is with regard to getting industrial credit on easy terms from financial institutions like the State Bank, the Industrial Finance Corporation, the State Finance Corporation, the Life Insurance Corporation, etc. The rules for advancing industrial credit being the same for all categories of indus-

tries—whether big or small—the latter are at a disadvantage to qualify for eligibility and are treated as non-creditworthy since they have no land or buildings of their own to offer for hypothecation. Consequently, the big industries get more than a fair share of credit and thrive at the cost of the small industries.

Under the State Aid to Industries Act, the Board of Industries, West Bengal, advances them loans up to a maximum of Rs. 1 lakh, mainly for capital outlay but partly also as working capital. The inordinate delay, however, in getting loan applications sanctioned—usually it takes two or four years—quite often makes the loan useless for the purpose for which it was applied.

Secondly, a far larger part of their working capital is getting blocked up, affecting production and payment of wages, because their customers, the big industrial concerns, would not clear their bills before six to twelve months while formerly they used to do so in three months.

The third factor is the sharp rise in the prices of raw materials, particularly after devaluation. Aluminium, an important raw material, is an instance in point. The price of aluminium, as quoted by Hindusthan Aluminium—a Birla firm—went up by a thousand rupees per metric tonne during the first two weeks of April.

Then there is the difficulty in getting raw materials quickly and in the required quantities. A Memorandum submitted by the FSMI to the now dissolved Lahiri Commission of Inquiry states: "The quota given to this State in either imported or indigenous scarce materials is neither adequate nor fixed on any rational basis." It is argued that "small-scale industries account for at least one-third of the country's industrial production" and therefore "they should get at least one-third of controlled raw materials", their requirements being "assessed on the installed capacity basis rather than on past performance basis."

Remedial Measures

Remedial measures suggested by the spokesmen of the FASI and FSMI include: (1) Opening of

Central and State Purchasing organizations through which Government orders should be funnelled to the small-scale industries; (2) Relaxation of rules for advancing industrial credit; (3) Reservation of spheres of production and earmarking a certain percentage of specified items exclusively for the small industries; and (4) Direct allocation of import licences to them.

To this one could add extension of non-financial facilities by official agencies like the CSIO and the network of Small Industries Service Institutes by way of technical assistance for improving the efficiency of the units; training in better techniques of production and methods of operation, proper management, cost control, etc.

It is emphasized by the small-scale manufacturers that a permanent solution of their problem will be possible only if industrial development is planned in perspective and development programmes are properly phased. As specific measures it is suggested that the supply of equipment for railway track-laying for the Haldia project should be reserved for the small engineering firms in West Bengal. Petro-Chemical and Electronics complexes should also be developed so as to bring West Bengal at par with Maharashtra.

After Independence

The origin and growth of the engineering industry in West Bengal has a history all its own. Due to the fact that the British colonialists first settled in Calcutta as also to the geographical and locational facilities including proximity to the coal and iron belt, the engineering industry made rapid headway in the State in a comparatively short time. It may be mentioned

in this connexion, that 75 per cent of the total purchase of railway equipment used to be made in the Calcutta Industrial area, providing it with a permanent and stable market.

After independence, however, the engineering industry began to grow in other States as well. A large number of small engineering units sprang up in Maharashtra, Punjab and Madras, claiming more than proportionate shares in the Railways' orders. If the cut in the Railways' development budget be restored, or even if the budget provision be increased, West Bengal can never regain the near-monopoly position it once enjoyed.

It has been observed that while Maharashtra leads in the relative percentage of small industry output to total, with West Bengal coming second, the latter takes the first place in regard to small industries' share of fixed capital and employment.

The relative position of small industries in six major States is shown in the table below.

Weaknesses

But then the small-scale industrialist has to take his share of the blame. He is under constant pressure from the big and organized industries. The vertical growth of monopolies makes existence increasingly precarious for the 'small fry'. Yet his attitude does not change; it is no different from that of the big bourgeois. He would not think of taking labour—with whom he has more personal contact than the impersonal 'management' of a large industrial plant—into management as a partner, so that there may be a community of interest for the prosperity of the firm. Rather,

State	No. of Factories (In 000)	Fixed Capital (In crores)	Employ- ment (In 000)	Gross Output (Rs. Crores)
1. Maharashtra	8.1	502.2	819.2	1362.6
2. West Bengal	4.7	614.6	880.6	1224.4
3. Gujarat	4.2	242.9	384.9	512.0
4. Madras	6.1	186.4	347.1	475.3
5. Uttar Pradesh	2.8	251.0	317.9	381.3
6. Punjab	3.7	89.2	152.6	256.2

he would continue to squeeze the maximum out of labour, conceding the minimum that he must.

Take for instance the low labour productivity the small-scale engineering industry in West Bengal suffers from. Most of these units are working with old and worn-out machines, some as old as thirty, forty or even fifty years, that is, long after their value as assets has been wiped out by depreciation. In contrast, their counterparts in other States have started with latest machines and techniques of production. The worker is forced to work with such machinery, but the resultant low output is trotted out as an argument against conceding his demand for better wages. (West Bengal ranks seventh in the payment of industrial wages). The use of worn-out machinery is also responsible for the progressive deterioration in the quality of products which discourages orders to be placed in West Bengal.

Why do the small-scale manufacturers not replace their machinery? The stock argument is, they live a hand-to-mouth existence in which capital outlay for

expansion and modernization is just not possible. It is difficult to disprove this contention since it is still more difficult to prove it! A proper assessment of the financial stability and organizational ability of the small units is made difficult because of inadequate and incomplete basic information relating to input-output ratio; the proportion, if any, of profit ploughed back for reinvestment; overhead expenses; and the ratio of wages to gross profit.

The 4,700 units shown against West Bengal in the table above are all registered factories. In addition, there are some 25,000 unregistered units of varying sizes. As far as possible, they should be registered and brought under the purview of the Factories Directorate. As to the registered enterprises, few of them are corporate bodies, the majority being either partnership or proprietary concerns don't have to prepare balance sheets.

Conclusion

The crisis in the engineering industry in West Bengal is not an isolated phenomenon but a mani-

festation of the general economic crisis facing the country. Its roots are to be found in the economic philosophy of the ruling party (Congress) which has failed to carry out radical land reforms; brought about a fall in real wages, thus shrinking the internal market; made over the entire field of consumer industries and vital sectors of key industries to the indigenous monopolists and their foreign collaborators; resorted to heavy deficit financing, thereby setting off a runaway inflation which has curtailed the purchasing power of the people while heavily increased capital cost for development projects; and—last but not least—abjectly surrendered to the aid-giving, especially American, imperialists, mortgaging our economic freedom and endangering our political independence—in short, brought the country on the verge of disaster.

Nothing short of a frontal attack aimed at the reversal of the economic policies pursued by the Congress so far can solve the crisis or save the country. Ad hoc measures can at best be palliatives, at worst aggravators.

Discussion

CIA and Academic Freedom

C. N. CHITTA RANJAN

IT is rather difficult to accept Sri Aswini K. Ray as the final authority on the Central Intelligence Agency, its ramifications and the effect of its worldwide activities. Perhaps he is better informed than those who have necessarily to depend on published reports about the extent and nature of work of the network. Nevertheless, one must

Mainstream (April 29, 1967) carried Sri Aswini K. Ray's article on CIA and Academic Freedom, which was the starting point of the present discussion. Other contributions to this discussion will appear in the next issues of Mainstream.

be permitted to express doubt regarding the superiority of his scholarly investigation to that conducted on a more down-to-earth basis by the *Ramparts* magazine or the *New York Times*.

In his article (*Mainstream*, April 29) Sri Ray makes three points: first, that there is a "definite exaggeration" of the magnitude of CIA operations; second, that its effectiveness is "limited" and its usefulness to America's policy-makers "marginal"; and third, that the "so-called exposure" of CIA activities in the American Press is "a case of deliberate leak by the U.S. Administration."

Proceeding from these three

simplified but unsubstantiated propositions, Sri Ray does not have much difficulty in being shocked that these "so-called exposures" should have been taken seriously in this country, leading to certain institutions and individuals getting funds and other assistance from American Foundations and other enterprises coming under a sizeable cloud. He conjures up a grim threat to "academic freedom" and "intellectual integrity" in the present public criticism of such institutions and individuals.

It seems really unnecessary for us in India to argue heatedly about the usefulness or otherwise of the CIA and organiza-

tions financially tied to it to the policy-makers of America; this surely is a matter that can be safely left to the assessment of the U.S. Government and people, whose concern it is to decide whether billions of dollars have been poured down the drain and whether these activities have created more friends or enemies for their country. Neither the Government nor the people of the U.S.A. would seem to be in dire need of spirited defence by Indian scholars, however eminent. The only question that properly concerns us is the impact of CIA funds siphoned through various cover organisations on our own country. Here, apart from the bland statement that the magnitude of CIA operations is being exaggerated, Sri Ray has little by way of facts to offer to back his claim. In fact he practically concedes in his article that CIA dollars are very much in operation in India, but wants us to believe that this enormous flow of funds has little effect. One wishes this were true.

Deceptive Designations

Sri Ray is no doubt aware that, apart from various projects for which American Foundations connected with the CIA provide liberal grants through chosen individuals and institutions in this country, a substantial part of the PL 480 counterpart funds is at the disposal of American activists here. It is no secret that CIA agents and organisers have come into this country in large numbers, and their activities are directed by individuals working under deceptive designations in the U.S. Embassy in Delhi. Referring to the activities of one of the CIA-financed American Foundations a recent report had said: "The Asia Foundation has been godfather to a number of new institutes in such sensitive fields as the Press, mass communications, legislative and parliamentary affairs, and political, economic and sociological research." Specifically mentioned in the report were the Press Institute of India and the Institute of Mass Communication Research. (Sri Ray may note that the Press Institute of

India has decided to cancel its subvention from the CIA-financed Asia Foundation, instead of trying to defend it as Sri Ray would perhaps like it to do.)

All this should give an idea of the extent of operations envisaged for the CIA. Other reports have revealed that the CIA operates not only through many Foundations but also finances labour unions, newspaper groups, student bodies and the like.

Sri Ray is surely not naive enough to think or expect others to accept that activity of these dimensions not only in India but in almost all developing and under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America goes on without anything like a central purpose or direction?

It is possible that Sri Ray has inhibited himself in advance by deciding to deal with the CIA merely as an espionage organisation; for he takes the trouble to explain the meaning of espionage and says that this kind of activity has only two purposes—to gather information and influence policies—the second wholly dependent on the first. From this rather convenient premise he easily concludes that "it would be difficult to imagine" that "news" relating to India that has to be ferretted out "could be so much as to justify the creation of an organisation like the CIA and of such magnitude as it is said to be." These learned observations suffer from two fatal defects: first, it is nobody's case that the CIA, despite its name, is merely an espionage organisation; and secondly, the CIA was not created exclusively with India, Indian "news" and Indian scholars as Sri Ray's proposition appears to assume.

Expansionist Strategy

Espionage is no doubt a part, however small, of the CIA's work, but its main purpose clearly is subversion in a big way—to influence intellectuals, educationists, students, policy-makers, parliamentarians and such other vulnerable sections of the elite in all developing countries in furtherance of the global political and economic ambitions of the

USA. In countries like ours, where educators and research scholars feel intensely frustrated by the paucity of funds to deal with the immense problems of socio-economic growth, the American agency with unlimited dollars at its disposal, finds a most fertile field. Its aim is discreetly to place funds at the disposal of select institutions and individuals in order to create a climate favourable to the frankly expansionist strategy of the USA in the first place, and in the second to ensure availability of key individuals to put through whatever programmes the American authorities want to be carried out without themselves coming directly into the picture. That they have achieved some initial success is evident from the frequent trips abroad undertaken in recent years by certain individuals running certain institutions and sycophants firmly attached to them. These individuals are understandably the most vociferous in claiming that the US Administration is being unfairly maligned by critics of the CIA.

Mounting Criticism

Of course, as Sri Ray points out, it is quite possible that many of those who gain directly or indirectly from CIA assistance may not even be aware of the source of the funds they are using. To such individuals, who have no direct links with the sponsors of the various projects in which they happen to be working, frequent trips to the USA or Britain may appear unexceptionable. But even such individuals, who are counted among this country's "intellectuals", must have begun to entertain misgivings after the damaging disclosures in the American Press and the reports of mounting public criticism in the United States itself of the activities of the CIA. Indiscriminate attacks in public on all such individuals deriving benefit from CIA funds without being conscious of it should be deplored, no doubt. But then, once the extent and purposes of CIA activity, including the forms in which its funds are channelled to achieve its nefarious aims, have received such extensive publi-

city as they have, one would expect the intellectuals who unconsciously became part of the network to dissociate themselves or at least to discuss ways of countering its influence. Sri Ray merely says that the intellectuals concerned should not be dragged from their cloistered security to the marketplace, and leaves it at that. His theory that the CIA's activities are less harmful than their exposure is unconvincing, to say the least. The CIA is subjected to worldwide criticism—and even in the country whose interests it is supposed to be promoting—precisely because it undermines academic freedom and intellectual integrity by offering vulgar blandishments. The intellectuals who are still unable to resist such blandishments or to come out openly against such subtle interference with our educational and research institutions as well as with our newspapers and mass media and our public men, surely have little by way of “academic freedom” or “intellectual integrity” to lose. Their reputation may become mud, but it may be said with equal validity that the reputation was undeserved in the first place.

Sri Ray's theory that only

proven degenerates must be publicly criticized is rather strange in a democracy. If the Opposition acted on this theory in any democratic country, the Government of that country can get away with anything. In most cases what starts as a suspicion based on circumstantial evidence leads to unearthing of conclusive proof, though it is possible that in the process a few innocent men may suffer. Sri Ray draws a comforting analogy from criminal jurisprudence. Surely he is aware that in most cases the world over men are first arrested on suspicion and the police are given adequate time after the arrest to collect the necessary evidence. Trial is conducted on the basis of charges made. Punishment or acquittal comes only at the end of a long trial. It is conceivable that the very process of trial may create a wrong impression in the public mind about the person tried. Would Sri Ray suggest on this account that no trial should be held unless it is guaranteed in advance that it will end in punishment?

Sri Ray claims his article is no apologia for the CIA. It certainly is an apologia for those who want to gain from CIA funds but do not want to find fault with on the score.

customer. He is here, there and everywhere, and when the Raj Bhavan rollcall comes, *nowhere*. In his own way he seems to be working for J.P's partyless democracy. For, doesn't he make nonsense of party politics? As a man often changes his garments, yet remaining himself, even so a common legislator flits from party to party, belonging to none... He has the Gita touch of detachment, and the philosopher-prince of Dungarpur should have no grudge against him. The only difficulty is when uncommon things happen to the common legislator—intimidation, kidnapping and the like. The State has a duty to extend special protection to such vulnerable sections of society. In States where they hold the power balance, the occupational hazards of Independents and Common Legislators make them a human problem.

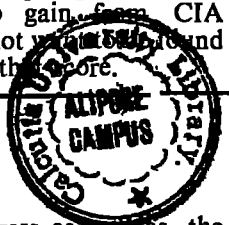
Identity Gap

If the United States has its credibility gap, we have our identity gap. The Fourth General Election was supposed to bring about a polarization of ideological forces in the country. It has done nothing of the kind. The country has been shaken up all right. But the earthquake has left the political landscape all blurred with most of the old landmarks gone. Where is the identity of the Left and the Right when ultra-revolutionaries and diehard reactionaries get together under the umbrella of non-Congressism? The dying Congress has infected the “emerging alternative” with that pernicious anaemia called pragmatism. The CP(M) at its recent Calcutta meeting wanted the Government to stop the import of PL-480 wheat *from next year*; in other words, it didn't mind the Government continuing the imports this year—a position which was unthinkable for the CP(M) six months ago. CPI has also in its National Council asked for ending dependence on food imports in the “shortest possible time.” The Jan Sangh also is changing. It is getting used to supping with the devil—and the spoon is not long enough for the comfort of Shudh Sanghis like Sri Upadhyaya.

—Backwoodsman

Scrapbook

Common Legislator



THE Maharawal of Dungarpur spoke like the Enlightened One. “We take a philosophic view of the whole things. Who knows the announcement may be a blessing in disguise. Only nature and the future will show.” Again he said, “what cannot be cured must be endured.”

The pity is that politicians turn philosophers only when they bite the dust in the rough and tumble. When the much-maligned Dr Sampurnanand first accepted Congress claim to form a government in Rajasthan, the gallant Maharawal did not speak with the Bodhi tree touch. He started the MLA march on Delhi while Maharani Gayatri Devi strode the stage like a queen of tragedy setting Jaipur hearts aflutter. President's Rule was declared

and the Congress as well as the Opposition had to carry on their manoeuvres in the wings. It was a close race with the fortunes of the rival forces shifting like the sands of Rajasthan. The Front men were cock-a-hoop for some days but Sri Mohanlal Sukhadia was quietly on the job, and had his way. Is his the last laugh, though? As the Maharawal said, it all depends on nature and the future. And hardly anything lasts in the desert State.

The problem in Rajasthan is what is called the ‘Common legislators’. This is a new addition to our expanding political terminology, and we are sure to come across more of this kind. Unlike the common man, the common legislator is a much-sought-after animal. But he is an elusive

TAGORE FOR TODAY

*On the ninth of May comes the birth anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore.
These lines from the Poet are appropriate even today, both at home and abroad.*

THE wriggling snakes foul the air around
With their poisonous breath.
Tender words of peace
Will sound like futile mockery.
And so
Before I depart
I send my call out to those
Who are preparing in every home
For the battle against the beasts in human shape.

●

GREED's hungry flames mount ever higher
As evil ego's appetite is fed;
The universe it demands as its victual.
Monstrous food mercilessly shames monstrous hunger—
And then, O Terrible, with terrific clash your thunder descends.

●

TODAY we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one
day shall be borne out the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed:
By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers
enemies, but perishes at the root.
The Great One comes,
Sending shivers across the dust of the Earth.
In the heavens sounds the trumpet,
In the world of man the drums of victory are beaten,
The hour has arrived for the great Birth.
Today the gates of night's fortress
Crumble into the dust.
On the crest of awakening dawn
Assurance of new life
Proclaims, "Fear Not."
The great sky resounds with peacans of victory
To the Coming of Man.

Spotlight on C.S.I.R.

P. K. NAIDU

A country may be backward in the present context of developments in science and technology not merely because it does not possess considerable wealth but also when it has no rational policies and fails to use the technical skills in an appropriate manner. It is well known that wherever personal whims decide policies instead of socio-economic factors, no nation can register progress. As long as governments and institutions fail to observe and check the activities of ambitious mediocres and let them climb the ladders of power by extra-academic practices, the future of such set-ups can hardly be bright.

Recently there has come out press reports about some impending shake-up in CSIR. The official contradiction to it has in a sense confirmed that the changes are in the offing. It was only six months ago that the Director Generalship of CSIR was taken up by the present incumbent. Several changes were introduced by the previous Director-General and they were meant mainly to give more initiative to scientists and reduce the weight of bureaucracy. It appears that now there is a reversal of that policy. It might be necessary to review and specify the role of administration and that of the Secretary CSIR particularly, in the functioning of the CSIR Laboratories.

The present Director-General from the day he assumed office has been sceptic regarding such policies adopted till then. Dr. Atma Ram, the present Director General, is no doubt a competent scientist. But his tenure so far

has disappointed many of those who had welcomed his appointment. Dr. Atma Ram's total indifference to the question of how to mobilise in the national interest the large body of Indian scientists abroad (numbering 15 to 20,000) is in sharp contrast to not only his predecessor's approach to the subject but to that of the Prime Minister's as well: she has rightly expressed her concern at the serious Brain Drain that faces the nation.

A recent survey of the working conditions of scientists and research workers in the country—the first of its kind—shows that our scientists are very poorly paid. In this background, it is only a spirit of dedication that can inspire our scientists to devote themselves to their fields of research instead of being tempted away by the glittering lure from Big Business.

National Self-Reliance

It is this realisation that led Nehru to encourage initiative and independent thinking in many of the national laboratories under CSIR. And it was in the same spirit that Dr. Zahêr, the previous Director General of CSIR not only expanded the activities of the Council but pressed for the upgrading of the status of some of the organisations under it directly manned by the scientists. It was therefore no accident that when the call for self-reliance became a national demand, the CSIR scientists displayed their sense of patriotism by offering a whole lot of knowhow, much to the discomfiture of those who prefer to depend on foreign collaboration.

The need for initiative and independent thinking for scientists had long been the guiding principle of CSIR functioning.

The Third Reviewing Committee of the Council (1964) headed by Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar made the categorical statement: "The laboratories should be able to function almost autonomously within the general framework of policies of the Council and within the financial limits set, without day-to-day control from the headquarters." Under the present dispensation, however, this wholesome recommendation is being totally ignored. For every recruitment of staff, however minor, the Directors are now asked to get the clearance of the headquarters, which in effect means that of the Secretary. Papers and files are held up at the CSIR Secretariat for months, decisions are delayed or shelved. Even decisions on technical matters—which normally should not fall within the purview of the Secretariat—are now taken by the administrative authority, in many cases overriding the scientists. In some cases, the Director General does not even endorse; the Secretary's decision becomes final.

Normally the administrative staff (like Section Officers, Administrative Officers) belong to the headquarters and are liable to transfer by the Secretariat at the headquarters, the technical staff is supposed to be attached to a specific CSIR organisation, that is, directly under the Director of that organisation. Under the new regime, this position is being continuously violated, and the transfer and the threat of transfer of even the technical staff from one organisation to another has almost become the prerogative of the Secretariat, and in the final analysis of the Secretary.

How the administrative bosses treat the scientists is clear

This is the second article in the series. The first one appeared in last week's Mainstream (April 29, 1967)

from the way the policy with regard to permanency is followed. Although rules provide that eighty per cent of the posts and incumbents are to be made permanent within a period of three years, the administration seems to ignore such rules without any bother; in the CSIR there are many scientists who have been working as temporary incumbents for well over three years. In fact, this is sometimes used as a lever to expand the bossdom of the Secretariat authority.

There is a novel method of depriving the senior scientists of any post of authority. The Mudaliar Committee had observed: "The Director's post in one-third of the institutes has been held temporarily by a Deputy or Assistant Director.... An appointment of this sort attempts to give responsibility without authority.... At all events we recommend that appointments 'in-charge' should only be made as a last resort and should not normally last more than one year or at the most two years." In spite of this pointed criticism, the CSIR authorities continue to run many of its laboratories and Directorates with "Scientists-in-charge" who are de-facto Directors but without being given the designation or the formal status of a Director, and this continues for three, five or more years. The National Metallurgical Laboratory is being run by its Deputy Director (designated as Scientist-in-charge) due to the Director's long absence on an international assignment for over two years. Both the Industrial and Technical Museums of the CSIR are being run by "Curators-in-charge" and not by Directors. The four Technical Directorates are headed by Scientists-in-charge, and the Directors' posts have been kept vacant for years.

A measure of bureaucratic dominance of the CSIR can be had from the growing convention

that the Directors and the Senior scientists cannot under the new regime see the Director-General without making a formal appointment. They have to come through the Administrative Secretary of the Director General—a procedure unthinkable under the previous Directors General. No files, not even technical files, can go to the Director General without these being routed through the Secretary. Free communication between the Directors and the Director General has thus come almost to a halt.

A healthy convention in the CSIR was the regular convening of the conference of Directors, mainly for coordinating policies, for exchange of ideas and information and for strengthening the links between the Director General and the Directors: in fact, it was through such conferences and not through the assertion of bureaucratic supremacy that the past Director General had established their leadership. Strangely enough, no such conference has been called in the last eight months. It is conceivable that the Director General, and more specially the Secretary may be fighting shy of facing a conference of Directors whom they have ignored, bypassed or humiliated through many pettyfogging interferences and discourtesies.

The Head of a small unit overwhelmed with load of work without staff, requested the Director General to provide him with some helping hands. The Director General was convinced about his needs and passed on the papers to his administrative Secretary to help the officer. Instead of doing so, the Secretary reversed the decision of the Director-General and sent back the papers to the officer without providing him with the staff. It is not for nothing a press agency report has recently described the administrative Secretary as the CSIR "Chief".

The bureaucratic high-handedness of the CSIR authorities has at times crossed the bounds of normal countries. The executive councils of some of the Laboratories have been changed without any consultation with the

Directors of the Laboratories concerned. Even in some cases, the Chairmen have been changed without their knowing about it. Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar was recently dropped from the chairmanship of the executive council of the National Physical Laboratory without he being informed about it. And Dr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar is no outsider for the CSIR: his association with it has been of long standing.

The bureaucracy's interference with the scientist's position could be seen in another respect. New rules have been framed which will prevent scientists in the CSIR laboratories to undertake consultancy work in their individual capacity, but only in the name of the institution. On the face of it, this seems to be an innocuous measure, but it is meant mainly to curb the initiative of individual scientists.

A more dangerous decision, recently taken, is with regard to patents. Under it, all new patents have to be taken out only on the advice of the scientific subcommittee of the Laboratory concerned. Some of the Directors have rightly pointed out that an invention cannot be disclosed under the fundamental rules, to anybody other than the Ministry in charge of the research laboratory; and it is risky to place the patent application before a scientific subcommittee which has representatives of private sector industries among its members who may be directly interested in such patents themselves.

It is only one-and-half years since a decision was taken by the Governing Body of the CSIR (presided over by the Prime Minister) on the recommendation of the Mudaliar Committee, to upgrade some of the organizations in the CSIR. Press reports have now come out saying that some of these organisations are either being wound up or merged with others, thereby making them ineffective. The story of this move centring round what have come to be known as the Nihar Ray Committee recommendations will be taken up in the next instalment of this article.

(To be continued Next Week).

Next Week

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON KASHMIR



Vithoba, Vithoba—How Long?

by G. N. Acharya

A Laboratory of Social Changes

M. S. N. MENON

INDIA has no love for Africa, and Africa has no love for India—this was the conclusion that emerged after the four-day Seminar on "Recent Develop-

Has India a clear policy towards Africa? No. This was what emerged at the Seminar. This is not the idle opinion of amateurs, but of experts who had spent years on the study of African developments and actually visited different parts of Africa for closer observation. It was surprising therefore that there was no representative of the External Affairs Ministry at the Seminar though the External Affairs Ministry is supposed to have a few experts on Africa. This indifference is not accidental; it is part of the general indifference and lethargy of the EA Ministry. The N.R. Pillai Committee recommended the setting up of a school for IFS officers. Was this Seminar not an opportunity to the EA Ministry to send their men not only to profit from the discussion but, if possible, to correct false impressions on government policy?

It is against this background of indifference that we have to take into account the work of the Indian Council For Africa. It was suggested at the Seminar that India has established no dialogue with African intellectuals, and that it would be useful to have African academicians to participate in such Seminars. In reply it was pointed out that lack of foreign exchange is a big problem. Yet we find enough exchange to send delegations of MPs to Africa who were significant by their absence at the Seminar.

ments in Africa" held by the Indian Council For Africa (April 23-26). Perhaps this conclusion is a little dramatised, but nevertheless true.

Nehru's approach to Africa was coloured by his international idealism without taking into consideration the realities of Africa, and his successors not known for their interest in African affairs began the era of neglect. The name of Gandhi, Nehru, were household names at least among the African intellectuals, and Africa looked to India not only for inspiration but for practical assistance. This inspiration dried up after Nehru's death and there was no practical assistance forthcoming. Hence Africa's disenchantment with India. But it is also true that other forces were drawing Africa into the orbit of Europe and now this process is so well advanced that Afro-Asia is becoming a myth except for the cooperation in the UN between the two continents.

Is there a way to retrieve our position? Various suggestions came up, but it was felt that India could do so only by a practical policy. Slogans would not do. Our support to Africa on apartheid, for the independence of the remaining colonial pockets, or on the racial question—these it was felt did not impress the Africans. What they wanted was practical assistance in the economic field. But as our resources are limited, we should concentrate on special areas, just as the USA, Britain, France and others are doing.

India's failure in the socio-economic fields affected African thinking. Our compromise with the colonial political system led to a similar compromise in Africa. Our failure to sustain an indepen-

dent economy has led to a virtual invitation for an economic scramble in Africa. If India believes in developing an independent economy in order to make her political independence real, it must help Africa too to attain the same objective and organise world assistance with this purpose. The pull of Africa towards Europe in the economic and cultural fields is gaining momentum. This ultimately is neither good for Africa nor for the underdeveloped countries. The influence of the two Great Powers—the USA and USSR—in Africa is marginal. After an initial period of activity the USA has let the ex-colonial countries of Africa to determine the West's relations with Africa, and the USSR has yet to influence Africa for want of detailed knowledge of developments in the different states, leading to a confused perspective.

Africa is so weak and divided that it cannot do much to liberate the remaining colonial areas. As for South Africa, this will remain Africa's ultimate humiliation for a long time to come.

The African nationalist leaders failed when the test came of their honesty, integrity, ability and idealism. They also suffered from the built-in inhibitions of the political systems which were created during the colonial phase of Africa.

The military coups have become a part of African life. There is no solution to them though military administration is no substitute for civilian rule. The African military régimes are likely to last longer than elsewhere for the conditions which called for the coups cannot be altered in the short-run.

The African elite and bureaucracy have turned out to be

more corrupt and inefficient than elsewhere in the colonial world. There are no restraints on their excesses.

African societies remain tribal and politics is based on tribes and hence tribalism is perpetuated by the political, economic and other entrepreneurs who find the tribal system beneficial to themselves.

Though there is no external threat to the African continent, African nations build up armies, these are used to settle inter-state problems.

These are some of the major conclusions that emerged during the discussion on Africa.

In his paper on "Recent Developments in Africa" Dr. Anirudha Gupta deals with a wide field. He says that except in a few states like Algeria, Kenya and to some extent Ghana, there was hardly any revolutionary anti-colonial movement in Africa. Freedom came therefore through the "wind of change" policy of the colonialists. But freedom has been denied to those territories where colonial interests are the strongest.

However, freedom brought a quick change in the hopes and expectations of the Africans. They were able to see the possibilities of the future. New goals and values were created. Pan-africanism, African personality, African socialism, Negritude—these concepts tried to define the African position in the world as also to chart the future.

Disillusionment set in fast. During the last two years established regimes in 18 countries have been overthrown by the military or other political groups. This is as much true of French Africa as of British Africa.

The new African values were never defined clearly. African socialism appears in different forms. The UAR's socialist planning is nearly wrecked by population growth, while in some cases capitalist methods have proved more practical.

Pan-africanism remains a distant possibility. The dissension within the OAU, particularly on some of the most crucial issues like the Rhodesia crisis, only proves this. As the vision of

unity recedes, more inter-tribal and inter-state disputes and wars are flaring up.

Dr. Gupta feels that the present problems of Africa must be attributed to the fact that by accepting independence of individual nations, Africans compromised with the old colonial pattern, even though they were wedded to the Panafrican concept. He wonders "how the concept of national state took root in Africa in so brief a time" and finds the answer only in the lack of widely organised parties in Africa.

Another aspect of the African life today is that even though Africa has been given independence, the ex-colonial masters have not withdrawn from Africa. In fact, their presence both in the economic sphere and partly in the military sphere is becoming ever more dominant. The West's influence spreads through many other channels like newspapers, radio, TV, expatriate officers, banks, trading companies, etc.

Dr. Gupta says that the Africans "accepted the administrative structures, the economic complex and the divisions among the tribes, communities and regional groups as determined by the metropolitan powers," and that "the tribal factors have become more active in the politics of commonwealth Africa, than, say, in the French-speaking Africa."

Another weak aspect of Africa arises from its compromise with the kind of economy developed by the colonialists, particularly the single crop-economy.

Dr. Gupta does not feel that coups are engineered by the US, French, British or Chinese. "The evidence to support such views is fragmentary," he says.

Speaking of the elite of Africa, Dr. Gupta says that "The rootless foundation of the elites makes it a consuming class rather than productive; at the same time, it is they who have benefited most from the phase of colonial withdrawal." The rise of this class has given rise to social tensions, and a kind of dual character among leaders in order to please everyone.

Dr. S. P. Varma's paper on Nigeria is a case study. He says that "African political parties in general and Nigerian political parties in particular, like the proverbial ice-berg lay deeply embedded in, and bore the strong impact of a pre-colonial, autochthonous society. They started as a result of the joint endeavour of the traditional pattern of authority, the chiefs, on the one side and the newly emerging educated elite on the other."

Dr. Varma points out that Nigerian leaders tried to justify one-party rule as an "African form of democracy" based on tribal traditions of unanimity and consensus. However, he says "The fact that nationalism was regional rather than national and developed round the regional political parties, created a number of difficulties in the working of democracy at the centre." Nigeria had neither unanimity nor consensus.

Dr. Varma quotes Sir Alan Burns, a noted historian and administrator: "...there is no Nigerian nation, no Nigerian language...and no Nigerian tradition. The very name of Nigeria was invented by the British to describe a country inhabited by a medley of formerly warring tribes with no common cultures..."

What Nigerian federalism has meant in practice is exemplified by the fact that the North successfully defied all pressures from the South to change the law under which all the posts in the Northern region went either to the Northerners or to foreigners, there being a ban on the appointment of Southerners.

Manipulation of the census in favour of the North to give it a permanent preponderance at the Centre was another serious scandal which made federalism odious in the eyes of other regions.

Sri R. S. Rana in his paper on "Tribalism and Political Stability in Africa" contends that though tribalism is widespread in Africa it is not a major factor in creating instability. Tribalism evolved in different ways under the various European regimes—for example the British fostered tribalism and tribal chiefs, whereas

the French undermined the existing indigenous system. Thus when independence came, the tribal societies emerged in British-held territories whereas in French territories a more or less de-tribalised society emerged.

Sri Rana says that in Africa political power is all-important because only through political power can one control other factors. He observes; "In a developing country the state is the biggest employer and the group which controls the state controls the jobs, the scholarships, the industries, etc. Hence the instability in the new states is caused not so much by the tribal rivalries of the good old days as by the desire to control the economic benefits."

Sri K. R. Singh's paper on "North Africa: Policy-influencing Factors" is a study on Northern African problems in relation to the rest of Africa. He feels that the tendency to isolate North Africa is a false division. The North African scene is varied in its composition — there is absolute monarchy on the one hand and near-communist regimes, on the other.

North Africa, too, is not immune to military coups—Algeria, Sudan and Egypt are examples. But in North Africa there is a tendency to demilitarise their basis of power and to seek a civilian base for the maintenance of power.

North Africa, too, has its integration problems. In Sudan this is acute. If Sudan can settle this problem satisfactorily it may help the rest of Africa. Libya tried to solve its regional conflict by transforming its federal structure into a unitary one.

In the economic field, too, North Africa faces similar problems. The economic development pattern is different in each state—Libya has rejected socialism, while Algeria and Egypt are pioneers in socialist experiments. The Egyptians have gone in for central control and planning while the Algerians are experimenting with "self-management" of industries and farms on the Yugoslav model. The success of both will have great impact on the rest of Africa.

There is tribalism too in North Africa, religious differences as also social backwardness.

Though North Africa was the scene of violent conflicts with the colonial masters, it is no less near to its erstwhile masters. In fact this is so particularly with France.

If there is a tendency in Africa south of Sahara to Panafricanism; the Maghreb Union is designed for the purpose of uniting the Arabs.

Sri M. S. Agwani's paper on "Egypt's role in the African continent" is a special study. Egypt by its geographical position is a bridge joining Asia and Africa. Egypt had for long entertained the objective of political unification of the Nile Valley, that is union of Egypt and Sudan. But the new leaders have given up this objective in the hope that Sudan would not necessarily jeopardise Egyptian interests.

Egypt's interests, Sri Agwani identifies as 1) the Arab world, 2) the continent of Africa and 3) the Muslim world. He quotes Nasser on this: "It is not in vain that our country lies in the north-east of Africa, a position from which it overlooks the dark continent."

Egypt's Africa policy is motivated by three factors: (1) security, (2) pan-Arabism and (3) rivalry with Israel. Sri Agwani mentions four ways in which Egypt follows these objectives: (1) through pan-African conferences, (2) by granting political asylum, (3) through al-Azhar and Islamic Missionaries and lastly through the radio and press.

Dr. Vijay Sen Budhraj's paper on South-West Africa is a special study of its history. It reveals that "Britain and France are mainly responsible for shielding South Africa from both the United Nations and the independent African states." He concludes that "so far as the United Nations is concerned at the moment it appears to be incapable of breaking the white bastion, both from the financial and military points of view. The Organisation of African Unity, evidently, is too small and weak a body to undertake this task."

Southern Africa is the stronghold of white reaction and colo-

nialism. The paper by Vanita Sabikhi deals with this area. Southern Africa comprises South Africa, SW Africa, Rhodesia, Portuguese Africa and the small British territories in the region. Here prosperity of the whites goes hand in hand with the utter poverty and degradation of the blacks. The study confines itself to existing realities and does not peep into the future of the region.

Militarism threatens to jeopardise the future of Africa. Thus the case study by Sri D. P. Singh on "Militarism in West Africa" is an important contribution. Sri Singh admits that "Militarism is gradually becoming a fact of life in tropical Africa." He examines both the conditions which generate these military coups and the men behind them. He says "The causes for these military interventions vary from state to state. Broadly speaking, they include the denial of civil liberties and civil rights, the lack of faith in neutralism in foreign policy, corruption and profligacy, failure of the politicians to keep law and order, the alienation of the important political and tribal groups, failure to develop the country economically."

On the political characteristics of the African officer corps, Sri Singh says that three characteristics can be seen: their newness, their dependence on foreign support and lack of clearly established roles and goals.

Sri Singh feels that Africa is doomed to military interventions and that there is no short-term solution. "Democracy as it is understood in the West does not offer much in the way of a solution". He adduces this to the fact that "in the African context, a political system that gives the government to some groups and relegates others to the opposition is inappropriate. In Africa's plural societies only coalition governments can convince all the tribes that the government is legitimate."

Sri K. S. Jawatkar's paper was on the problem of Southern Rhodesia. He examines its history, but does not examine the future.

(To be concluded next week)

Crisis Averted

THE Anti-Party Group of the Rajas and the Municipal Vice-President who joined them met in the Kitchen to pledge support anew to the Prime Minister who stood imperiously beside the stove, stirring coffee.

'Of course,' said the Municipal Vice-President, 'it isn't the Party that's done the trick. It's the Prime Minister's personality.'

'And our own personalities,' added the Raja for Defections.

'True, my princes,' said the Prime Minister.

She had a way of calling them her princes, though they weren't all of them that, because the Municipal Vice-President who joined them was just a businessman-alpinist who had applied socialism to high altitude climbing.

'But,' continued the Prime Minister, more to herself, 'supposing someone took over this stove?'

There was a hush.

'Keep such thoughts away,' said the Anti-Party Group of the Rajas and the Municipal Vice-President who joined them, gathering courage. 'How such a thing happen!'

'It can't happen,' said the Municipal Vice-President, 'because the country is behind you.'

'I never said it isn't,' said the Prime Minister, 'I know it is behind me, and I get that queer feeling so often that I keep glancing over my shoulder.'

'Keep it up,' said the Raja for Tourism.

'I can always ask my brother to do your portrait,' offered the Municipal Vice-President. 'A real image-projector like the LBJ portrait.'

'I suppose that would be all right,' said the Prime Minister. 'The national situation warrants such a dramatic move.'

'Shall the portrait be sentimental like Snowwhite?' they wondered, 'Or winning like Goldilocks?'

'Dopes!' flushed the Prime Minister, 'can't you think of anything more sensible?'

'Okay,' said the Municipal Vice-President 'how about leaving it to my brother? He'd do you in the abstract.'

'Well,' said the Prime Minister, 'I suppose that would bring out my pragmatism.'

'Pragma wrapped in an enigma,' said the Raja for Defections, waxing poetic.

'No,' said the Prime Minister, cutting him short. 'Pragma wrapped in a pink coat. And let me be shown on the stamps of the nation. The stamps are stuffy and dull at the moment.'

'And we must distribute this stamp free in Bihar,' said the Raja for Philately, 'though not under the Opposition's Famine Code, but under a Central Decree of Plenty.'

'And there should be better tapestry at all the airports,' said the Prime Minister. 'I pointed this out months ago at Palam where the curtains are all drab and threaten to place my pragmatism in grave jeopardy.'

'We ought to encourage the people of Bihar to think in terms better curtains,' said the Raja for Tourism. 'I could always get them some rare tapestry from Kashmir, which would also vindicate the secular ideals of the country.'

'Not a bad idea,' said the Municipal Vice-President. 'And my brother could design murals, which would help the Biharis understand death existentially.'

'The stamps would pave the way for all this,' said the Prime Minister.

The conference was interrupted by a sudden rumble that grew out beneath the window.

'Something's crossing the floor!' screamed the Prime Minister hysterically.

'A mouse?' cried the Anti-Party Group of the Rajas and the Municipal Vice-President who joined them, getting up to look under the table.

'No,' sobbed the Prime Minister, 'something over there. Look out, you dopes.'

They looked. And a dismal hush descended on them. Out on the road a dozen road rollers were pulling up.

They said in muted-whispers, 'A takeover?'

The Raja for Defections walked over to where the Prime Minister stood clutching the stove that was the symbol of power.

'Defect,' said he. 'Defect while the going is good!'

'Et tu Brute?' recited the Prime Minister, the sense of imminent doom stinging her alive into the old middle school tragedienne.

'Go,' said the Raja for Defections. 'Go sell your story to *Sterne and Life*. Sell them *The Death of a Socialism!*'

'Noncno!' moaned the Prime Minister. 'It's no use. The Party President will move the American courts and get a ban on the publication.'

Meanwhile the Municipal Vice-President had gone out to the road rollers in a great act of daring. Presently he was back, wreathed in smiles.

'I breasted the crisis,' said he. 'I caught it by the forelock, hit it on the head while the iron was hot and made hay while the sun shone.'

'Good gracious!' said the Rajas. 'What means this Parnasian spout?'

'That I've solved the crisis,' said the Municipal Vice-President. Dramatically, he pulled out a scroll of paper from his pocket. It was a signed pledge by the six drivers of the road rollers that the Public Works Department would accept the supremacy of civil authority and abide by parliamentary institutions!

'God!' said the Prime Minister, her eyes wide with wonder.

'Forget about *Sterne and Life*,' said the Raja for Defections. 'Stay.'

—Charvaka

Experimentalism in Punjabi Literature

AMARJIT SINGH

THESE days a lively discussion is going on in Punjabi literary circles about experimentalism. The movement cannot just be brushed aside as a carbon copy of the Western literary movements. In fact, the dim outlines of this movement were discernible in post-Amrita-Mohan Singh literature. The outlines were the reflections of a disenchantment, which in turn was the product of a life of a long period of tension.

The movement is indicative of the denouement of the sectarian concept of socialism which was the guideline of Punjabi literature in the post-independence period. The movement of experimentalism arouses a feeling of nostalgia for those by-gone days of enthusiastic exuberance.

The effort to revive that period is a mirage. If at all this movement is revived it would definitely have undergone many changes which would be in the form of adjustment of the movement to the changed circumstances. How far this movement takes root in the changed circumstances and is able to tackle the challenge posed by the new circumstances will be made clear in course of time.

The experimental movement was started as an anti-progressive literature but later this was sought to be diluted. But basically the undercurrent of opposition to the socialistic realism remained as an undeclared aim of the movement.

The middle class intelligentsia has, on one side, turned away from the progressive ideas and has adopted, on the other side, a cynical attitude in place of the idealistic attitude of the heydays of the progressive movement. The revolutionary fervour has given place to the seclusion and isolation from the society and, the writer having made his own inner freedom subservient to the prevalent social system has tried to take advantage of the

opportunities offered by Governmental plans to enrich himself. In plain terms it can be said that the Punjabi intelligentsia has accepted the idea of 'status quo'. The 'elite' which is the upholder of cynicism and the acceptance of 'status quo', seems to be keen on going about in the field of Punjabi literature with the medal of 'experimentalism' on its chest.

The appearance of such an attitude is a warning to these sections of intelligentsia that consider literature as a constructive human activity and do not wish to succumb to the first rush of such a tendency. Though literature is not a reckonable force in today's Punjab as it used to be in the days of *Bhakti* movement still it contributes somewhat to the intellectual development of the literate sections of the society.

The literature which is being created under the impact of experimentalism is not so much inspired by the modern national consciousness as by the modern Western trends. The best example of this type of literature is provided by those epigrammatic quips which jolt the reader but have no roots in the national phenomenon.

Therefore, the critics of this movement are tempted to term it as a mere stunt, an artificially imagined modernism or a product of the blind acceptance of Western literary modes. Because this movement is likely to bring in an artificial hybridization of Western literary tradition with the national literary tradition and is likely to attract talents because of its novelty, therefore it is imperative that the movement is evaluated at this stage so that it may be incorporated in the wider national literary tradition without letting it dissipate the intellectual energy of the nation.

The borrowings of the experimentalism from Western literature underline the differences between the two types of civilisations which are the sources of two

literatures. The trends which dominate Western literature are indicative of the decline and decay of that stagnant social system. In India anti-colonialism gave direction to the sensitivity born out of colonial and rising capitalistic trends. In the changed circumstances the anti-colonial bias has got dimmed and thus the decline or stagnation in the progressive literature set in.

This does not mean that the progressive forces should become the camp-followers of the middle class ideology. Experimentalism with all the thrown away crumbs of Western literature has a glamour value for our young intellectuals but it has no right to the leadership of our literature.

The reorganisation of the progressive movement is a source of danger to these 'experimental modernists'. If it had been a movement which grew out of national tradition then there would not have been any cause to be worried about the character of the movement but as it is the modernity is inspired by second-hand commodities of the West and they are trying to make it a movement of the middle class values.

Therefore in this situation the aim of the revived progressive movement should be such that the anti-progressive challenge of the so-called modernity should be met on its own ground. This aim cannot be achieved at a mere organisational level but at the literary level. The superiority of the ideology alone will not help in achieving this aim; instead the creation of superior art is the only way which would bring out the true contours of the modern progressive movement.

The urgent need is that the possibilities of the socialist realism be understood in the changed circumstances. The so-called 'modernity' has to be challenged in its own field.

Learning to Write for Children

AN adult gets nostalgic in the world of children where colours run riot, summer never ends, sea-farers sail beyond the horizon, the princes fight giants to free the princesses, boy adventurer loses his track in the woods and enjoys every moment of it. Children's books from 36 countries, numbering about 3500, go to make this colourful exhibition organised by the Children's Book Trust, New Delhi—a real treat for all.

One thing stands out in the whole show that children all over the world belong to one big community, untrammelled by tensions or cold wars.

That is why Huckleberry Finn has appeared in Russian translation, Carroll's Alice is among the Rumanian children, Marco Polo in Yugoslavia, and the Kindnapped of R.L. Stevenson finds avid readers among Greek boys and girls.

The exhibition amply proves that Europe has taken up the world of children very seriously. Books, particularly from France, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Federal Republic of Germany, USSR, USA, UK, Bulgaria, show most enviable excellence in production. Illustrations, lay-out and the material used reveal that the best minds, best craftsmanship and lively imagination are behind these volumes.

Books from the East in general, and from India in particular, save only a very few publications here and there, look pedestrian. They betray a lack of respect for the children's intelligence and imagination, as pointed out by Sri K. Shankar Pillai at the filan plenary session of the seminar on Children's Book Production.

Sri Pillai said that contrary to the adult notion, the child had more clarity of vision and understanding, more virile imagination than the average adult. It is preposterous for the grown-ups to approach the child with a pontifical air and a tendency to pat him on then head.

Precisely, the juvenile literature and production of child-

ren's books in India suffer from this lack of respect for the child. The Children's Books Trust deserves our thanks for organising such an exhibition which I see as a corrective to the adult thinking in this country.

The seminar organised by the Trust, devoted two and half days to the problem of book production for the children. The writers, teachers, librarians and publishers who participated in the production part of the problem. A little time should have been spent on the writers' problems and the readers' needs as far as the content of the book is concerned. After all, the illustrations and good printing are not the whole of the book. A child's mind and the writers' capacity to get near him, which is very rare, is the main problem. The rest would follow if men in book trade do a bit of thinking, be less mercenary, keep close contact with the writers and artists, and are more organised than now.

This does not mean that the seminar is wasted. It was badly needed. It has been a gratifying experience to attend the seminar, listening to the grown-ups taking seriously, deliberating painstakingly about the problem of bringing out better books for our children. It was taken up on a national scale and some constructive recommendations have been made by way of encouraging our juvenile readers.

COMMUNICATIONS (Continued from page 4)

colossal and, ever-growing problems, progress can only come when every single individual identifies himself with the national efforts. Such an identification can manifest itself only when every one sees a tangible, feasible social goal in which he is an equal partner and beneficiary. Then alone can the massive reserves of the people's will and power be released to carry the country forward.

The next five years and the decade to follow offer an unpara-

The participants envisaged an all-India Children's book council with regional councils in all the States to encourage the preparation, production, promotion, distribution and improvement of the standard of books for children. They unanimously held that the Union and State Governments should give grants subsidies, and interest-free loans to publishers and writers of children's books.

Significantly, the problem of "how to ensure availability of good writers and illustrations of children's books" did not receive the serious attention it deserves. The answer to this problem can be found only when our writers and artists come out of their adult-shell and take the child by the hand and run with him to the sun. The trouble is, most of the writers' love for children ultimately boils down to part-time writing for them.

Sri D.R. Kalia, Director of Delhi Public Library, pointed out the menace of children's addiction to comics, particularly to horror comics, in his working papers. He said that the morbid popularity of comics among our folks was not merely a modern vogue, it also betrayed the sad dearth of children's literature in this country. So the long and short of the story is the writer, a conscientious sensitive writer and his young reader.

But this dialogue between different groups of adults engaged in juvenile book trade is undoubtedly a beginning. Perhaps we woke up to the situation in and time it is never too late.

—Shanto Dutta

lled challenge and opportunity to all true, enlightened and progressive Indians in concert to save the country and take it to the high crest of victory.

The choice is ours, the decision is ours.

I know that a call for unity of the progressive forces has been made by a number of people and organisations. The value of this appeal is that it comes even from one who has not been in active politics.

—Som Benegal

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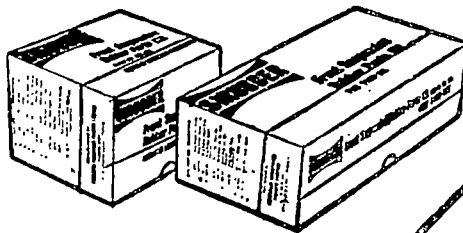
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PRESIDENTIAL
AND AFTER

Mainstream

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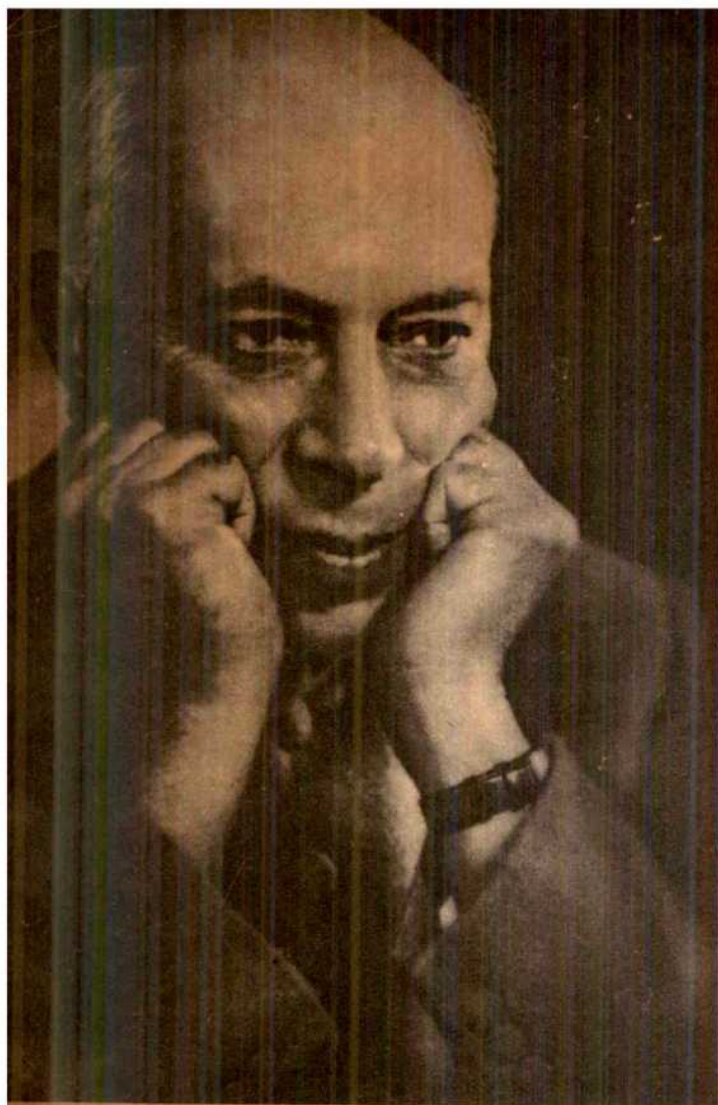
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VITHOBA, VITHOBA HOW LONG?

AN ESSAY ON HORSES, GODS AND HUMANS.



KASHMIR SUPPLEMENT



OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

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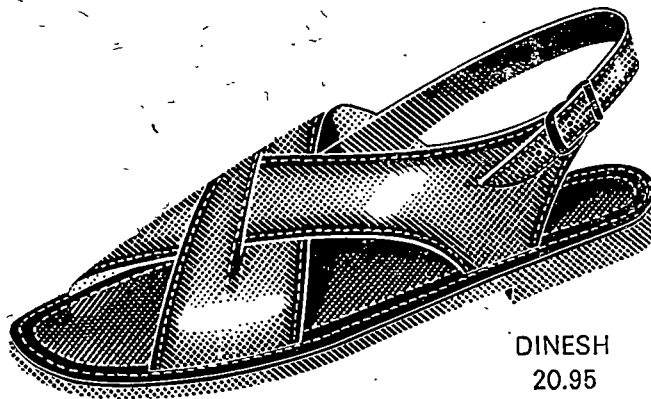
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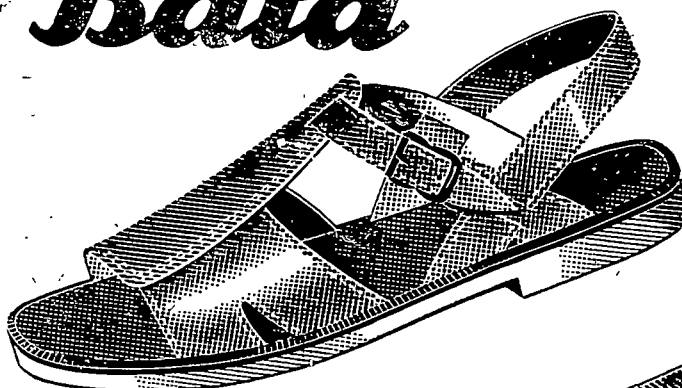
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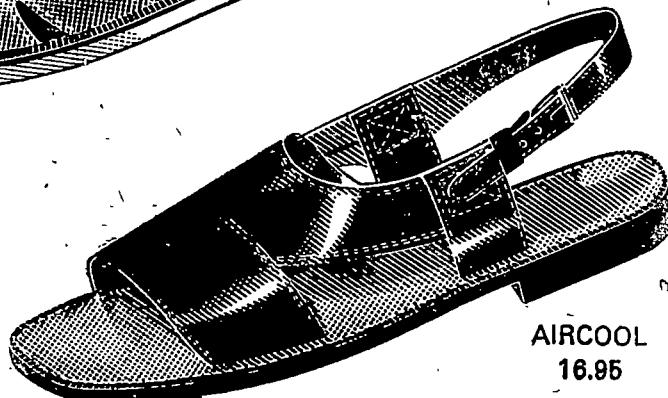


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Kashmir Marches Ahead

The following are some concrete achievements made by the State of Jammu and Kashmir in various spheres of social and economic reconstruction:

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2. Per capita income of the State at 1950-51 price level has risen from Rs. 188 to Rs. 279 in 1965-66.
3. Average life expectancy has increased from 32 years to 47 years between 1951-61.
4. A record revenue of Rs. 4.10 crores was realised in 1964-65 from the forests as against Rs. 0.28 lakhs obtaining in 1947.
5. The First and Second Five Year Plans were completed at a cost of Rs. 11.52 crores and Rs. 25.95 crores respectively. The Third Five Year Plan was of the order of Rs. 75 crores. As a result of the Five Year Plans, 33,569 additional jobs were created. The Fourth Plan of the State has an outlay of nearly Rs. 126 crores.
6. On the eve of independence the supply of power in the State was 4.36 MWS. It has now risen to 36.52 MWS and as many as 743 villages have been electrified.
7. Education from Kindergarten to the University standard has been made free. The number of all types of educational institutions in the State has risen from 1,663 to 6,862 and the number of scholars from 1,02,500 to 5,14,400.
8. In recent years professional colleges and institutions such as a Medical College, and an Engineering College, two Agricultural Colleges, two Polytechnics and seven Industrial Training Institutions have been established.
9. Per capita expenditure on public health has risen from Rs. 0.37 in 1947 to Rs. 4.30 in 1964-65. Free Medical aid is provided to the people.
10. A new programme has been launched recently to increase agricultural production by using high-yielding varieties of seed in an area of about 79 thousand acres. The implementation of the programme will give the State 30,750 metric tons of foodgrains valued at Rs. Two crores.

PRESIDENTIAL AND AFTER

IN the heat of electioneering which preceded the Presidential contest, much was said, especially by some Opposition spokesmen and their sympathisers, about the "powers" and prerogatives of the President of India. There was even talk of an "independent" President with "a mind of his own"—presumably free to exercise that mind as the fancy took him. No doubt the debate will continue but at least it will hereafter be free from the exigencies of contest which inevitably preclude cool and clear-headed thinking over the long-term implications of particular stances.

While the Prime Minister and her colleagues, in their anxiety to save personal prestige, did much harm to the high office by going out of their way to drag in "secularism" and impart to the democratic contest unwarranted and unfortunate communal overtones, some of the Opposition parties equally contributed to distorting the image of the President by ascribing to the office all kinds of powers which in practice would make the constitutional President a dictator of sorts who could brush aside the Council of Ministers and even the sovereign Parliament at will. Some of the Opposition parties no doubt adopted this line of propaganda deliberately in the expectation that when the need arose they could make use of the President—if he allowed himself to be so used—to serve their own ends. The attitude of the others can only be described as unthinking acceptance of a novel theory without comprehending its full implications for the future of democracy in this country.

The limitations placed on the powers of the President are meant precisely to ensure that there is no attempt to tamper with democratic processes and functioning even when the incumbent happens to be a "strong" man with sufficient support in the right places to enable him to assume total control in something akin to a coup. Mercifully such a prospect is distant enough, but it would certainly be risky to encourage illusions of power and grandeur in any occupant of Rashtrapati Bhavan. It is obviously the duty of parties and individuals pledged to democracy to counter such ideas effectively and

prevent them from gaining ground.

It is equally the duty of all democratic parties to undo the mischief done by certain sections of the Opposition taking advantage of the religion of one of the contestants for Presidentship. No party which pits itself against a Muslim because he is a Muslim has the right to claim to be a democratic party, and those who genuinely subscribe to democratic and socialist ideals cannot both be honest and associate themselves with such a party. Unless it is fully recognized on all hands that the person elected to the highest office in the land is there by virtue solely of being a respected citizen of India and that his religious and other beliefs have nothing to do with it, the forces of darkness are bound to find fertile ground for subversion of democracy.

The President, then, is a person chosen to head the nation and therefore above and beyond the contending political parties. His position is that of adviser and mentor to the Council of Ministers which happens to be in office for the time being. In his actions under the Constitution he will of course be guided by the Council of Ministers who are answerable to Parliament; he cannot in normal times overrule them. At the same time, his position and his non-partisan attitude to national problems should enable him to offer constructive suggestions, especially when he feels that the party or parties in power are acting unjustly or against the overall national interest.

This is the kind of role Dr Radhakrishnan endeavoured to play, especially after Jawaharlal Nehru's death. When he rightly spoke in public of the ideals which those in power should constantly keep before themselves and of the shortcomings in administration which were causing avoidable hardships to the common people, those in power resented it, believing that the President was adding to their troubles by finding fault with them for acts of omission and commission. Perhaps such criticism was meant, too, but the main purpose was evidently to warn the people and their elected rulers against deviation from national ideals: such timely admonition from the Head of State is

not only unexceptionable but necessary if its ultimate purpose is to keep the nation to its moorings. It is significant that with the exception of the actual wielders of power the whole country welcomed such criticism from Dr Radhakrishnan. Dr Zakir Husain should continue the tradition, keeping in view the national dedication to the goal of a socialist State and the need for preservation of national self-respect which certain sections of politicians and their patrons are constantly trying to mortgage to foreign powers.

Dr Zakir Husain assumes office in a difficult situation, and this fact places upon him certain onerous responsibilities. The Congress holds power with a small majority at the Centre and runs the Government in some of the States, while non-Congress Governments, some Leftist, some nondescript and some Rightist, are in office in a number of States. There is already ample evidence of developing friction between the Centre and the States, and at least in the case of States with Leftist Governments attempts by the Centre to force open conflict cannot be ruled out. There is a whole range of delicate problems over which conflict and contradictions may develop more sharply than before in the coming period. Distribution of food, language, curbing of monopolies, nationalization and removal of inter-regional imbalances in economic development are some of them. Apart from these, there will be the attempts by big business, communal vested interests and agents of foreign powers

and capital to bring down progressive State Governments. These forces have friends in the Union Government and elsewhere, and are capable of mustering large-scale resources for the purpose of subverting democracy in the name of democracy.

The President may, if he so chooses, be no more than an ornament; but he can also utilize the tremendous prestige attached to his office to smooth out difficulties between Central and State Governments and also by gentle but persistent persuasion make the Government remember national ideals as well as its own pledges to the people and act accordingly. The prestige of the office in the future will depend upon the capacity of the incumbent to rise above partisan considerations and the desire to keep the Government in good humour. To some extent the outgoing President has set standards; but the new President faces a situation which his predecessor did not, except in the last three months in office. Dr Zakir Husain in fact faces a challenge: he can either be a cementing force who will keep democracy intact by helping iron out differences at the highest levels of Central and State administration, keeping the social goals laid down in the Directive Principles constantly before them, or an amenable, goody-goody person whom the ruling party or parties can use to further their partisan interests at the cost of the people.

The choice is entirely yours, Mr President.

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Radhakrishnan

WITH the exit of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan from Rashtrapati Bhavan this week, one more precious link with the Nehru era of modern Indian history has snapped. And with it have disappeared some of the grace, nobility and moral authority that the highest office in the land possessed in the last seventeen years.

Dr Radhakrishnan has been a great President, and his successor will not find it easy to live up to the high traditions he has established. Ever conscious of his limits as the constitutional Head of State, Dr Radhakrishnan nevertheless found it possible to praise, warn or admonish the elected rulers as occasion warranted, his one concern throughout being that the basic democratic values cherished by the nation should not be lost sight of in the mad scramble for power, that the supreme task of making the life of the common man fulsome and purposeful should not be neglected due to preoccupation with self-aggrandisement, that India's duty of contributing to the furtherance of world peace and human equality should not be sacrificed for appeasing ambitious Powers seeking world domination.

Jawaharlal Nehru chose him first to be our ambassador in Moscow, then Vice-President, and finally President. The choice was based not only on Dr Radhakrishnan's established worldwide reputation as a humanist philosopher but also on his abiding faith in humanity, his receptivity to new and modern ideas, his capacity to relate the postulates of high philosophy to the grim reality of modern life for the millions, his deep compassion for fellow-men, and, most important, his intellectual detachment which has enabled him to be above and beyond contending political parties and ideologies.

Dr Radhakrishnan was inducted into the high

office full of years and honours, but the wisdom of Jawaharlal's choice became fully evident after the latter's death when the nation stood in need of a non-partisan critic and mentor who would not hesitate to point to the follies of the ruling party as well as of the Opposition and who would at all times keep before the people the goals of equality, social justice and peace on earth. The lesser mortals who succeeded Nehru in the seats of power gained little from his sage counsel and words of caution; on the other hand, they decided to get rid of him and choose someone who would not dare to pull them up in public for their mistakes.

The nation will ever be grateful to Dr Radhakrishnan, not so much for his valuable contribution as cultural ambassador between East and West, but for the noble traditions he has established as India's President during the most critical years of her history. The people expect that the new President will endeavour constantly to live up to those traditions which call for wisdom and moral courage of a high order. If this is not done, the office of President will be reduced to a mere ornament which in course of time will cease to be of much interest.

Mainstream joins the millions in the country in expressing profound gratitude to the outgoing President who along with Jawaharlal Nehru raised the stature of India in the world and spelt out the fundamental values evolved by this nation over long centuries. We wish him a long life so that he may continue to perform with undiminished vigour and forthrightness his prime duty of constantly reminding the people and the rulers of this country of the need for steady and unfaltering progress towards the creation of a society in which equality and mutual goodwill will no longer be the philosopher's dreams.

National Aims

When we speak of a free, classless society, we mean that we should not use other people as tools for implementing our desires. Democracy strives to provide all individuals with the wherewithal and opportunity for self-expression and development. Artificially imposed barriers should be removed and the opportunities for self-development of all individuals should not be restricted. Whatever they are capable of by their genius and ability, all individuals should be able to manifest. We have still the problem of the hungry, the neglected, the poor and the downtrodden. We should avoid the extremes of colossal affluence and grinding poverty; and whatever measures are necessary to bring about greater equality among our people should be attempted. We are attempting to bring about a revolution—economic and social—through consent and not through coercion.

—Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

SWATANTRA MANOEUVRES AND LEFT STRATEGY

WITH the Presidential election over, the time has arrived for sober, objective stock-taking by parties of the Left in the country. The paralysing euphoria induced by the historic results of the Fourth General Election has lasted long enough in all conscience. It is becoming increasingly clear that the kind of negative unity forged for the limited purpose of defeating the Congress at the polls, as also the alliances evolved in order to form "non-Congress" Governments in several States, cannot be effective in the coming period in translating the people's aspirations into legislative measures and executive action. The basis of the present Opposition unity is in fact much too fragile to withstand the unrelenting pressure of political developments in which the Right-wing parties and groups are seen to possess the initiative at the moment.

At the General Election the people certainly made it clear that they were fed-up with Congress rule; and since the professed goals of the party are largely unexceptionable, the popular verdict must be taken to reflect total dissatisfaction with implementation. The vote was an indictment of the Congress for its day-to-day policies and actions which resulted over the years in strengthening the monopoly business houses, further accentuating economic disparities, steadily increasing the prices of essential commodities including food, more and more facilities for the blackmarketeer and hoarder to flourish at the cost of the common people, fast dwindling capacity in the administration to ensure proper distribution of foodgrains all over the country leading to starvation and misery for millions, steady swelling of the backlog of unemployment, and, most important,

gradually eroding national self-respect and dignity by making the country more and more subservient to foreign Powers in return for calculated doses of food "aid".

Once the significance of the popular verdict is understood, the direction towards which the Leftist parties should set their faces becomes clear beyond doubt. While the Congress paid for its failures arising from the dominance in its higher echelons of agents of the vested interests, the Left has equally paid for its failure in the long period before the Fourth General Election to forge principled unity on the basis of a clear-cut socialist programme. The Leftist parties could form a Government with the least difficulty in only one State—Kerala. In West Bengal it was a much more difficult task, although the two Leftist United Fronts ultimately did form a coalition government under irresistible mass pressure. Elsewhere in the country, where non-Congress Governments are in power, the Leftist parties have had to combine with notorious Right wing and reactionary parties and groups to be able to form governments. The only exception is Madras, where electoral alliances enabled a single party to emerge with a big majority and form the Government on its own strength. And that party is not yet a definable entity in terms of politico-economic aims.

There was no doubt need for the formation of such disparate coalitions in order to prevent the Congress from taking advantage of Opposition disunity and clinging to power by offering inducements to win over vulnerable groups and individuals. But the formation of coalition Governments is surely not an end in itself, at least for the parties of

the Left. The question to be seriously considered by the progressive parties participating in various coalition governments in States is whether the people, in throwing out the Congress, voted for just any kind of change, or were consciously attempting to secure Governments more responsive to their needs and aspirations, mainly in economic terms.

Crucial Questions

The Leftist parties have now to ponder over the events of the last three months to see whether these have helped in any measure to take the people any nearer the goal of a clean administration dedicated solely to their socio-economic advance. The prime question to be answered is whether there has been in this period any positive sign of the beginnings of a qualitative change in the administration. Has the influence of Big Business houses been reduced at least in the States where the Leftists are either in power or are participating in Government? Is the hold of the Western lobby less in these States now than before?

Similarly, in the case of Parliament, where the combined Opposition is very much stronger in numbers than ever before and the progressive parties together constitute a substantial factor, it has to be considered whether the Leftist parties have played their cards as intelligently as the Rightist and reactionary parties have undoubtedly done. Has the Left in Parliament been able at least to forge unity strong enough to withstand the cold-blooded manoeuvres of the Swatantra-led Right wing to instal a "national government of talents" under the CR Formula?

So far as the States are concerned, there are happy indica-

tions that the two Leftist Governments of West Bengal and Kerala are aware of the social purpose for the achievement of which the people have installed them in the seats of power. There is at the same time a noticeable reluctance, even on the part of the Kerala Government, to take bold decisions which can enthuse the people and make them feel convinced that genuine democracy is at last here. It may be argued that they have been in power only for a short time, but then it must not be forgotten that they have been on trial from the very moment they assumed office and the people will judge them more strictly than they did the Congress regime. The reason is simple: despite the professions of the Congress it was known that a party with a steadily decreasing number of honest men and ever dependent on business houses and rich landlords could not be expected to carry out its promises. But the Leftist parties which, despite their many internecine quarrels, have been leading popular agitations and giving voice to mass discontent in the past are expected to show quick results, especially in respect of matters over which they themselves had been agitating in the not-so-distant past. Also, there is the danger that undue delay in taking firm decisions will enable the bureaucracy to take steps to discredit the political leadership in order to prevent possible erosion of its own entrenched position. In this attempt active assistance for these vested interests will no doubt be forthcoming from the rejected Congress bosses in the States concerned, as also from large-scale private capital which is far from happy over the fact of Leftists being in power even in two States.

Not Sacred

While in these two States the Leftist parties in power must maintain their unity as hitherto and introduce without delay measures which will have the effect of reducing economic disparities, bringing down prices to reasonable levels, increasing wages at lower levels and generally making the lives of the toiling masses more bearable, the pro-

gressive parties that have joined coalition governments in which they are not the dominant partners should cease to think merely in terms of keeping the Congress out of power. It is quite possible that if they try to force issues the Right-wing parties in the coalition may seek alliance with the Congress and establish a full-fledged Rightist government instead of an uneasy mixed coalition government. Such a prospect should not lead to meek acceptance by the Leftist parties of preservation of the status quo, for in such an event they will be surrendering to the Right wing in order to avoid having to hand over power to them completely. It is not difficult to see which is the right course and which is not: the Leftist parties have not accepted office merely to stay put in the seats of power like their predecessors. If a coalition government in any State refuses to implement policies which will bring relief to the people—like drastic land reforms, ceiling on urban income and assets, price fixation, etc.—the Leftists should quit the Government and leave it to the people to pronounce their verdict at the earliest opportunity. There is no special virtue in keeping a coalition in existence merely because it is “non-Congress.”

Initiative

In Parliament, the balance-sheet does not do much credit to the Left parties. They have virtually permitted the Swatantra Party to have the initiative on every major issue. This despite the Swatantra Party's refusal to vote at the outset for the no-confidence motion of which it was a co-sponsor. There has been effective Opposition unity in Parliament only where the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh, for their own purposes, were out to embarrass the Government. The Left has been unable—or perhaps reluctant—to take up issues which could have unmasked the reactionaries so that the identity between the Government and the Swatantra Party on many crucial issues could have been shown up. Even in respect of the Presidential contest, the Leftist

parties allowed themselves to be swamped by the Swatantra Party which had set its heart on Sri K. Subba Rao following the judgment relating to amendment of the Constitution in respect of Fundamental Rights. They did not press for a candidate of their own choice, and accepted the one that would suit the Right-wing best. In the case of the contest for Vice-Presidency, the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh were not pleased with the choice of Sri Habib, known to be a progressive; the choice was not challenged only because Sri Habib's defeat was never in doubt. In this context Sri Giri having obtained 40 votes from the Opposition is not without significance.

Task at Centre

There has been talk of a Leftist-led coalition Government at the Centre. It is difficult to see how this can be achieved with the present equations remaining unchanged. In the coming period the Left has to be prepared for a more practical—and ominous—possibility, namely, the formation of a Rightwing coalition made up of the Congress, the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. The danger is that in such an event the Left will not only find itself isolated but very much divided within itself. If there is to be a Leftist-led coalition at the Centre, there has to be tremendous preparation for it. The starting point, of course, is programmatic unity of the Leftist parties in Parliament. The second step is to help the Left wing of the Congress find its identity. The third is to win over the DMK and sections of the Jan Sangh on the basis of a programme aimed at bringing about drastic changes in the national economy.

If the Left does not begin earnest efforts in this direction, it will soon find that it has to face some of its present partners in the Opposition across the floor. Principled Left unity cutting across party lines is the only way to end today's nebulous situation which is of advantage only to the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and the West.

8-5-67

C. N. Chitta Ranjan

Challenge of Vested Interests

BALRAJ MEHTA

THE series of meetings that Union Ministers concerned with financial and economic management of the country have been holding in the last couple of weeks have given rise to a spate of guess work and speculation that some kind of new initiatives and policies are in the process of being worked out to stabilise and revive the economy. It is now stated that after the Presidential election is over and the political uncertainty surrounding this tussle comes to a close, further couple of meetings of Economic Ministers and the Union Cabinet will take place to give final touches to what is in view and then the public might be taken into confidence about it even well before the all-important budget speech on 25 May.

Meanwhile some other important decisions have already been taken. The cloth manufacturers have got away with another price increase, though the increase is claimed to have been grudgingly given and is much less than what the industry demanded. Steel prices and distribution have been decontrolled, more or less on the pattern of cement decontrol which will inevitably result in steel prices rise. These and other measures give an inkling of the incentives that producers and manufacturers not excluding the farmers who have marketable surplus (and therefore have been assured incentive procurement prices for their produce) are supposed to need as part of the production-oriented fiscal and economic policies being evolved.

And yet the main problem before the Government which is causing so much restlessness in the country is that of holding the prices. There has been considerable controversy in the

Government and outside on how to arrest the price spiral and how far the need to curb inflationary pressures should be squared with the needs and claims of development.

But while such controversies go on, the fact remains that prices are not only rising but are being sanctioned to rise all round. Since Sri Morarji Desai must have a balanced budget, at least to start with, another spurt to prices will soon be witnessed when the subsidies on foodgrains, fertilizers and petroleum products are cut if not withdrawn altogether. It should be quite disconcerting for Morarjibhai that while the device of the balanced budget is ostensibly aimed at containing inflationary pressures and bringing price stability, its first and direct impact should be to increase prices of essential goods of mass consumption and of important inputs for agriculture as well as industry.

It is no longer a secret that the so-called balanced budget that might after all be presented will really be a cover to hide many a skeleton which will come out in course of time, not excluding large deficit financing to meet DA for employees and other claims on exchequer side by side with a slow-down of all economic activity in the public sector while the private sector will be allowed more and more initiative to fill in the gaps. It is going to be as big a gamble as any other we have seen since our present economic difficulties started with the step up of defence expenditure and aid squeeze three years ago and were subsequently aggravated by drought and fall in agricultural production.

It is also clear that except for some vague assurances about future and expression of good

intentions and in spite of prolonged discussions on how to restore health to the economy the capability in ordering the economic affairs and direction of policies of the present Government is getting severely limited and restricted. At least for some months to come till the weather god shows its hand for the coming agricultural season, the intention appears to sit back and let the ill winds blow. It is possible that some big claims might be reiterated about the long-term objectives of government policy—to reach self-sufficiency in food and self-reliance in economic development within targeted periods of time. But there will not appear anything like a coherent economic policy. The promises about future will neither achieve anything worthwhile nor create any impression on the country nor lift the morale of the people.

This explains the remarks of the Planning Minister Asoka Mehta to the Congress Party MPs that the Fourth Plan is proposed to be finalised some time in October. It is hardly very important when the plan itself will be finalised. It might also be understandable that the planners should wait to become reasonably sure of the agriculture situation before they can take somewhat firm view of future course of development. But inherent in this approach is that development must proceed along traditional lines of resource raising internally and continued foreign aid on a massive scale for certain lines of investments. There is neither the will nor the inclination to create right now conditions and to establish a policy framework which will bring about those structural changes in the economic and social set-up that can exploit a

good turn in the agricultural sector for a sustained and rapid economic development on the basis of self-reliance. Instead of such radical measures, the tendency is towards appeasing the vested interests.

There has been some talk, for instance, of making it obligatory for industry to earn its own requirements of foreign exchange and even some measure of compulsion to achieve a stepup in exports which would nulify to some extent the pull of the highly lucrative internal market. Soon, however, such talk degenerated into assurances to producers and exporters of old forms of subsidies and new forms of incentives such as supply of raw materials from internal production at international prices as well as import liberalisation financed by non-project aid. Any suggestion that certain portions of production, specially of items which could not be classed by any stretch of imagination as essential items of mass consumption, should be physically set apart for exports, if necessary through channels of State trading and their consumption within the country stringently controlled could not even be considered in this context.

Again, it has been urged as a radical idea that prices of some specified commodities which are of mass consumer interest should be fixed and stabilised and wages frozen on that basis, leaving the the rest of production free to operate on the basis of supply and demand and market forces for the determination of their prices. This may not be too bad an idea unless the windfall, un-

through subsidies if their procurement price tends to rise. This would be a much larger operation than credit squeeze here and there through the Reserve Bank or the take-over of a few obsolete and inefficient textile mills into the public sector as is being considered at present. It would require massive entry of the State into production, stockpiling and distribution of such items, not hesitating from measures to displace existing interests in these fields, through outright nationalisation, if necessary.

Instead of such measures, the idea of stabilisation of prices itself is allowed to degenerate into proposing that prices, to begin with, might be stabilised at the incentive level for the producer, that is, at the level at which free market forces would ordinarily lift them. In effect this is already being done in one sector after another by the device of removing statutory controls and handing over the management of prices and distribution to the producers. This transfer of responsibility is accompanied by prices substantially higher than the statutorily fixed prices. This trend is now proposed to be coupled with the additional incentive of channeling non-project aid and internal capacities to provide raw materials, spares, components and other requirements to the producers of specified essential items on most favoured basis, the producers being mainly in the private sector. On such basis, they will be expected to increase production to the level of demand in the economy for such items.

There is also the view that

rural areas. These classes, specially when they benefit from price rise should be made to meet the cost of development by savings for productive investment and for the State. It is a moot point, however, if this class of affluent middle class can be touched in the prevailing political conditions unless the Government and political leadership of the country is willing to base itself on the poorer classes and working people in cities and rural areas and is first willing to create the right psycholocial climate by hitting the topmost classes which have so far enjoyed the best benefits of development. It is ominous that the question of bank nationalisation is not even mentioned these days in Government circles though it was so much spoken of in pre-election days.

The upshot of the attempts to formulate a policy with all its seemingly radical pretensions and innovations is thus far almost nil. Since radical measures will not be taken which will hurt the affluent classes and loosen their control over institutions and their influence in political and social life of the country, what is emerging is an attempt to cover up by all kinds of promises, the stagnation of real development on the one hand and incentives and concessions to the upper crust of society both in villages and towns on the other.

This is distorting the whole process of development specially when it is quite frankly and unmistakably tied to large foreign support by way of foreign exchange as well as rupee counter-part funds and is thus so very vulnerable to

Regional and National Politics

K. P. KARUNAKARAN

THE Centre-State relations is a topic of the day. Not a few lawyers are giving their expert opinion on the subject. Many seminars are held on the same theme.

A view is widespread that the results of the Fourth General Elections have opened a new chapter in the relations between the Central Government and the State Governments. No one can question it. But the suggestion, that the changing character of these relations have put a severe strain on the working of the Indian Constitution and that it had placed the unity of the country in jeopardy is, to say the least, misleading. On the other hand, the political decentralisation which has been achieved by the Fourth General Election has laid down the sound foundations on which alone healthy democratic structure and solid political unity can be built.

This can be achieved, however, if the important truth is grasped: the problems posed by the emerging new situation can be solved only if they are tackled on a *political* level and not within the narrow limits of legal and constitutional arrangements.

The process towards increasing economic and administrative integration of the country which have been set in motion by the changes in the economic and technological field cannot be and need not be reversed. No constitutional amendment and ad-

And this political decentralization in different states has placed in power different political forces. In some cases they are frankly regional parties like the Akalis, the Muslim League and the DMK. In some other regions like the North-Western parts, a party like the Jan Sangh which can have no appeal in other parts of India is making itself felt. The Communists, the Swatantra and the SSP do not have apparently a programme which have a regional appeal. But owing to historical reasons, none of them is an all-India party. The fact that two parties have not cut across the country is a political reality in India. The CPM dominates Kerala and the CPM and CPI are powerful in West Bengal. The Swatantra is strong in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Orissa. The Akalis count a good deal in the Punjab and the DMK almost monopolises the centre of power in Madras. The SSP is a significant force in Bihar and is fairly strong in UP. Excepting Madras and Kerala the Congress Party is a significant force throughout the country, although its power is mainly concentrated in Maharashtra, Andhra and Mysore.

Even this enumeration will not exhaust the diversification in India's political picture. The SSP has different forms in different states and so has the Swatantra. In Gujarat the Swatantra is a rural party of the peasant proprietors and in

areas.

There are many historical and social reasons for one party becoming powerful in one region and another in another region. Hindu communalism is powerful where Hindus were dominated by the Muslims and where the degree of modernisation is relatively less. In spite of the Hindu-Muslim riots in the Punjab and West Bengal of an earlier period, the Jan Sangh is a declining force in these two states because of the industrialization and the consequent modernization of social life. Looking from this angle, Delhi is the most backward of all the cities in India and those regions which have voted for the Jan Sangh is the least modernised—socially and economically.

Highest Growth

The Punjab and the Madras have perhaps the highest rate of economic growth in India during the past five years. The DMK in Madras and the Sikh Party in the Punjab are also in the vanguard of social change. Both in the Punjab and in Madras Hindu communal parties have no relevance. In Madras there is practically no Muslim domination. On the other hand, the Brahmmins had a long record of exploiting the non-Brahmins. A Hindu communal party with its association of Hindu revivalism will naturally be of no consequence in that state. In the Punjab the political issues which

people in Kerala and among the Hindus, the Jan Sangh can have appeal to only a small group of people belonging to high caste. The left-wing movement in general and the Communists in particular were closely connected with many literary, intellectual and social reform movements in Kerala. The Communists have also taken roots in the trade union and the peasant movements. Like Kerala, West Bengal has also a tradition of left-wing movements. And in both of these states, the middle class is strongly pro-Left.

Although there are such strong social and historical reasons for uneven political consciousness and different political parties to be strong in different parts of India, until the Fourth General Elections this present political picture with such diverse hues and colours did not emerge in India very clearly. Signs were not wanting to suggest that this would be the pattern of Indian politics, but very few expected that this would replace the earlier "one party dominance" system so quickly. And not a few vainly hoped that if this is averted for some time an Anglo-Saxon type of two-party would gradually take shape in the country.

Why and how did the present situation emerge so quickly? The main reason is that democratisation took rapid strides in India and consequently different groups of people in different parts of India were in a position to make themselves felt in the political field. This democratisation also meant political decentralization.

This is far from unhealthy. In Europe the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the weakening of the prestige and power of the Pope were great factors in favour of cultural renaissance of different groups and in favour of healthy development of democratic institutions. In India itself, it was during the so called "dark ages" from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries—that is, between the Gupta Empire and the Delhi Sultanate—different cultural groups flourished very smoothly and developed their language and literature. S.C.

Malik, a keen student of Indian anthropology, writes: "Due to political exigencies, it has become a fashion of late to decry the regional forces without proper assessment of their origins and significance. . . . A proper effort in generalising statements with regard to India and towards understanding the 'disruptive' forces of regionalism that are often attributed to political immaturity can only be made by a comprehensive and synthetic view of India's cultural history. . . . Frequent references are made to the cultural synthesis and India's capacity of absorbing new elements that has given rise to the slogan of the fundamental unity of India. But in fact what is it? It is really the common self-generating socio-economic and cultural structure of a traditional society that is found in the various geological regions with their typical individuality. The unity and variations arise from the common base of the 'great tradition' of Hinduism diluted and adapted to the local conditions. Furthermore, throughout India's history, the political ideals have been independent of any consciousness of the structure of society so that the centralized political impositions never really altered the traditional society. Thus whenever great political empires of centripetal authority gave a way, the basic cultural-historical units revived and came to the fore".

Decentralization of Authority

During the British rule the concept of Indian unity was given a sanctity, although at the time of the achievement of India's independence, the champions of this concept themselves accepted the partition of the country. Immediately after 1947 the reorganization of linguistic states was resisted on the ground that it would weaken national solidarity and political unity. Finally, those who resisted it, had to yield to the irresistible demands of the people. In the Punjab, they gave their last battle, but it was a rearguard action and finally the Punjabi Suba was conceded.

On the eve of the Fourth General Elections, the agitation for

the ban on sow-slaughter was conducted in a vigorous manner in north-western parts of India. Of course, it was partly inspired by the opponents of the Congress to discredit it. But the nature of the agitation and the willingness of a large section of Congressmen to give concessions to the agitators also indicated that in these parts of India, there was complete ignorance of the social outlook of the people in other parts. Now we do not hear very much about the ban on cow-slaughter. Probably, the fact is brought home to everyone concerned that there is no way of forcing the governments of West Bengal, Madras and Kerala to accede to it.

The Kerala Government's decision to scrap prohibition goes against the spirit of the Directive Principles of the Constitution. But many of those Directive Principles are not in line with the political mood of people of different regions in the country.

Some provisions of the Agrarian Relations Bill of the former Communist Government of Kerala was sabotaged by President Rajendra Prasad's "constitutional" action of sending it back to Kerala for amendments after dismissing the Communist Government. It showed, among other things, the divergence between the thinking of the political leaders who headed the Kerala Government and that of those who headed the Central Government.

When many Communist leaders like Sri A. K. Gopalan and Sri Jyoti Basu were arrested and Home Minister Nanda gave a detailed speech justifying the action, many in north-western parts of India hailed Sri Nanda as a hero. But in some other parts Sri Nanda was considered as a villain and Sri Jyoti Basu and Sri Gopalan as heroes. The election results only confirm this divergence in outlook.

The destruction of the files on the D.M.K. by the Congress Ministry of Madras was not an accident. The Congress Ministers had a certain understanding of Indian unity and loyalty to the High Command of the

Congress. They never fully comprehended the fact that the majority of the people of Tamil Nad do not share the view.

The Fourth General Elections have cleared the confusion on these matters. It is now obvious that the logic of increasing democratisation of India's political life is decentralisation of authority. Within the Congress Party, this fact was accepted when the Congress Chief Ministers had a share in the choice of the Prime Minister after Nehru. But the Congress leaders have not accepted the logic of political decentralisation *outside* the Congress Party. That was why they had not tried to come to an agreement with the Opposition in regard to the election of the President.

It was even reported that the Government at the Centre had not stopped watching the activities of some non-Congress Ministers in the States with a view to finding out whether they are connected with any subversive activities. If this is correct, we may soon witness some destruction of the files also at the Centre very soon, because the fate of Congress Government at New Delhi is hanging in the balance.

The tasks before the non-Congress parties is not to find

out ways and means of replacing the Congress Government at the Centre, but to determine the character of the central authority which would drop out from the unwilling, but increasingly weakening, hands of the Congress leaders. Nothing can now stop the further disintegration of the Congress Party. The most optimistic of the Congress leaders hope that they can retain power for a full term of five years. One can admire their optimism, but not their capacity for the assessment of political forces at work.

The present political situation in India is characterised by dynamic leadership in many states and a static and unimaginative leadership at the Centre. What should be the character of the Central Government which will enable it to reflect the political dynamism in the states? The first essential feature should be represented at the Centre. Today some states are virtually unrepresented in the Central Government. The solitary Congress Member from Kerala is a Minister with Cabinet rank. But is he a representative of Kerala or, to quote Jinnah's words, a "show boy" of the Congress Party which has no strength in the State? Madras is "represented" by Dr Chandrasekhar who is

better known in America than in Madras. The choice of Dr Triguna Sen as the Educational Minister, without even his knowledge, is meant to give some representation to West Bengal. But very few will admit that this has achieved that purpose.

In determining the character of the future Central Government, one of the aims of the political leaders should be to give adequate representation to various political forces in the country. If this is achieved the Centre will be strengthened rather than weakened by the decentralization of political power which has taken place after the Fourth General Elections. Whether one likes it or not, this development cannot be reversed without the repudiation of parliamentary democracy in the states. The solution to the problem raised by the emergence of various political forces in various parts of India lies not in any constitutional and administrative readjustment, but in the development of healthy political conventions which will reconcile one regional political force with another and the regional political forces and the Central Government. What are these political conventions? That question will be examined in a subsequent article.

Scrapbook

Distress Incorporated

THE long-suffering ICS-IAS wives have at last their own organisation to fight for their grievances. They got together last week in the Capital and resolved that the time had come for them to forget the little differences that had divided their ranks so long.

The first move for unity was made when the ICS-wives deigned to talk to their under-privileged sisters. The IAS-wives had been marting under a sense of humiliation on this score and they used to take it out on the NGO wives in the neighbourhood. Now the NGO wives may look forward to at least a nod of recognition from the IAS wives, though not yet from the ICS fraternity.

The formation of the new association was the occasion for a charming get-together and a fete. The organisers said that the Army wives had shown the way and they thought the civilian counterparts should not lag behind. Various activities are being planned to bring about solidarity among the members. Are they doing anything for the victims of the famine in Bihar and other scarcity areas? Somebody had the temerity to ask this question. "You see", a chic IAS-wife said, "we have our own problems. Accommodation, for instance. My husband is entitled to a C-I flat but would you believe it? For two years we have been staying in D-I quarters

and we are still on the waiting list! This Government... well, I had better not talk about it." What about the NGOs? Do they not also face such difficulty? "But it's different, you know. We've got to keep up a certain status," she said with a pretty pout. "Just now you were talking of the Bihar people. Well, we do sympathise with them. We have done some collection work for the Red Cross and occasionally we miss a meal too. We wish we could do more, but this price rise! A dinner set now costs..." A toss of the bobbed head brought home the distress of IAS house-keeping.

—Backwoodsman

The Svetlana Trail

G. ANAND

STALIN's daughter, by an extraordinary twist of history, is now providing some comfort for President Johnson. With a major catastrophe facing American policy in Vietnam, Mr. Johnson is now challenged in a formidable way on the home front—the challenge has come from a wide spectrum of public opinion ranging from Senator Fullbright to Dr. Martin Luther King. The command performance of General Westmoreland—the first time an army commander was called back from the battlefield to fight a President's battle in the Congress—has itself proved to be a flop. From Walter Lippmann to Arthur Schlesinger, a whole galaxy of personalities has denounced the Westmoreland line that the critics at home are standing in the way of his victory over the Vietcong.

Against this background, Svetlana's appearance is sought to be made into a morale booster for Washington. The mentality behind this attitude can be summed up in one sentence: if the White House is in trouble over Vietnam, let the Kremlin's image also be tarnished by Svetlana. Moreover, the Svetlana episode seems to be made into a counter-move to neutralise the Soviet glory at a time when the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution is being celebrated on a grand scale. Whatever else, Washington can never be accused of not having a sense of timing. Stalin's daughter is almost being made into an excellent CIA showpiece, particularly useful at a time when the CIA's name is mud in America itself.

There are some interesting bits about the Svetlana affair which has not escaped discern-

ing observers in the USA. On her arrival in New York on April 21, newsmen found her to be speaking fluent English and yet she read out a prepared statement. Obviously, she was under no Russian coach that the protocol practice of the Soviet Government had to be followed. Rather, the idea of her sponsors was to show that the poor child of Stalin was for the first time breathing the air of freedom. Then, why this prepared statement?

Another interesting point which is worth noting is that she was accompanied throughout from her flight out of Palam by a CIA official. *New York Times* has categorically described him as "a Russian speaking officer of the Central Intelligence Agency, Robert F. Rayle". Obviously, this arrangement could not have come off on the spur of the moment. A CIA arrangement needs a lot of preparations. And does this not show that Svetlana could not possibly have been contacted by the CIA men unless they could do so when she was under the charge of her brother-in-law, Raja Dinesh Singh? And could such a thing be possible at all without Sri Dinesh Singh's knowledge and the help of some officials in India? There is nothing in the long reports that have come out in the US press to disprove these strong suspicions. Rather, *New York Times* has clearly stated: "She discussed her hope (of living on in India) with Dinesh Singh in early January and then again later that month." And she also spent March 5 in the house of Sri Dinesh Singh.

An extremely significant passage occurs in the *New York*

Times description of her flight from India. At the Rome airport, she was kept hidden in "a barren warehouse on the edge of the airport, alone in the dimly lighted chamber, with the silhouette of a rifle carrying guard stationed at a distant open door".

When Rayle approached her to whisk her off to the plane for Geneva, she was upset: "For the first time since she had walked up the Embassy steps in New Delhi on the evening of March 6, Mrs. Alliluyeva lost her poise. She was not frightened. But she was angry. 'If I'd known it was going to be like this,' she snapped, 'perhaps I'd not have decided to come'. Does it not sound that she might have been lured away by CIA by false pretence, and where could CIA have had the chance of working on her except during her stay in India?"

Svetlana's widely boosted press conference on April 26, could not make the hit that one had expected of it. New York's Plaza Hotel was seething with security agents, and one wondered why all this was necessary since the Tass had already given out the official Soviet position that

PLEASE NOTE

This issue of Mainstream contains a special Supplement on Kashmir and a fascinating contribution by G. N Acharya. Consequently some of the usual features have been held over for the next week. The concluding instalment of the article, "Marxism and Maoism", and the third instalment of "Crisis in Science Policy" will also appear in next week's Mainstream.

Moscow was indifferent how long or where she preferred to stay abroad. Incidentally, throughout her stay here, even in the retreat of a Long Island home, she has been surrounded here by US intelligence, complete with their dogs, walkie-talkie and chasing cars.

Usually, at any VIP press conference, it is the custom in America that questions from newsmen are answered impromptu by the person interviewed. From the President of the USA downward, everybody follows this procedure. But in the case of Svetlana, mysteriously, only written questions were accepted from the journalists present. It was all the more surprising because on her arrival here, it was found during her brief encounter with the press at the airport, that Svetlana could speak English well. Could it be that the questions put to her had to be vetted by the authorities?

On top of it, Mr. Harry Schwartz, a specialist on Soviet affairs on the staff of the "New York Times" (by no means friendly to Moscow) was found to be acting as the "moderator". He was found to be interrupting Svetlana rather rudely whenever there was a danger that she might blurt out something which did not fit in with the pattern. One American journalist was actually prevented by Schwartz from putting a question which might be awkward for America's democratic way of life. Throughout the press conference, she was found to be tense—and there was no sign of relaxation on her part.

Many people pricked their ears when she said she "could not say now" whether she would stay on in USA. After all the elaborate baits of millions of dollars in book royalty, after all the sweated labour by CIA officials, could it be that she is still not enthusiastic about the glories of the Free World? In this connection, there are some people who suspected the reason for her coming over to USA and not choosing Britain, the classic home for many a political fugitive. Would this not suggest that Svetlana was

under the charge of the CIA instead of being a free agent? It is given out in the US press that the decision about where she should stay, Switzerland or USA, was taken by the high-ups in Washington, including Mr. Johnson himself.

In this background, mystery deepens about Svetlana's "memoirs" which are now being put up for bidding before the Western press. What has intrigued many here is that Svetlana talked about the memoirs only after she had been taken care of by the CIA agent, Rayle, and not before. The numerous friends who met her in India have not said anything about these "memoirs": this is all the more unusual since she is reported to have talked to them on so many things under the sun—from the beauty of Kalakankar to the purity of a holy dip in the Ganges.

Seasoned observers in USA are not putting much credence on the much-publicised "memoirs" as a piece of historical value. George Kenan's help might have been sought to brush them up. It is not a rare phenomenon in USA to have ghost writers. And Svetlana, whose past does not indicate a literary bent of mind, might be getting the benefit

of ghost writing. But who is the ghost—is it the CIA? Such a suspicion is not dismissed in knowledgeable circles in New York. The CIA's hand in such a library of "memoirs" from that of Kravchenko to that of Penkovsky is not easily forgotten.

Alternatively, if one has to believe her words that she had "no difficulty getting her 80,000 word manuscript out of her country"—as she stated at her New York news conference—then the embarrassing spotlight falls on New Delhi. Those who have any knowledge of the Soviet system would not easily believe the fairy tale version that Svetlana could carry it in her luggage while leaving Moscow. It is most unlikely she would have taken the risk of doing so. Could it be that she was helped by some among her Indian friends? And no Indian would like to take the risk of being detected, unless he happens to be protected by some diplomatic immunity from baggage clearance at the Moscow airport.

Even at this distance, these questions are bound to come up. A proper probe will prove to be more effective than mere repetition of contradictions of any involvement on the part of some of the New Delhi authorities.

—May 6,

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Vithoba, Vithoba—How Long ?

G. N. ACHARYA

I went to Pandharpur. I went there because I wanted to escape, for however short a period, from this monstrous town—the grim ugliness of this impersonal, dehumanised city, with its inhospitable accumulations of bricks, steel and cement; its hurrying, jostling, unthinking, perspiring crowds; the prickly glare of its blazing, blinking, garish persistent lights; the unhappy immensity of its noise-making contrivances including that modern horror, the transistor radio; the nightly howl of the hungry dogs foraging for food in the garbage heaps; the piteous wail of the abandoned kittens.

So I went to Pandharpur to see horses. Four times every year on the *Ekadashi* days of the months of *Kartika*, *Ashaadha*, *Chaitra* and *Magha*, thousands of pilgrims go to Pandharpur—hungry, dusty, weary, but bursting with devotion. On the first two of these—the principal fair days—the pilgrims exceed a hundred thousand. All of them go to see Vithoba, for just one fleeting glimpse of their beloved deity, to touch His feet, to mutter His name, to prostrate in front of Him and lay at His feet their burden of woes.

I did not. I did not go to Pandharpur to see Vithoba. I am allergic to God. For a long time I have felt He is haunted by Business. He has become a bondman of the Rich. He has lost the will and the capacity to free himself. There is no means of liberating Him and restoring Him to the purity of Freedom from cash. As things stand no one with self-respect can worship Him, for a slave is not worthy of respect. I await a freedom movement to make God fit for veneration.

So I didn't go to Pandharpur to see God but horses. I have lived in Bombay more than 30 years. One way or other I have glanced at most newspapers produced here during all these years, and many others produced elsewhere too. But I did not know that there is a horse fair at Pandharpur twice a year. Our newspapers have carried articles of all kinds of fairs in all parts of the world. Never had they said anything about the Pandharpur fair. Syndicated articles are alluring as imports, and cheap as trash.

Pandharpur was once the heart of a horse-breeding country. The Maratha armies obtained many horses for their cavalry from this area. In 1773 a battle was fought four miles south of Pandharpur and Peshwa Raghunathrao, the victor of the battle, had 10,000 horses with him. In 1808, a British chronicler, James M. Campbell, recorded that he could buy good ponies, 14 and a half hands high, in the Sholapur district. Pandharpur then was a part of Satara. That State lapsed to the British in 1848. Sixteen years later Pandharpur was tagged on to Sholapur. The District Gazetteer first compiled in 1884 recorded that the district was not good for ponies which were rarely more than 12 hands high. This was the result of the great famine of 1876, followed by the Afghan war three years later. Man aided God in the work of destruction. The stocks which escaped the famine were killed in the war. Today the district breeds only *tattus*—short, hardy, capable of living on poor rations and withstanding gross ill treatment, like their human counterparts, India's impoverished village labourers.

We are a custom-bound people. There was a

horse fair twice a year at Pandharpur for centuries; so there still is. The *tattu* are there, inevitably. But they are a poor buy. Average price; Rs. 200 to Rs. 400. In the fenced-off enclosure on the uneven grounds of Agricultural Produce Committee (शेती माल बजार) of the Zilla Parishad, man and beast bedded down on mother earth under the stars. They woke up to buy and sell. Much of it was under cover literally. The seller and the buyer or their authorised agents covered their hands with a cloth and indicated the offer and the bid by holding their fingers. It is the "hatta" system, which used to operate in respect of vegetables in Bombay's old Crawford Market. It is no longer legal there. Open auctions is the latest law. This was the first time I had seen the system operate, and I soon understood why. It was an insurance against the pressures of bulls and bears.

The real price at which a horse had been knocked down, because the dealer was in a hurry to unload, spread around via the whisper wireless, would, depress prices all along the line. The truth might also affect re-sale values. So the deals were struck in *purdah* and only the seller and the buyer, their agents and Vithoba knew the real price. In town one day I saw a beautiful big horse which had been bought by a local big-wig brought in ceremoniously with the *halagie* (small drum), *jhanj* (cymbals) and *Shehnai*. It was welcomed by a young lady with *kumkum* and fed with *poli*. The story was that it had been bought for Rs. 2,000.

So Rs. 2,000 became the upset price of similar horses. But then there was a veterinarian friend with me. Word went round that there was an expert in horse flesh from Bombay. As is usual in our land, a prospective buyer who was a friend requisitioned the expert's consultancy services. He went to work. He opened the horse's mouth and looked at its teeth. He felt its hoofs and tapped its fetlocks. He did various other mysterious seeming things. It was like some ritual, some ancient mumbo-jumbo to impress the onlookers. Thus may the appraisers have gone about in the ancient slave markets. Thus they still do with measuring tapes, as the scantily-clad girls parade past, when they select a beauty queen. The horse expert in this case certified that the animal wasn't worth the price. The dealers must have been grinding their teeth.

The next day I found the entire lot still unsold. Also unsold was the dancing horse from Bijapur. This gaily-bedecked animal had been taught to respond to a species of clapping and "hai hai" noises, and the bells on its feet jingled rhythmically as it danced a jig. Still no buyers. But I found that a whole group of *tattus* had cleared off. They had been bought by a dealer from Madras whose rich vocabulary of abusive words in Tamil, augmented by choice Hindustani pejoratives, had been heard ringing on the grounds the day before. (Hindi IS a good language for invective and abuse. It may or may not become a national language, but it has been for long the nation's storehouse of vulgar words.) Tongas in South Indian towns still need the services of the *tattu*.

The only other party which had any use for the *tattu* was a group of Vanjaris who were camped close-by with their miserable belongings, more miserable children, and most miserable horses. In the census of 1881, the district recorded 3,508. Vanjaris, divided into thirteen different classes. Eighty-five years later, they continue in their same tribal, nomadic condition. Poverty and destitution are among the many traditions which we are reluctant to break. Once poor, always poor. It runs for generations.

So does cruelty. I saw one of the *tattus* of the Vanjari camp with both the forelegs tied to each other and an additional rope attaching one of the forelegs to a hind-leg. Thus trapped, the poor animal could hop no more than an inch or two at a time to desperately nibble at anything green prouting from amidst the sand and pebbles. The *tattu* was valuable property and had to be secured. At no time in the world's history has Man been at a loss to inflict physical pain and mental anguish on his fellow creatures or on the animals that fall into his clutches.

And God, God the loving, God the merciful has always been helpless. Even when he sees the savagery of fire from the vaulted skies, pouring on tortured humanity as in Viet Nam, howling like devils out of hell, spreading death and desolation, turning the green earth into a wilderness of broken stones. He is helpless. Even when they speak His name and profess to be killing only the Godless, He dare not protest. The horse hopped in its agonising bondage. Vithoba sat in his stone temple and did nothing.

I was more interested in a horse dealer I met at the fair. Bahadur Singh of Rampur Titihi in Ballia District of east Uttar Pradesh is a character. He seemed ageless, perennially, youthfully old. Rumped grey hair, face folded into crevasses, unwashed teeth, unwashed clothes. Tej Bahadur combined the fabled cunning of a horsetrader, and an old world wisdom, apparently guileless but truly inscrutable.

From him I learned that Sonapur in Bihar has the longest railway platform and runs the biggest horse fair from Kartik Purnima. There are lesser fairs at Bhateswar in Uttar Pradesh and at Amritsar. Tej Bahadur said that the fair at Amritsar was held at about the same time as the Pandharpur fair. "But we come here by force of habit," he explained.

"We have tasted good money here you know, and it is human to hope for the same good money again." Man follows the market. "But horses don't fetch good prices any more in Pandharpur," Tej Bahadur said sadly. That, of course, is sales talk. It must be. He buys cheap in the Punjab and sells them dear at Pandharpur. Business is business, always.

It was also near the horse fair that I saw a group of three children lift a huge stone and playfully fling it at an unsuspecting dog. Its agonised shrieks brought curious adults, and the children ran away. So did I, and my friends. We always run away when we cannot bear to see the sight of pain, cruelty and horror. That dog would drag around its shattered shattered limbs, clinging to life, each day more miserable than its predecessor. And Vithoba would do nothing.

One may run away; but one cannot escape. There was the usual collection of beggars. One of them, blind, enfeebled, so haggard that he may have been a 1,000 years old, was propped up against a tree, a pitiful spectacle extorting charity. That human wreck could not move till somebody moved him; could not eat till somebody fed him. There he would lie propped up against the trunk of a dusty, gnarled, ancient tree till somebody chose to lift him and dump him along another dusty, pilgrim-haunted roadside. And the pilgrims would reverently speak the name of Vithoba and fling the blind man a coin to work off their sins; but Vithoba would do nothing.

Seeing the horse, the dog and the old beggar, a sensitive friend wished for an atomic holocaust to end it all. "But my friend," I said, "the bomb is blind. It might take you too."

"I am expendable, I am willing to go," he said.

Why not, I thought to myself. The very question was a reflection of my human ego, my individual vanity. Why should I not be willing to go? After all, philosophers say this "I" is a mere speck of a speck of a speck, floating in the immense, illimitable void.

What's this life?

This small, shoddy chapter of mismanagement, just one more of the millions, the billions, the trillions of mistakes committed by an improvident, prodigal Nature—a robot that spawns its errors and seeks no purpose for its tireless, ceaseless, perpetual, throbbing activity.

And I, a mere speck flung out in the course of this activity. Yes, but a speck afflicted with a body and a mind, burdened with feeling and sensitivity, racked by doubt and hesitation, moved by compassion and pain, a spasm of agony. Just one tiny fragment of humanity whose condition Mirza Ghalib has so well described:

Chained, though endowed with a passion to be free;

Born to live, yet ending in decay and death;
Alive to rapture, yet doomed to despair and grief;

Rooted to earth, yet aspiring to the Heavens above.

And set to solve a riddle which they cannot solve.

* * *

ON a bright, blue morning, as my friends and I set out from our cosy lodgings, we met a family—an old mother, her son, his wife and their child. The child lay on some rags spread on the ground. Its grandmother was making *rotis* on an improvised *chulha* of rough stones. The man and wife laboured at cutting and slicing the broad blades of a species of cactus (called *Ektad* in Marathi) for feeding a factory at Sholapur making ropes and mats. Despite its possibilities as a jute substitute and its capacity for growth and survival in dry, inhospitable soil, it is still not grown as a crop; only as a hedge which is pruned once in three years.

This itinerant family earned its precarious

living by harvesting hedges, moving from place to place day after day. A little distance away we could see the tell-tale stones and ashes, indicating where their kitchen had been the previous day. As we were trying to understand from the man the improbable economics of his living, long-tailed birds flew around calling joyously to no one in particular.

"What are these birds so happy about?" I asked my friend.

"They at least have nests," he replied. "This family here has none."

I do not know if all the birds in this hapless land have nests or any other shelter. I do know millions of humans have no homes, no shelter. Day after day I see them exposed to Bombay's pitiless heat and rain, stretched on footpaths, under bridges or stairs, or squatting around on roads, parks and so-called beaches. Bombay roads are becoming overcrowded like those of Calcutta. In both cities more and more people are on the roads because they have nowhere else to be.

The hedge harvesting family lived in comfort compared to one I saw camping near the roadside gutter, cooking their night meal while a hungry dog piddled against a garbage-bin close by. Neither the dog nor the family seemed to be filth-conscious. They had neither hope nor despair. They only knew hunger. Strangely, the humans also knew Vithoba.

Vithoba was like them. He had hands and feet and eyes and nose like them. Pious humans, cleverer than they, had told them boastfully that God had made them in His image. I remembered the words of the unnamed narrator in Bertrand Russell's story, SATAN IN THE SUBURBS—the man who killed the wicked Dr. Murdoch Mallako and went mad after. He wonders how God could "have tolerated so long the baseness of those who boast blasphemously that they have been made in His image."

It is not just a matter of a physical image. Father Peregrine, a character in the science fiction story, THE FIRE BALLOONS, by Ray Bradbury, is faced with this question of a physical form, when he is confronted with Martians, who were nothing more than balloons of fire. "What is a shape? Only a cup for the blazing soul that God provides us all. If tomorrow I found the sea lion suddenly possessed free will, intellect, knew when not to sin, knew what life was and tempered justice with mercy, and life with love, then I would build an under-sea cathedral... I would not let a Martian sphere burn in Hell either, for it is a sphere only in mine eyes. When I close my eyes it stands before me, an intelligence, a love, a soul and I must not deny it."

So there is man, theological man, not only making God in his own image and indulging in the blasphemy that God made him in His image, but endowing himself and his God with love, with intelligence, with a soul. That is Christian theology.

Islamic theology, like a great deal else about Islam, is simple to the point of being rudimentary. There is but one God, and though the limitations of language and custom make the Muslim speak of Allah the

Merciful as if he were a Man, God escapes visual representation. He also escapes an elaborate mythology. There are, however, enough saints and pirs, who though short of God, rate high for purposes of pilgrimage, prayer and devotion. More strangely, veneration is shown to objects like Holy hair which was stolen and restored though by whom or how is known only to a few. What is publicly known is that in riots in East Pakistan, many Hindus paid with their blood for something of which they had not the remotest knowledge. Simple-minded Muslims were turned into murdering maniacs because of the theft of something, the worship or veneration of which is forbidden by the religion which they devoutly profess.

The Hindu attitude is open and uninhibited. The Hindu not only endows his Gods with all the virtues, qualities and power which he admires, but also all the vices, failings and weaknesses with which he is himself burdened. To do this the easy way Hindu imagination has conjured out of the void, innumerable Gods and Goddesses. (Incidentally, it is not any innate democratic urge, but the familiarity with the worship of the Goddesses in his pantheon that enables the Hindu to so easily adapt himself to the idea of women wielding power and occupying positions of authority.)

The Hindu capacity to dwell in absolute comfort with the deepest contradictions is truly amazing. Sankara, that incredible and protean personality insisted with perfect logic that God can only be described in negative terms; Not this, not this (नेति नेति). That, however did not prevent him, a confirmed bachelor, from writing powerfully evocative poetry giving minute physiological descriptions of a female deity, as in *SOUNDARYA LAHARI*. To be fair to Sankara such effusions belonged to his poetic youth, when he had not matured as a philosopher, a confident fearless, revolutionary thinker; days when he followed the literary fashion, brilliantly outdoing, past and present practitioners of the genre of devotional poetry.

The Upanishads give glimpses of a subtle, sublime and challenging philosophy.

यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह : ।

Wherefrom words turn back,

Together with the mind, not having attained.

(*Taittiriya-Bramhananda Valli*, Ninth Anuvaka)

But the Hindu's rich imagination did not hesitate to assail the unattainable (*apprapyam*) and people his Pantheon with myriad Gods and Goddesses. It is the same mind that invented castes and sub-castes where there was no need for any, with each new caste or sect claiming utter and unchallengable superiority over the rest. The Brahminical mind is subtle, analytical, persuasive, but passively tolerant. It is starved of the faculty of creative synthesis. It is the same mind which creates groups and schisms when it adopts a new creed like Communism: The Ranadives are direct lineal descendants of the progenitors of new castes, the creators of new Gods. Only the intolerant pugnacity, the passionate hatred, is a recent import.

Vithoba is but one of these numerous Gods—the products of Hindu myth-making faculty. As Gods go Vithoba is not a bad chap. For one thing he is not a greedy capitalist like several of our Gods. The most plutocratic of our deities is probably the one perched on the Tirupati hills. For the year 1964-65, the temple management had an income of Rs. 2,37,96,000. No wonder the management is run on business lines with branch offices in big cities. Once in my hungry boyhood, having exhausted all other means of begging, borrowing and stealing, I pilfered a holy rupee set apart as a mark of the promise to fulfil a vow to the Lord of the Seven Hills. My hunger was assuaged for the day. No rupee of God has ever been put to better use. Yet pious minds have suggested that this sacrilegious robbery of God is responsible for all my misfortunes. It is possibly the reason why I am a "failure in life" as some of my well-wishers gently whisper among themselves. But what baffles them is that I do not have the meekness typical of a failure. I am an unrepentant, even an arrogant failure. Lord Venkateswara can well afford the rupee of which I robbed him.

Vithoba cannot match the wealth of the hill God, though no God can ever be free from Commerce, as long as Man who made God is not free from it. I remember the down-to-earth peasant wisdom of a guide who accompanied me up the hill at Triyambak. As I stood taking in the severe majesty, the bare aristocratic grandeur of the steep semi-circle of peaks that form the northern tip of the Sahyadris, he said, that it was where one could see the true handiwork of God. And when I pointed to the wan, thin-lipped priest sitting in front of *Ganga-Mukha*—the origin of the sacred Godavari, with Nasik paper and debased ccins spread on a white cloth in front of him and asked the guide what this was, he said: "*Sab, Tay Ahay, Bijiness.*" The holy Ganga is fouled by the vulgar touch of Commerce at its very source.

At Pandharpur, for instance, there is a system of daily auctions for the right to collect entrance fees. There is one group—Badwe Samastha Mandali—in charge of the Vithoba temple, and another—Utpat Samastha Mandali—in charge of the temple of Rakhumayi. These two groups, like most Indian business houses, have close family links. They have the exclusive right of bidding at the auctions. The Monopolies Commission could not have thought along those lines; but the exclusive hereditary right to collect offering at *Gangamukha*, half way up the hill at Triyambak, and the entry fees and other takings at Pandharpur are but primitive instances of restrictive monopoly. No wonder the Birlas have built a modern temple to Vitthal-Rakhumayi at a cost of Rs. 14 lakhs at Shahad, three miles from Kalyan. It is an expression of the respect due to precedent.

It is more. The poor man's love of God is an expression of agony, a cry of helplessness, of desperation. The rich man's love of God is an expression of gratitude. Deep down in his heart, at weak moments when the arrogance of affluence is softened by a toothache or a heartache, he feels he owes his

wealth, his success, not to any special merit in himself but to the grace of God. God's aid is like the helping hand of an elder member of an exclusive businessman's club, to an ambitious new entrant willing to learn the secret of how to get on. God is a Member in standing of the Fraternity of the Successful. Hence T.S. Eliot's gloomy declaration:

"The cycle of Heaven in Twenty centuries
Bring us farther from God and nearer to the
Dust."

* * *

IN Pandharpur they say there are three ways to Vithoba: you pay the Badwes, go through the Government gate or queue up. Queuing up at Pandharpur is something unique. It is the grandfather and grandmother of all queuing. You do it sitting. You are herded ten deep into bamboo barricades. On the year's four main pilgrim days, the police take charge. The pilgrims have apparently developed complete immunity to hunger, thirst, the occasional brush with police batons and even calls of nature. They have to wait a whole night and a whole day creeping nearer and nearer to that one fleeting moment's confrontation with their Vithoba. Even when you pay the Badwes you may still have to queue up, but that is a much shorter wait.

The Government gate is a special entry reserved for Government servants, and occasional friends and intruders who maintain the pretence of being Government servants. Government servants enjoy many privileges. The public image is that they do no work and draw pensions even while in service. Besides, they have a variety of "fringe benefits." In some cases these are fatter than the pay packets. More recently most of their time is spent on going on strikes. In Uttar Pradesh, for instance, they have proved that Government can carry on with a near permanent strike. But no union of Government employees seems to be conscious of the unique privilege of being able to enter through a side door, break through queues and approach Vithoba anticlockwise, while the waiting hordes are hustled past in the reverse direction. Without that privilege this article may never have been written.

Vithoba is an unusual God. He is very democratic. Unlike the Lord of the Seven Hills, Lord Venkateswara, Vithoba wears no titles, nor does he carry awards. He is no Lord; just plain Vithoba. No protocol for Him. You don't have to wait palms joined, head bowed, outside the sanctum sanctorum—the *Garbha Griha*—while the privileged priest walks in and offers your worship by proxy. Vithoba's devotees can walk right up to him, and touch him, though not for long.

This democratic spirit is also reflected in the Varkari Panth, a special group of Vithoba worshippers. The Varkaris have no caste restrictions, special rituals or rules of admission. The Varkari Panth has no organisation and no headquarters. But it is a star studded group. Its first and greatest star was Jnanadeva, an excommunicated Brahmin. After him

came a succession of devotees of all castes. Namadeva was a tailor; Gora, a potter; Savata, a gardener; Narahari, a goldsmith; Chokha, a Mahar; and Tukaram, a Sudra. There were women too—Muktabai, Jnanadeva's sister; Janabai, the Guru of Changadeva; Kanhopatra, a dancing girl; and Bahinabai, the wife of a Brahmin who became the pupil of the sudra, Tukaram.

Someone at Pandharpur told me that it was once Kannada territory. This is confirmed by G.A. Deleury, the French Catholic priest who describes himself as a "Christian Bhakta" and whose book, *THE CULT OF VITHOBA*, is the most comprehensive volume in English on Vithoba and the Varkari Panth. Deleury says that the "region of Pandharpur was for a long time a part of various Kannada empires and a Kannada speaking country. The Marathi language seems to have become firmly established in that part of the Deccan only under the Yadava rulers."

I presume Mysore's Chief Minister, S. Nijalingappa and his cohorts of researchers have long ago taken note of all such pronouncements and need no prodding from me. But I must record that the same book from which many facts in this article are shamelessly pinched (and adopted for purposes which the pious author may not always approve) is positive that Jnanadeva or Jnanoba was a 100 per cent Maharashtrian. And he it was who brought immortality both to Vithoba and the Varkari Panth.

Jnanadeva was an unusual member of an unusual family. There is no parallel instance in the world of three brothers and a sister like Nivrittinath, Jnanadeva, Sopanadeva and Muktabai. They were all geniuses. According to legend Jnanadeva was no more than 21 when he wrote his famous work, *Jñaneswari*, whose date is put at 1290 A.D. It matters little whether he was 21 or 42. In that age he was a revolutionary. It needed revolutionary courage to discard such a powerful medium of expression as Sanskrit. With a long and brilliant heritage of literature behind it, Sanskrit was in a state of near perfection. Marathi, on the other hand, was just beginning to take shape. Jnanadeva was virtually the first and probably the greatest poet Marathi has produced. He made Marathi; just as he made Vithoba.

The decision to use Marathi for his philosophical and devotional poems was an act of courage in another way. He had to break the rule of esotericism. Will Durant in his *ORIENTAL HERITAGE* has expressed surprise that the Indians who used blocks for printing textiles, did not develop the "kindred art of block-printing of books." The reason is simple: Esotericism. All knowledge was the prerogative of Brahmin males. To ensure this, what the Hindu needed was not a department of mass communications, but a law which said that knowledge must flow only by word of mouth, from father to son, or teacher to pupil. (Even Jnanadeva's works might have been subjected to the same distorting process if Eknath had not chosen to collect and edit them.)

It was the Brahminical law that Jnanadeva was breaking as he sang his philosophical songs while trudging up and down the dusty road from Alandi to Pandharpur. Vithoba was there already and Pandharpur had been there even longer.

The first epigraphic mention of the village occurs as early as 515 A.D. The first mention of the temple itself dates back only to 1,189 A.D. when the devotees of Vithoba were granted financial assistance by the Yadava king, Bhillama, to build a small structure to house their God.

Since then the God and the temple have both seen many vicissitudes. The temple, as more or less as laid out at present, was built by Hemadri, the famous Minister of the Yadava king, Ramchandra. But when Malik Kafur, the general of Allauddin Khilji, came foraging into the Deccan, the temple was probably desecrated. Mohammed bin Tughlak completed the job by systematically destroying this as well as many other temples. The idol itself escaped its fate, according to legend, by removal to some hiding place, presumably Vijayanagar.

Even though the town was built little by little again in the 14th century, it was not till the Peshwas that the present structure was erected late in the 18th century. The idol had to be hidden a second time in 1659 when Afzal Khan came to Pandharpur on his expedition to confront Shivaji.

Shivaji was not just a hero warrior fighting against an aggressor. His mission was to awaken in the people a new sense of unity and spiritual strength. By precept and by example he taught men to be selfless and laid the foundations of nationalism. In this endeavour he was opposed by his own narrow-minded, arrogant, and mercenary clansmen, who put selfish interests above public weal. Like many in our own day they had acquired a vested interest in alien rule. Afzal was an agent of these interests, hired to remove the man who had become a goad and an obstacle. He stopped at the holy city and desecrated the temple before going on to meet his fate under the walls of Pratapgarrh. Maharashtra has produced many eminent historians. They need no hints from me. But the explanation that Shivaji killed Afzal Khan because he had destroyed Tulzapur and desecrated Pandharpur could be very satisfying.

It was not only the Muslims that misbehaved. Peshwa Raghunath Rao who came to power after the murder of his predecessor in 1773 did not hesitate to fill his treasury with the wealth accumulated in Pandharpur's temples. Contemporary proconsuls in the States of the Union have more sophisticated methods of doing the same thing. They run overdraft accounts on the Reserve Bank and then get the Union Government to lend them money to settle the overdrafts. It is all done with a few letters, a few telegrams and some entries in ponderous registers. Raghunath Rao had no such easy ways of money supply.

The most dastardly act of a Peshwa, however, occurred in 1815 when that disreputable character, Baji Rao II, organised the murder of a brahmin

messenger of the Gaekwad of Baroda who had been lured to visit the temple. Human blood was spilt at Vithoba's doorstep. This was one of the numerous misdeeds of the Peshwas which led to their ultimate, shameful surrender to the British and closed the Maratha renaissance which had come into being with Shivaji. As Sri Aurobindo has said in his essay, *INDIAN POLITY*: "The Peshwas for all their genius lacked the vision of the founder (of Mahratta revival under Sivaji) and could only establish a military and political confederacy. But this endeavour to found an empire could not succeed because it was inspired by a regional patriotism that failed to enlarge itself beyond its own limits and awaken to living ideal of a united India." History repeats itself, and the same failure masquerades as the triumph of regional hatred in the Shiv Sena and similar contemporary excrescences.

Much later in 1873, during one of the great pilgrimages, the image of Vithoba was broken accidentally or intentionally by some "Gosavis" and had to be patched up by the Badwes. Through all these vicissitudes the Varkari Panth has endured. More recently some intellectuals have joined its ranks, but it has remained basically, a non-organisation, a peasant brotherhood of simple goodness and devotion. The only things that distinguish the Varkari from any other citizen of Maharashtra is that he does not eat meat and goes to Pandharpur at least once a year. With all that, the very existence of the Panth is not widely known even in Maharashtra. I had not heard of them either.

This is because they have not thought it fit to put themselves in the hands of a top-notch public relations executive like Cardinal Gracias. Few image merchants, even from the land of dollars, can match the Cardinal's record of success. To use a common Americanese, he could "sell" the Marian Congress, the Eucharistic Congress and sundry other and frequent shows to a so-called secular Government. He could not only hypnotise the press into enthusiastic support, but bewitch a wide range of critics from Sadhus to Communists to back his enterprise. The effusive welcome to the Pope didn't call for too much effort. After all, he was a "Gora Sadhu"—and so necessarily had double prestige. The day the Varkaris seek prestige or publicity, Jnanadeva's heritage will have come to an end. So far they have been immune to the withering touch of such modernism.

* * *

It was Edgar Wallace (in his early non-crime Romance, *EVE'S ISLAND*) who said that "the journalist has the 'find out' habit." It is this bad habit rather than any devotion to Pandharinath or admiration for the Varkaris that prevailed when an opportunity arrived to see Vithoba by passing the "Government gate," otherwise known as "Tharatee Dwar." This meant that I had to approach not from the front but by the Western entrance (*Paschima Dyar*). We walked through an incredibly narrow lane with tiny, sordid shops pressing on

either side. Beneath the rough cobbled stones on which we trod flowed a sluggish gutter. We were assailed with the stink of disinfectants liberally sprinkled by the Municipality which collects a pilgrim tax of sixty paise per head for this and other cognate purposes.

That is one of the difficulties of human habitation. Wherever humans live, they must eat, they must drink, and they must create dirt. Not even in the shadow of the holy of holies can man escape from pissing and shitting. The lavatories provided for this purpose opened out on the narrow lanes, tell-tale, tar-painted tin coverings, pinpointing their location. The lavatories continue right up in the temple wall. We were moving up close. I was horrified to see a scavenger carrying on his head the tall, black basket filled with excrement collected from one of the lavatories. Some years ago, the late Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, then Home Minister, told the Lok Sabha in his usual unctuous, solemn tones, that this custom would be stopped. It has not been stopped—neither in Pandharpur, nor even in Bombay. Fearfully dodging the man with the basket, I arrived in a sort of daze at the "Tharatee Dwar" so named after a jungle tree called *Tharatee* that grows on a tiny shrine that marks the legendary spot where Kanhopatra killed herself.

I wonder if there is some Brahminical skulduggery in calling the door after the tree rather than Kanhopatra herself, because she was only a dancing girl. Her tragedy occurred somewhere around the middle of the 16th century. By then the less intolerant Bahamani kingdoms had come into power. The mosque built on the temple site in the days of Mohammed bin Tughlak had been replaced by a new temple. Bhanudas had brought back the idol of Vithoba from Vijaynagar to be reinstalled. Kanhopatra, a fabulously beautiful dancer in the court of Bidar fell under the spell of the Varkari Panth and came on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. She was so infatuated with Vithoba that she wouldn't return to her place of shame. But the Sultan ordered her back.

Unfortunately for her, she was not living in degenerate, democratic times like ours. Today a dusky girl labelled a beauty queen by the owners of a line of eating houses, dancing houses and gambling houses, could waggle her behinds, duly measured and pronounced shapely by her sponsors, at the garrulous Foreign Minister of a backboneless wonder that called itself a Government. She could go where she wanted in defiance of passport rules and regulations. Those days, however, beauty was not a matter of inches and the Sultan's word was law. Only it could not reach beyond death, and Kanhopatra chose death. On the spot stained by her blood stands a useless tree miraculously alive apparently without roots, soil or water. For ten paise, the priest of the shrine gave me a few leaves of the tree and assured me they would remain green forever. The next day they were dry. Must be because I am a sinner, though I have yet

to meet one who is not.

That moment in front of the *Tharatee* tree was the only one that warmed the cold blood in my aged and hardening arteries. The rest was dull, drab, dirty. We pushed through the queues and went right up to Vithoba, an iconographic curiosity, standing alone, hands akimbo, a posture not displayed by any other of his colleagues, the chaps and chapeses of all kinds crowding the populous Hindu pantheon. A priest stood next to him right on the divine pedestal. He was dirty and wore dirty clothes. Vithoba and Khandoba and other folk Gods of Maharashtra, we are expected to assume, are not too fastidious. Although I was spared the indignity, the pilgrims who came up in a fervour of devotion, after a long wait, were allowed to touch God's feet only for a fleeting moment. The priest atop the pedestal pushed while another down below pulled them out.

The temple is narrow and undistinguished. Its architecture, its sculpture, its lay-out are not meant to please the aesthete. It is a rough rectangle, broad at one end, narrow at another. It is a little over 150 feet long and about 95 feet at its broad end. At its narrow Eastern end facing the river, it is hardly 60 feet. Into this space have been crammed 15 different shrines including the major ones of Vithoba and Rakhumayi, permanently living apart. Besides there are rooms ostensibly meant for the use of worshippers, but possibly occupied by the priests, the trustees, and their friends, kith and kin. It is for the convenience of these, that lavatories have been provided within the temple yard, though the openings for clearance are outside. The temple environment is equally undistinguished with shops abutting on narrow, dusty lanes, the cager shopkeepers clamorously touting the pilgrims.

On the crumbling banks and unswept, sandy bed of the river, haunted by beggars, ragged, filthy, whining, there are other shrines. In the shrine of Pundalik where, next to a bamboo barricade, some temple functionary lay sprawled in grotesque sleep, I was witness to a sad sight. A woman apparently lingered a moment too long. The priest pushed her violently. She shrieked. Another functionary pulled her away. She laughed hysterically. That shriek and that laugh stamped her a schizophrenic, one of the millions that afflict this land. The most degrading of all the degrading sights in Bombay and elsewhere is the spectacle of these mental derelicts wandering uncared for, often harassed by naughty children, utterly incapable of looking after themselves. Mental health is the most neglected of all the crying problems that have eluded solution in our loudly trumpeted Welfare State.

The most dominant impressions of my unintended visit to Vithoba is the overpowering smell of shit in my nostrils, the sound of the hysterical laughter of an insane woman, the sight of a dirty priest perched next to Vithoba, pushing, pushing, pushing away the devotees. Property rights and the monumental inertia of tradition stand in the way of

long overdue changes.

The Upanishads in one of their adventures in speculative philosophy tell us that all cosmic activity is through fear of the Supreme.

भयादस्यग्निस्तपति भयान्तपतिसूर्यः.

भयादिन्द्रश्च वायुश्च मृत्युर्धावति पंचमः 1.

Through fear of Him the wind (Vayu) doth blow
Through fear of Him the sun (Surya) doth rise
Through fear of Him doth Agni (Fire) and Indra
And Death (Mrityu) as fifth do speed along.

(Taittiriya—Eighth Anuvaka)

* * *

WHO is afraid of you, Vithoba? Whoever was? The armies of Malik Kafur feared you not, nor the armies of Peshwa Raghunath. Mohamed Bin Tughlak, the mad Emperor razed your temple to the ground and drove you into hiding till one poor devotee rescued you. Afzal Khan wasn't afraid of desecrating your temple, forcing you into hiding again, and Peshwa Bajirao II, wasn't afraid of getting a Brahmin visiting you murdered at your doorstep. Was that Vanzari who tied up that *tattu* in that horrible way afraid of your wrath, or the children who broke the hind parts of the dog? Could Kanhopatra rely on the Sultan's fear of you, or was the flunkie in Pundalik's shrine bothered if you might be angry at his rude handling of an unfortunate lunatic?

Are the high priests of high finance who chatter about an affluent economy, while your devotees cook and eat by the side of a filthy gutter, afraid of your wrath? On the contrary they think they can buy you out with a new temple built out of money made from a rich land of incredibly poor people. The many have to be poor so that the few may be rich. The only saving grace is that while Gods can be bought and bribed, Jnaneshwars and Tukarams are more stubborn. Tukaram even refused an invitation by the mighty Shivaji to become a court minstrel. He chose freedom, and he chose poverty. That is the price of freedom.

Prophets and philosophers have long worried over such problems, like a dog over a hard bone. "What strange deity made such a complicated world when presumably He could have made a simple one? Is He omnipotent? How could He be? There's so much suffering and almost always by the innocent?" These are the questions posed by Henry Clarendon IV, aged 80, a character in Raymond Chandler's crime thriller, *PLAYBACK*. Here is part of his answer.

"How strange it is that man's finest aspirations, dirty little animal that he is, his finest actions also, his great and unselfish heroism, his constant daily courage in a harsh world—how strange that these things should be so much finer than his fate on this earth? That has to be somehow made reasonable. Don't tell me honour is merely a chemical reaction or that a man who deliberately gives his

life for another is merely following a behaviour pattern. Is God happy with the poisoned cat dying alone in convulsions behind the billboard? Is God happy that life is cruel and only the fittest survive? The fittest for what? Oh no, far from it. If God were omnipotent and omniscient in any literal sense, he wouldn't have bothered to make the universe at all. There is no success where there is no possibility of failure, nor art without the resistance of the medium. Is it blasphemy to suggest that God has his bad days when nothing goes right, and that God's days are very, very long?"

But how long?

How long will it be before men labouring in the fields, like the man earning his precarious living by cutting and shredding *Ektad*, will have a roof over their children's heads?

How long will it be before human families, cooking, eating, living, bearing and rearing children at the edge of gutters as thousands do for long spells in Bombay or as one was doing in the shadow of Vithoba, are able to live in a cleaner healthier and less degrading environment?

How long will it be before vagrant untaught, undisciplined children teasing the helpless mentally deranged, or throwing stones at dogs, and cats and pigeons and squirrels, are sent to school and taught discipline and kindness?

How long will it be before the mental derelicts wandering around, laughing hysterically when they are ill treated, as that woman was in Pundalik's shrine, are given shelter and treated with loving kindness in sensibly run, mental hospitals?

How long will it be before horses don't have to be tied up by wandering gypsies so that they may not escape, but herded in compounds and provided with proper feed?

How long Vithoba?

How long Vithoba, before the laws of property, the greatest single shackle invented by man to restrict his own freedom, are changed to make it possible to provide you with a clean, spacious environment, to open out and enlarge your temple, to free you from inherited, monopolistic restrictions and the bondage to commerce, to enable your devotees to offer their homage in peace and comfort.

A long line of saints brought you fame and prestige I am not bothered about saints and sinners, Vithoba. They can look after themselves. I am concerned with the ordinary folk, the anonymous run-of-the mill, men, women, children and animals. A flame quivers within their common clay.

How long Vithoba? How long before this land is made fit to live in for bird, beast and man? Your presence is supposed to have made it holy Vithoba. How long then before every human being born into this land can have, not vulgar affluence, but an ordinary decent life?

Vithoba, oh, Vithoba, how long?

Turning West

M. S. N. MENON

AFRICA moves West, economically, politically and culturally—this was what emerged during the three sessions of the Seminar on Africa, called by the Indian Council for Africa.

The second day was devoted to an examination of the Great Power impact on Africa, the third day to India's interests in Africa and the last tried to answer the question: "Whither Africa—Afro-Asia or Afro-Europe?"

Though Africa has been mostly de-colonised, the European and American presence is very much there. In fact, their political and economic pulls are stronger today than ever before. However, American and Soviet influence is marginal, each trying to reduce the other's impact. French and Belgian influence has grown, while that of Britain has declined. China will not be an important factor in African affairs for a long time to come, especially in view of the disillusionment with the radicals.

Most of the speakers on India's interests in Africa felt that India had suffered principally by its own indifference to African affairs. However, a new realistic policy has emerged of late, especially in the field of economic collaboration. But some questioned the wisdom of private collaboration when at home India follows socialistic aims. It is in India's own interest to make Africa self-reliant in the economic field and prevent an over-dependence on the West. The West is interested in the raw materials of Africa, but in Asia it is interested in the vast markets.

This is the second and concluding instalment of a review of the recent Seminar held under the auspices of the Indian Council for Africa in New Delhi.

It was felt that India never developed a realistic policy towards Africa and that Nehru's policy was emotional. Afro-Asian solidarity is no more a vital factor in world affairs, though cooperation at the UN level continues.

Asia can offer nothing to Africa, neither a status among nations nor values suited to African psychology. In the future, too, this is not going to be different.

Great Powers in Africa

Sri L. L. Ahmed's paper on "The Role of Great Powers in Africa" makes a distinction between Arab North Africa and Negro Africa. He says that North Africa was under European domination for over 2000 years. The European domination over Negro Africa began in the 19th century. But, says Sri Ahmed, "The surprising thing was that the partition (of Africa) was effected without a war. Africa evidently was big enough for all."

Sri Ahmed expresses some unconventional views on Africa. For example, he believes that the evils of colonialism are more than balanced by the good it has achieved. In support he depends more on a theory than on evidence when he says "History is the story of human progress" and colonialism, being a phase of that history, is progressive.

He says that the "revolution of rising expectations" compel Africa to seek foreign aid and this helps Great Powers to fish in the troubled waters of Africa. "There is a marked tendency among the Great Powers to use the African states as pawns in the game of power-politics," he says.

Sri Ahmed notes that US policy is circumscribed by the need to respect the special interests of its NATO allies with

interests in Africa, as also by the requirements of the policy of containment against the Soviet Union. "All this goes to confirm the view that American policy in Africa is largely peripheral."

As for French influence, "France has come to play a major part in her former African empire." These African territories are linked with France through defence cooperation and military pacts, and also by their special relations with the Common Market. There are some 20,000 French troops in these countries and a lion's share of the 784 million dollar EEC overseas development fund are spent there.

Sri Ahmed observes that British policy in Africa is vacillating and that "it is significant that radicalism is strong among the English-speaking Africans.... Almost all of them have adopted one-party rule. Disappointment with Britain over self-determination and economic development makes these countries emotionally drawn towards Moscow and Peking."

The Soviet policy has only gradually taken shape. He thinks that Soviet interest in Africa began only after the policy of containment against the Soviet Union was launched during the Eisenhower-Dulles era. "Henceforth the Soviet Union sought the cooperation of the uncommitted states of Afro-Asia both at the UN and outside it and came vigorously to champion the cause of the national independence for Africa." The Soviet objective according to Sri Ahmed was to "enlist their support for Soviet policy in the cold war by offer of inducement and by various forms of political flattery."

Further, "as Soviet experience elsewhere has shown the strategy of support for nationalist regimes has almost invariably resulted

in blocking the spread of communism."

"In Peking the desire to exploit Soviet embarrassment is irresistible," says Sri Ahmed. While the Soviet Union tries to stabilise the anti-colonial forces in Africa, Chou En-lai proclaims that "An excellent revolutionary situation exists in Africa." But the Chinese cultural revolution has tarnished the image of China in Africa.

Sri Ahmed concludes: "Thus the total picture of Africa that emerges from this analysis is that of a recently emancipated region transformed into a battle-ground of the Great Powers."

Sri Madan Sauldie in his paper on "America and Africa" mentions the five "pillars" of US policy in Africa: 1) self-determination, 2) supporting African institutions, 3) economic support, 4) discouraging arms buildup and 5) making the colonial powers conscious of their continued responsibility towards Africa. Other interests Sri Sauldie identifies as the US missionary interests, commercial relations, space-age ties, interest in halting the progress of communism towards Africa and the growing importance of Africa in international forums.

Sri Sauldie points out that the divergence in America's professed principles and practices should be studied in the context of US policy in the Congo, Rhodesia, South Africa, SW Africa, Portuguese colonies, etc.

On the economic front, American interest is marginal, though vital in some special areas. During the first five-years—1960-65—aid to Africa from outside amounted to 8 billion dollars, of which the US alone contributed nearly 2 billion dollars. US aid is concentrated in a few countries, Nigeria, Liberia, Tunisia, Morocco, Congo (Kinshasa), etc.

American aid is spread out in four sectors of the economic and social life of the continent: education, manpower training; agriculture and food production; health and sanitation and transportation and communication.

The American Peace Corps is engaged mostly in the educational field. But Sri Sauldie comments that "Of the 2,538 American

Peace Corps volunteer teachers in December 1966, 55 per cent lacked any previous teaching experience."

However, American interest in Africa is growing and a vast amount of literature on Africa is produced in the USA. No other country is doing so much research work on African problems as the USA. "Scholars from the US now form the biggest single national group engaged in African research."

In his paper, "Africa and Soviet Union," Sri K.P. Misra says that a clear formulation of Soviet policy towards Africa was made by I.I. Potekhin, one of the foremost Soviet Africanists during the Stalin era. He made a distinction between revolution in capitalist countries and in subject countries and said that "from this thesis comes the extremely important principal conclusion concerning the special strategic stage of colonial revolution, the stage of the common anti-imperialist front, when the national bourgeoisie still supports the revolutionary movement." Subsequently the Bandung conference helped the further elaboration of Soviet policy towards the colonial revolution.

The Soviet Union has sought no alliance with African states, but has made it clear to them that they can look upon her assistance in case of pressure from the West. The Aswan Dam is a case in point. The Soviet Union has welcomed any organisation which is progressive and anti-Western. The Soviet attitude to the communist parties is different in different countries of Africa. It has depended largely on the degree of support the national bourgeoisie wanted in their struggle against Western pressures or in their national liberation. In the UN the African nations and Soviet Union have established a greater degree of cooperation than say Africa with the West.

Sri G.P. Deshpande in an analysis of China's foreign policy towards Africa says that we must discard that impression that China is out to export revolutions. The Chinese role in the world is mostly confined to

"support and encouragement" as China believes that revolutions must come from local movements alone. In Africa China indeed made great headway till 1966. Sri Deshpande lists four major Chinese policy objectives: 1) to project China as "a power which matters in the world", 2) anti-imperialism, i.e. to seek African support against the USA, 3) to discredit the Soviet Union in African eyes, and 4) to establish its credentials as the only lawful government of China. China has succeeded according to Deshpande in her objectives 1, 2 and 4, but not in 3. He says that China can never match the Soviet and East European aid to Africa. Incidentally, he feels that it is not true that China carries on anti-Indian propaganda in Africa. He says that China simply ignores India.

Dr. Girija K. Mookerjee in his paper on "France and Africa" traces the history and pattern of the evolution of relations between France and her African empire. According to Dr. Mookerjee "Though the conception of the commune (French community) and the idea of liberation of the Africans were chiefly de Gaulle's, he had, however, since its accomplishment, taken less interest in the functioning of the commune than it was expected of him. France under his guidance is gradually becoming more and more conscious of a special role in Europe and the world and foreign policy has acquired new dimensions...because of France's preoccupations with East-West tensions in Europe, priorities for Africa have been relegated somewhat to the background. Nevertheless, economic integration of the African states with France has made considerable progress."

Sri Girilal Jain in his paper "Britain's Africa Policy" assumes that "The British people have no appetite left for an effective world role because that involves burdens which they are not anxious to share. This has a crucial bearing on British policy towards Africa as towards Asia. As elsewhere the British want to reduce commitments in Africa as well."

He says that whatever pretensions and justifications there were for a British presence in Africa

have gone by the seizure of power by the white minority in Rhodesia against British policy and the breakup of Nigeria, the show-window of Britain in West Africa. Sri Jain feels that "it is doubtful if the British government would have placed itself in this ridiculous position (with regard to Rhodesia) if its will to retain influence in Africa has not been greatly weakened." It is true that Britain is still in business in Africa, but there is bitterness, lack of purpose and direction all round. Thus Britain looks to the EEC for her salvation and perhaps a role in European affairs, and the African nations themselves have begun to look to Europe.

Sri Jain concludes that if Britain joins EEC it can continue to influence Africa in a more effective manner. "With Britain in the Common Market, the West European position in Africa can really be formidable," he says.

India's interests in Africa

Dr. Sisir Gupta in his paper "India's Interest in Africa" says that India's capacity to influence developments in Africa is obviously limited. He identifies three areas of Indian interests in African developments, (1) the freedom of the whole of Africa, (2) ending of racial discrimination in the world and (3) the Indian settlers in Africa. Sri Gupta feels that "it is a moral obligation as well as a political necessity for India to ensure the security of (Indian settlers) to the best of India's capacity."

He advocates that we should have special areas of interest in Africa and develop bilateral relations.

As for the influence of China in Africa, he feels this has been greatly exaggerated, and that for very serious practical limitations China's role in Africa is bound to be of a marginal nature.

Sri Gupta observes that Afro-Asian economic cooperation cannot be an important factor, but if Africa goes completely under European economic domination, it may not prove beneficial either to India or Asia.

He says: "From this point of view, it may be important for us to try to prevent an

economic over-dependence on the part of Africa on Europe," and that we should have an economic policy to obviate this possibility.

Prof. Prasad in his paper "India and Africa" assumes that "India and Africa are close neighbours and the security and well-being of the one is closely tied to that of the other," and that "the two, if linked together by bonds of cooperation in production as well as marketing, can be real assets to each other." He says: "By every test, then, Africa deserves to be considered as a major area of interest for our foreign policy". He believes that cooperation should be built on the emotional base of Indo-African common experience. Prof. Prasad feels that India has failed to forge strong ties with Africa, because "relations with African countries were not treated as a major area of interest in our foreign policy". However, he feels that of late "our relations with African countries are, on the whole, in a much better shape." This is because our relations are more practical based primarily on economic cooperation. He deprecates slogans of anti-imperialism and Afro-Asian unity, which he considers outdated. Prof. Prasad feels that our diplomacy has failed to some extent by political wooing against a background of cultural snobbery. He observes "the general pattern of social behaviour of both our diplomatic personnel posted in African countries and our so-called elite in New Delhi requires nothing short of a revolution."

Sri R.K. Sharma in his paper "India's Economic Interest in Africa: Potential, Policies and Performance" feels that close proximity and India's know-how can form the basis of economic cooperation with Africa.

As regards "potential" Sri Sharma feels that Africa's "potential wealth is one of its outstanding advantages", providing one-seventh of the world's mineral output and 36 per cent of Africa's export. "Almost all African countries have to a greater or lesser extent, been attempting to plan their economic development,"

he observes. African leaders have accepted rapid industrialisation as the only remedy to avoid their undue dependence on their agricultural economy, particularly the single crop cultivation. Foreign collaboration is an essential factor in the industrialisation of Africa. In this India can be effective, for it is the first major country among the nations to take to industrialisation and in the acquisition of know-how.

Africa is one of the most trade dependent areas of the world. It exports 7,490 million dollars and imports 8,250 million dollars worth of goods, 71 per cent of imports constituting machinery which rose to 598 per cent from 1950 onwards. This shows the potential possibility for India's export of machinery. Sri Sharma feels that a more realistic Indian economic policy emerged only by 1963 when the Indo-African Development Association was formed. However, the policy on export possibility in Africa is yet to emerge. As regards economic collaboration, he says, the performance has been fairly encouraging.

Dr. Mathew Kurian's paper on "India's Economic Relations With Africa and Implications to Foreign Policy", by its very length defies summarisation. But a few salient points raised in his paper are 1) that the undue dependence of African countries on Western Europe and the UK for their normal trade transactions has been a source of economic and political weakness for African nations, 2) that India's trade relation with African countries has, so far, remained one of the most neglected areas of our foreign economic policy, with almost a stagnant export performance, 3) that India trying to export to the African countries is not in a position to import anything substantially from them, and 4) that India's failure in export to Africa is caused by "lack of clear cut understanding of the areas of mutually beneficial trade. He sees immense potentiality for the export of consumer goods to Africa. He welcomes Indian collaboration with African countries, but questions the way it is being organised. He observes

that this may be a way to absorb the Indian community in Africa into industries to create a new pattern of life for them. He says however that "It is a big folly to allow Indian business houses to invest in African countries at a time when Indian entrepreneurs have yet to learn how to shoulder social responsibilities back at home."

He is of the view that the proposition that the USA has relatively small economic interest in Africa is entirely misleading. Nor does he consider the US interest purely as a by-product of East-west struggle.

Dr. Kurian feels that the weaknesses that one notices in India's economic and political relations with African countries is only a reflection of the weaknesses in India's total foreign policy.

Sri G. L. Bansal in his paper on "India's interest in Africa—Role of India-Africa Development Association" traces the development of the Association from 1963. The Association provides an effective forum for both Indian and African industrialists. India sent three business delegations to Africa and "the findings of all the three delegations indicate that the prospects of Indian collaboration are large and growing in the continent."

Dr. N. S. Grewal's paper on Indian immigrants in East Africa and India's policy towards them questions the wisdom of India's policy. He says: "The policy of the Indian government, therefore, would appear to be not to associate with the interests and demands of the Indian immigrants lest it stands open to the charge of defending any vested interests in East Africa which were presumably opposed to the general welfare of the Africans." He wants a distinction to be drawn between Indians identifying with the African community and assimilation which is another matter.

Whither Africa: Afro-Asia or Afro-Europe ?

Sri Ajit Gopal, writing on "Whither Africa: Afro-Asia or Afro-Europe ?" says "Bandung

was both the beginning and the highest watermark of Afro-Asian solidarity." Nehru made India Africa-conscious, but his approach was emotional. Nehru thought that common subjection was enough to bring the two continents together. Nehru introduced China to Africa, for the concept of Asia in his mind had validity only when China was there. But 1962 saw the end of India-China friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity. Both China and India began to pursue separate policies, working against each other. Africa was disillusioned with India and it turned away from the impractical Chinese form of communism. Perhaps this accounts for Africa's transfer of allegiance to Europe, feels Sri Gopal. But Africa was not united on its own problems. Rhodesia proved the basic weakness of that continent. Sri Ajit Gopal feels that the breakup of Afro-Asian solidarity had something to do with the weakening of the OAU also. The protagonists of Afro-Asian solidarity failed to consolidate the forces over the Rhodesia crisis and missed what was perhaps the last chance.

Sri Gopal says: "We in India cannot grudge our African neighbours this gravitational pull of Europe because we have ourselves established with our former colonisers ties of fraternity which could scarcely be regarded as possible in pre-independence days."

Sri Ajit Gopal concludes by posing a question: Why has Asia failed to inspire Africa ? Perhaps the answer to this question, though momentous, did not emerge at the seminar in a clear manner.

This correspondent, too, submitted a paper on "Whither Africa—Afro-Asia or Afro-Europe?" He chose the subject "African Personality and Western Culture". He contended that the question was a false dilemma. Africa has all the potentialities to chart an independent destiny for itself without being an appendage. But one must also admit that the cultural pull, as the political and economic, is towards Europe.

"African personality" is a political concept which tries to define the position of the African in the world community. Negritude is its cultural expression. The rediscovery of Africa is a necessity to the African nationalist bourgeoisie in order to give them self-respect in the world. But the industrial and bureaucratic bourgeoisie are already adding more Western values and forms to African culture. This process of rediscovery and assimilation will be a continuing process. Africa's dialogue is with Europe and the West, not with Asia. Asia cannot give Africa a status in the world or the kind of values suited to the dynamic African psychology.

His final point was that what we witness today in the West as also in the Soviet Union is the emergence of a 'mass culture' with values of universal validity and that it is likely that Africa will produce a prosperous industrial proletariat much faster than Asia. This African industrial class will again look to the West and to the Socialist countries for mass values and culture patterns. Asia will hardly be in a position even then to influence the value patterns of Africa.

Sri H. S. Chhabra, writing on the question "Whither Africa—Afro-Asia or Afro-Europe?" believes that Afro-Asian solidarity is a continuing vital factor. He feels that the economic and political pull towards Europe is not a "compromise". He says "Except for some African leaders from French speaking Africa, the majority of African people strongly feel that they are emotionally, culturally and ideologically closer to Asians."

In conclusion, he says "Afro-Asian unity and cooperation has come to stay." He wonders whether there will emerge in the UN an Afro-Europe group even when Africa moves closer towards Europe.

Dear Readers: Please let us know whether you are getting your copy of *Mainstream* regularly.

—General Manager

The Script

'MR Woods, sir,' said she, 'here's what I'd like to read out over the Radio. Would you like to devalue the script?'

'With pleasure,' said Mr. Woods, in the best style of chivalry. All bankers act that way, which is the one great thing about bankers. And she knew it.

'Come, let's have a look,' said Mr. Woods, elevating the horn rimmed glasses on to his balding warhead.

'Friends, Indians, countrymen,' read Mr. Woods. 'Mmm?'

'Yes, sir,' said she.

'Ya read Williyaaami Shakespeere?'

'I did, Mr. Woods, sir,' said she.

'That's good,' said the banker. 'That gives me great confidence to pump dough into yer country.'

'Thanks, Mr. Woods, sir,' said she.

'Hmm,' said Mr. Woods. 'What else did ya read at school?'

'Lots of poetry, which I have begun to apply to the economic situation.'

'Let's hear some of it,' said Mr. Woods.

She recited:

'Sammy had a little lamb

*Her fleece was white as snow
And everytime that Sammy
fleeced*

The lamb sure didn't know.'

'That's cute,' said Mr. Woods. 'Now I'll see your script through.'

Mr. Woods escalated the horn rims further up the bridge of his nose, and peered over the handiwork of the press hack who did her ghosting.

'Friends, Indians, countrymen, my own, friends, advisers, climbers, tourists,' read Mr. Woods, 'the country is passing through a crisis, which is the sole reason why I am here, and talking to you person to person. My heart is with you, my spirit is with you, and I want to assure you the prices will go up, and we will stay nonaligned despite that, and the progeny of the cow will not be denied the right of Habeas Corpus, which was denied earlier to the Left Communists. But that was in an earlier period,

and I for one will have none of those illiberal practices. Do you find me rambling and irrelevant? If you do, it's only because this is a sprawling country, sprawling both in time and space, and its problems are too vast to be made the issue of an election. The need of the hour (which means at least fifty years) is to suffer, go without necessities, go without water, without food, without dogmatic self-respect, without too many luxuries. You might ask me, why? My answer is: for the sake of the country, to defend it against the Chinese, the Greeks and the Bactrians. Though the Emergency has been lifted in favour of a better Civil Defence Bill which would revive the spirit of the Civil Defence days and encourage Jan Sangh Civil Defence Volunteers to man a National Coalition, we cannot forget that our country, being holier than others, has to be in a perpetual state of injured innocence, which means war. In the words of Leonardo Da Vinci, war is to man what maternity is to woman, which means that nobody enjoys war one bit. But since our brethren are dying due to malnutrition in non-Congress Bihar, we have to spend what little we have on armaments, and keep the Army from sinking tube wells in Bihar, so that there is no interference with Opposition regimes, in the best British-Indian standards of democracy. If you still find me rambling, I tell you it is the work of my holy ghost, my prim press hack. Constitutionally I am bound to speak according to his script, which is the reason why I oppose Subba Rao, though I can always use my discretion (I haven't had an opportunity so far) and speak off the script.'

Mr. Woods paused.

'Splendid so far,' he said. 'But.....'

'But, Mr. Woods?' she said, anxiously.

'Well let me read on....'

Mr. Woods read on, 'Countrymen, you might be intrigued about the Fourth Plan. I am intrigued,

myself. But I wish to assure you that the Fourth Plan is very much there, as is proved by the fact that the Planning Minister continues to occupy his bungalow. There has been some misunderstanding because the Health Minister said he wouldn't allow the Fourth Child. I have kept, since then, the Planning and Health Ministries apart, and written separate letters to both of them. More than this I can't tell you anything. It depends on the United States Congress and on the American Constitution which governs their Public Law....'

'Objection,' said Mr. Woods.

'Sir?' said she, anxiously.

'You can't criticise the United States Congress by name, and you can't ask people to revolt against the United States Constitution!'

'Mr. Woods, sir,' she protested, 'I never criticised the United States Congress.'

'You mentioned its name,' said Mr. Woods. 'And I know that no one mentions its name but to criticise it.'

'I'm sorry.'

'And the Constitution. It's sacred, like the Warren Commission report,' said Mr. Woods. 'No, this script cannot go over a Radio which is run by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. No!'

Mr. Woods crumpled the paper into a ball and shot it into the waste paper basket.

'Mr. Woods, sir,' said she, 'have you devalued the whole of it?'

'Yes,' said Mr. Woods, 'To fill the credibility gap.'

She slumped. 'What do I read out?' she asked.

'This,' said Mr. Woods, handing her a sheet of paper. 'A poem.'

She read,

-Mr. Woods is lovely, dark and deep.

But there are strangleholds to keep,

Or else he wouldn't let you sleep,

And make your poor li'l soul creep.... Oooh, Mr.

Woods, sir!'

'Shizam!' said Mr. Woods, sir, and vanished.

-Charvaka



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Road to Consolidation

OBSERVER

KASHMIR has dominated the Indian scene in more than one sense. Ever since independence, Kashmir has been the testing ground of many of the basic tenets of Indian democracy.

It is here that the most convincing claim of India's secularism is to be found. Here is a state where Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists have been living together without any record of sporadic communal clashes. There have been violent disturbances in Kashmir as in other parts of India, but not one that can be called communal in character. This is by no means a small achievement when one remembers that right across the frontier, Pakistan's propaganda machine has been carrying on non-stop a provocative communal campaign.

Secondly, Kashmir has provided the finest test of the Indian people's patriotic determination to defend the security of their motherland. Within a few weeks of India achieving independence, she met the challenge of aggression on the soil of Kashmir. In 1965, it was again in the beautiful

vale of Kashmir that a regular war began, putting to test the valour, determination and the patriotism of the Indian people. And throughout these last eight years of Chinese intransigence against India aggression had to be resisted on the inaccessible mountain heights that constitute the eastern frontiers of Kashmir.

It is therefore important to remind ourselves that on the frontiers of Kashmir the battle for India's sovereignty is being fought and this could not have been possible but for the firm support that the people of Kashmir have themselves extended to those far-flung battle fronts. In this context there is much significance in the words of Sri G.M. Sadiq in his Policy Statement on assuming once again the Chief Ministership in March this year: "The national aspect of the problem of Pakistan and China are matters for the Central Government, but placed as we are, we are aware of our special responsibilities in this State."

Thirdly, Kashmir has a distinct contribution to make in investing basic political content

to the concept of Indian democracy. The radical traditions of Kashmir's national movement were embodied in its far-reaching programme of "New Kashmir." In line with that, Kashmir's national leadership when it came to power after independence translated some of these, like abolition of land reforms without compensation, in the governmental measures—far in advance of what the other State Governments had done in different parts of India. Today also the record on this score of the Congress Government in Kashmir is well ahead of other Congress Governments. It is therefore no accident that today the Congress Ministry in Kashmir could hold its own while many others have been toppled at the General Election.

The programmatic lead of the Kashmir Government is often overlooked or underestimated by the national leadership not only of the Congress but of other progressive parties as well; and yet one cannot escape noticing the existence throughout the years of some kind of affinity and identity between the Kashmir leadership

and the forward-looking elements in both the Congress and the opposition on the national plane. This is one of the abiding heir-looms of the national movement which has significance even today when there is so much talk of polarisation of forces in this country on the social and economic plane. And the unrelenting opposition of the Right wing in Indian politics—most determined being Jan Sangh—to the developments in Kashmir spring mainly from this antipathy to a radical outlook that has marked the personality of Kashmir's leadership.

Not that there has been no disappointment for the progressives in the developments in Kashmir. First came the jolt that Sheikh Abdullah's personalised regime gave to democratic opinion all over the country. Instead of strengthening the forces of secularism and radicalism all over India by trying to consolidate them all—a role which was expected of him by all progressive sections in India from Nehru to the Communists—he in the face of difficulties tried to slink back into the shell of isolationism, cutting himself away from the mainstream of progressive opinion in India—and so began to toy with the idea of an 'independent' Kashmir, dislinked from the rest of India. By this act of folly and desperation, Sheikh Abdullah strengthened the hands of those who had always looked upon Kashmir's radical politics with suspicion and disfavour; and in the bargain, the Western powers have made the most of Kashmir's difficulties.

Viewed against this background, it is not difficult to understand that while there is plenty of genuine anxiety on the part of a large section of well-meaning people to see that Sheikh Abdullah once again plays a purposeful role, the most active advocacy on his behalf has been taken up by confirmed Right-wing elements in Indian politics like the Swatantra leadership and the blatant pro-Americans like Sardar J.J. Singh, with Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, as usual, getting mixed up in such a motley company. The crocodile tears shed by the Western agents for Sheikh Abdullah today is precisely based on the calculation that exploiting his present anger, resentment and frustration they would be able to establish a Rightist, pro-West bridgehead in Kashmir linking up the reactionaries in Pakistan with their ideological counterparts in this country.

It is because of this strange conjunction of circumstances in which Sheikh Abdullah instead of heading a progressive bloc in Indian politics as was expected of him in the first years of independence, is being counted by reactionaries as a useful lever for their own objective that the progressive opinion in this country was sorely disappointed with him and was compelled, though reluctantly, to take up a stand in clear opposition to his politics of adventurism. This is not only a matter of acute disappointment but of painful distress for India's progressive forces; and the tragedy could be rectified only by Sheikh Abdullah himself boldly repudiating his own mistaken

attitudes and policies. Those who say that he could not possibly do so while in detention forget some of the most momentous episodes of India's history, when Gandhiji with his unvanquished courage never hesitated to convey even from behind bars to the British Government any fresh approach to break a prevailing political deadlock. It requires the courage of a giant to get over the petty outlook that is bothered about questions of prestige. And the Government of India is no alien government for Sheikh Abdullah trying to maintain its imperialist stranglehold over Kashmir. It was Sheikh himself, in his finest hour who had set the seal of popular sanction on Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union, and it was the Sadiq Government on first assuming office early in 1964, that released Sheikh Abdullah expecting of him to play the role of a statesman and not of a politician overburdened with frustration, being led astray by undesirable political touts.

When on his release in 1964, Nehru in his very last days, welcomed him as his personal guest—despite the angry attacks of die-hard reactionaries—Sheikh Abdullah had a glorious opportunity to stage a come-back to progressive politics, but it was he who spoilt it with his own hands. Today he is in detention because of his own mistakes, and that too, not because of any ukase of the Sadiq Government which treated him with exemplary forbearance; but by the Government of India when it found that the frustrated Sheikh allowed himself to be guided by

KASHMIR is very close to our minds and hearts. People in other countries thought of Kashmir merely as a geographical unit. It was only a plaything for them while it was very much in our hearts. Our history and our circumstances had made Kashmir so closely associated with our feelings, emotions, thoughts and passions that it was a part of our being.

We believe in the ideal of communal unity and not in the two-nation theory. The Kashmiri is convinced that the former is the right approach and that is why Kashmir has slipped out of Pakistan's grasp, thereby completely upsetting its rulers.

I am completely convinced that every action that the Government of India have taken in regard to Kashmir has been straight and above board and I can defend it at any time before the world. We have indeed been over-scrupulous in this matter so that nothing may be done in the passion of the moment which might be wrong. The behaviour of our Army has all along been good and worthy of our traditions.

Jawaharlal Nehru

the Pakistan Government to campaign against India, and for that, even a rapport was being established with the Peking Government for a common political front against India.

Even today the Prime Minister of India is believed to be in favour of bringing about a reconciliation with Sheikh Abdullah and would be too happy to do so even at the cost of being misunderstood by many in this country. The crucial question however remains: what role would Sheikh Abdullah be playing in this difficult period? It was expected that in 1965 when Pakistan tried to grab Kashmir by force of arms, Sheikh Abdullah would come out with a strong denunciation of it. But in his warped, jaundiced vision, Sheikh Abdullah kept silent, almost giving the impression that he regarded India's difficulty as his own boon. Ever since, whatever he has conveyed through friends—who incidentally have been permitted almost free access to him in detention—does not show any sign of any attempt at rethinking on the part of Sheikh Abdullah.

If he is in a mood to rethink, then it is possible for Sheikh Abdullah to draw the correct lessons from the results of this year's General Elections. The slogan of boycott of the poll given by his Plebiscite Front proved a fiasco because it hardly got popular response. The eagerness of the electorate to exercise the franchise could be seen in the fact that the polling was as high as 59 per cent and that too despite inclement weather (as indicated by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, by no means an admirer of the present Kashmir Government) and the inhospitable terrain in parts of the State of Jammu & Kashmir. The Plebiscite Front later on sneakily changed its tactics and came into the election campaign in support of some of their henchmen standing as Independents. In this also, they came out badly as could be seen from the election results. Some of their stalwarts

have lost their deposit. Only two out of 37 Independents could win the elections. Similarly, Jan Sangh which at the other end was taking a communalist line for wiping out the very personality of the people of Kashmir could secure only three seats out of 32 they contested. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad with enormous resources at his command and with the backing of powerful vested interest on the all-India plane, and with all the advantage of having presided over the administration of the State for a decade, could bag only eight seats out of 38 that his National Conference contested. Against this, the Kashmir Congress led by Sri Sadiq, Mir Qasim and Sri D.P. Dhar could win as many as 60 seats out of 73 contested.

It is a convenient alibi of the Right-wing critics that the elections in Kashmir were rigged. This is because the previous elections in the State during the dispensation of Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad were conducted according to the electoral law prevalent in the State and under the aegis of the State Government itself which was known for its fabulous corruption. This time, however, the elections were held under the direct supervision and responsibility of the Election Commissioner of India and the same electoral laws which were valid all over the country were applied to the State of Jammu & Kashmir. If the Opposition forces could win so many seats all over the country through the impartiality of the Election Commissioner of India, there is no reason to believe that Kashmir should be an exception. The only point on which Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed made a big fuss was about the uncontested return of 21 members belonging to the Congress. The Kashmir Government bent backwards to see that arrangements could be made for the prompt filing of any representation by the candidates whose papers were found to be invalid and it took the

initiative in settling with the Election Commissioner that the election tribunals to be set up for the purpose would be presided over by judges from outside the State. One of the reasons why so many cases of National Conference candidates found their papers invalid was that under the old electoral law of the Bakshi days a Government contractor could not be debarred from standing because he was holding an office of profit while such cases are not permitted under the Indian electoral law. There is also good reason to believe that after having found that the chances of the National Conference winning heavily at the polls were poor, the Bakshi leadership might have been reckless in putting up candidates without valid papers atleast to gain a propaganda point against the Sadiq Government.

The overall impression of observers from outside has been that the charges of the Bakshi's clique were hardly tenable and the enthusiasm and zeal with which the election campaign was conducted by all parties showed the faith of the electorate in the polling machinery itself; otherwise the prevalence of large-scale electoral corruption could always be the starting point of apathy and indifference on the part of the voters. Even for argument's sake, if all these 21 candidates of the National Conference had participated in the contest, and won all those seats, even then the Kashmir Congress would have had a comfortable majority in the Assembly, a position which not many State Congress units can claim in India today.

The political forthrightness of the Kashmir leaders could be seen when at the time of the election campaign, Syed Mir Qasim publicly accused some US Embassy officials of intervening in the campaign. This charge was formally taken up by the Kashmir Government after the election, not in the least browbeaten

by the prospect of earning American displeasure—a lesson for many in New Delhi to learn.

An index of mass interest in the election could be seen from the fact that unlike the previous elections all the stalwarts in the Government faced brisk contest and some of the Government supporters were found defeated by the Opposition, which had hardly been the case under the Bakshi dispensation or under Sheikh Abdullah. In this connection a word may be said about the triumph of the Congress in Jammu where the election campaign was under the able leadership of Sri D.P. Dhar.

The picture that emerges in Kashmir from the General Election is of a stable government not only by the standards of Kashmir but of India as a whole. The political stability of the Congress in Kashmir is rooted in its old traditions of mass contact and radicalism which is embodied in the personality of the Chief Minister Sri G.M. Sadiq and the Pradesh Congress Chief, Syed Mir Qasim. There are few in the Congress in the whole of India today who have this record of mass approach and statesmanship combined with respect for integrity that the Chief Minister of Kashmir commands. Nobody can accuse him for communalism or corruption and in the sphere of all-India politics, his maturity has always been undoubted, an instance was provided by his support for Sri Krishna Menon's candidature whose absence from parliamentary politics should be counted as a loss for the Congress.

The emergence of the Bakshi brand of National Conference in Kashmir politics is an important matter. It shows that a certain normalcy has come in the politics of the State which has so long been categorised as being in a state of perpetual emergency. The fact that

the Kashmir Congress could afford to have such a formidable critic as Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in the Opposition, shows its strength and confidence and the fact that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad today finds himself relegated to the position of an Opposition leader, fretting and fuming, is an index of the maturity of the Kashmir people in rejecting a person who had for years utilised enormous official position and patronage for the benefit of his own clique.

In fact, the Bakshi regime provided the second biggest bolt after Sheikh Abdullah's *volte face* for the Indian progressive opinion. Bakshi for a long time had enjoyed the unstinted support of the Left-wing in India in the belief that he would be able to bring about democratic stability in the State, and the Government of India went out of its way to give him support to the degree which even Sheikh Abdullah never got and which today the Sadiq Government has not claimed. But Bakshi abused this confidence and ended up by bringing about not only his own downfall but leaving behind a rickety State administration.

It is against this background that the Sadiq leadership had to start their uphill journey: on one hand was the attack from the Sheikh camp and on the other the legacy of Bakshi corruption. The fact that it has not only been able to hold its own but has emerged stronger politically on the map of Kashmir and of India testifies to the strength, ability and vigour of the Sadiq Government.

It is not that once coming to power its path was strewn with roses. There have been many political difficulties apart from the fact of having to run a civilian administration under the strain of a full-scale war and even then being able to retain the con-

fidence of the masses. One of the episodes in its eventful career was the controversy that was touched off by the interview to a foreign newspaper by Dr. Karar Singh, the then Governor of Jammu & Kashmir. At a moment of indiscretion Dr. Karan Singh gave publicity to his pet theory that the solution of the Kashmir problem lay in the partition of the State, Jammu and Ladakh joining up with Himachal Pradesh and the Valley of Kashmir being made into a separate entity; in other words he was advocating almost a half-way house for Sheikh Abdullah's independent Kashmir. The firmness with which Sri Sadiq and his colleagues dealt with this controversy while seeing to it that the political career of Dr. Karan Singh was not blighted, is an example of a high level of statesmanship. The fact that Dr. Karan Singh's infantile proposal could not make any dent in the politics of Kashmir is one more proof of the political stability of the present Kashmir Government. It is to be hoped that Dr. Karan Singh's proposal has got a decent burial and its author elevated to the Indian Cabinet would not toy with it any longer.

Today Kashmir is thus firmly entrenched on the road to consolidation. It is upto the rest of the country to appreciate the gains registered in Kashmir and to help in consolidating them further by fraternal solidarity. When thousands of Indians visit Kashmir every year to enjoy its matchless natural beauty, they have to remember that behind the picturesque hills and dales, snow-capped mountains and snow-fed rivers of this enchanting valley, there lies the story of an absorbing politics run by patriotic leaders standing as sentinels of our great country and providing us with a sense of confidence in the future of our great democracy.

Paradise of the Indies

NOOR MOHAMMAD

"LIKE some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valley below. It has a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometime the sheer loveliness of it was over-powering and I felt almost faint. And I gazed at it, it seemed to me dream-like and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fail us and to seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening." These were the unforgettable words of our beloved leader, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Nestling in the bosom of the mighty Himalayas, and combining the Alpine grandeur with the exotic charms of the East, the picturesque Valley of Kashmir has been the attraction of mankind down the ages. And tourism is one of the oldest industries of this enchanting valley.

The author is the Deputy Minister for Tourism, Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

One finds mention of various local travel agencies as having been in existence in the travelogues of the tourists who came to Kashmir during the early part of the nineteenth century.

Commercial tourism is, however, a development of the not too distant past. The annual income from this source is of the order of six to eight crores rupees, sizeable part of which is in the much-needed foreign exchange. Tourism as an industry, apart from providing employment to not less than five lakh artisans, craftsmen, boatmen, transporters, hoteliers, traders and many other sections of the population, has an overall impact on the economy of the State. Besides, it serves as a vehicle for exchange of ideas, of students, and of scholars as well.

Accommodation and means of Communication, the two prerequisites for the development of tourism, have been engaging the constant attention of the Government. The opening of the Jawahar Tunnel in 1957 gave a fillip to the tourist traffic. Srinagar has a direct air-link with Bombay and Calcutta with stop-over at Delhi. In addition to direct air service from Delhi to Srinagar, the regular air service between Delhi and Srinagar via Chandigarh Amritsar and Jammu continues.

Steps have been taken under various development plans to provide more accommodation

at reasonable rates for the tourists at Srinagar, Pahalgam, Gulmarg, Kokernag, Acchabal and other places of tourist interest. Recently a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been sanctioned for the construction of a posh hotel in the Valley. Side by side plans are afoot for construction of "gipsy huts" which will be within the easy reach of the middle and lower income groups.

There has been a steady rise in the number of tourists since 1947 when Kashmir had only about 15,000 tourists. Last year the record touched an all time high of more than a lakh and this year, if the current stream is any indication, the expectation is around two lakhs. For the first time, winter sport festival was observed last year, and in October this year a week long Autumn festival will be celebrated as part of the International Tourist year celebrations.

The Government is going ahead with a crash beautification programme without impairing the natural features like lakes, gardens and health resorts. At the same time, there is a constant endeavour to eliminate the growth of sub-standard tourism.

With the development of facilities to suit leaner purses it is hoped more home-tourists will visit the Valley and pave for greater emotional integration of this northernmost State with the rest of the country.

Industries in Kashmir

BASHIR AHMED

JAMMU and Kashmir is traditionally a backward area in respect of industrial development. The growth of modern industries has been hampered by lack of infra-structure, like cheap transport, power and skilled manpower as well as entrepreneurship. Even before 1947 the initiative for industrialisation had to be taken by the State Government itself.

In order to stimulate meaningful activity in the State, the prerequisite is the creation of suitable climate. Unfortunately, political developments have combined with natural factors in hampering a steady growth towards industrial goals as envisaged in the three Five-Year Plans. One of the natural factors relates to the availability of raw materials. So far no comprehensive techno-economic survey has been conducted in the State. The State Government have now decided to entrust the work of survey to a firm of consulting engineers with whom negotiations are being held at present. Simultaneously, the Department of Geology and Mining as well as Indian Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey of India are conducting intensive surveys in different parts of the State.

In the absence of experience in entrepreneurship the State Government has set up two companies in public sector for management of various schemes and projects. Besides, it has entered into collaboration with private firms. Upto the end of April 1965, 187 factories were registered under the Factories Act.

This does not, however, include some factories which have been taken over by the J & K Industries Pvt. Ltd.

During the period from April 1964 to January 1966 a new Textile Mill called the Chenab Textiles at Kathua, one Plyboard Industry at Pampore, two Spinning Mills at Srinagar and one Textile Mill at Jammu went into production. Besides 14 new industries in the small sector have also gone into commission.

The establishment of these industries has resulted in a big rise in the export trade of the State. However, a large-scale industrial effort is yet to begin and we have a lot to do in the coming years to bring about radical changes in our economic pattern. The Fourth Plan, which has already begun, has been formulated with a view to changing the basic structure of our economy by bringing about large-scale industrialisation in the State. Under this Plan the Government has decided to set up an Industrial Development Corporation with a share capital of Rs. 75 lakhs. The Corporation will aid and finance new industrial undertakings owned by the Government or the private enterprises. The Government has also engaged a firm of consultants to draw up project reports for a cement plant at Basohli and paper pulp and rayon grade pulp plants in other parts of the Jammu Province. The preliminary reports prepared by the consultants have indicated hopeful prospects for these industries.

To help the fruit and vegetable growers in the State to

preserve fruits and vegetables in the off seasons, the Government plans to establish a chain of cold storage plants at Srinagar, Kathua and Delhi with a provision of over 60 thousand cubic feet of space. The cold storage plant at Srinagar with a storage capacity of 1000 maunds is expected to be commissioned by July this year. Land for the cold storage plant at Delhi with storage capacity of about 50 thousand maunds is being acquired. A cold storage plant has also been established at Kathua in the private sector.

In addition to the chain of industrial estates established in various parts of the State, the Government is contemplating the development of industrial areas for the establishment of new industries, large, medium and small scale. Additional land has already been acquired at Gandhinagar and Kathua for establishing new industries. Steps have also been taken to develop the industrial area in the Valley.

The number of power looms is being increased from 170 to 420 during the course of the current financial year and to about 1,700 by the end of the Fourth Plan period. A Design Centre is being set up to cater to the requirements of powerlooms for design development. Similarly, common facility units, for Dyeing, Bleaching and Twisting are proposed to be established during the Fourth Plan period. For purposes of providing local skilled and semi-skilled labour for the existing and new units of industries in the State, a theme has been drawn up for the training of the labour

in and outside the State with stipendiary benefits. A provision of Rs. Four lakhs has been made on this account and steps have already been taken to recruit trainees.

A broad based programme of training has also been launched for handicraft and handloom industries under the State Government and the all-India Handicrafts Board. More than 180 trainees are receiving training in various crafts under the care of master-craftsmen. The capacity

for such training is being doubled during the course of the next financial year and by the end of the Plan period, more than 2,000 new hands, including women artisans, will have been trained. The trainees who are provided stipends varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 70 per month for various arts and crafts are encouraged, after the completion of the training, to form themselves into Co-operative Societies which will be given suitable financial and other assistance for manufacture of

art goods.

Medium quality carpets are being manufactured for the first time in Kashmir. Similarly, export of *namdhas* which is under strict control is proposed to be stepped up to Rs. 50 lakhs as against Rs. 15 lakhs at present. The export of handicrafts to foreign markets is also being extended. This will give additional foreign currency to the country which is so much in need of it at the present stage.

Landmarks in Education

EDUCATIONIST

EDUCATION in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, as in the rest of the country, has registered significant advance in all directions since independence. First and foremost, we have set out to achieve the democratic objective laid down in our Constitution, the objective of developing a broad common highway of universal school attendance. In sheer numbers, the expansion has been impressive. A four-fold increase in the number of elementary schools has taken education into the rural and hitherto inaccessible areas of the State, bringing in tens of thousands of children, totalling some three hundred thousand today. Over seventy-five per cent of boys of elementary school-going age are in school today.

The second transformation is in the sphere of girls education. While it lags behind in numbers compared to the progress of boys education, the increase has been rapid and steps have been and are being taken to reduce the imbalance between the two. The number of girls elementary schools has increased from 215 in 1948 to 1218 this year which marks nearly a six-fold increase. It is the secondary school which is the king-pin of the whole machinery. It not only prepares the

future elite who go to colleges and the higher professions, but turns out the teachers who man the elementary schools. The vicious circle is being tackled both socially as well as geographically. A network of girls high schools is turning out matriculates who are now becoming teachers in the elementary schools in their own areas outside the bigger towns.

An even more revolutionary change is the sprinkling of girls in boys schools all over the State, in the middle and high classes. For we do visualise eventually a mixed common elementary school avoiding duplication and enabling an area to have a bigger school with better facilities, which a single-teacher school cannot afford. This is the second most promising transformation.

A third area of genuine advance is the greater equity of educational availability which has already produced a more equalitarian social spread in the output of our elite. Through an expanding net-work of scholarships and educational loans—and this is where our objective of a socialistic society comes in—we see the children of drivers, orderlies, and janitors entering our medical, engineering and agricultural colleges on the basis of merit. This is

the most heartening feature of our educational revolution, however silent and invisible it might be. It cuts, for the first time in our history, across the barriers of caste and region, releasing a new dimension in our changing society. Where barely a decade ago, a matriculate would come asking for a job on the plea that he was the first matriculate from his distant area, we now have lady doctors, and women teachers, nurses and social workers working in that area to clear the accumulated arrears of history. This is the third basic area of advance in our society.

This has become possible because of generous allocations for Education, from some 35 lakhs to 550 lakhs, a fifteen-fold increase in as many years. We have some 400 high and higher secondary schools. Over 1200 middle schools, leading to 16 degree-colleges, two Agricultural colleges, two Polytechnics, Colleges of Medicine and Engineering, seven Industrial Training Institutes, two colleges of Ayurvedic and Unani medicine. All these, except three degree colleges have been established in the last decade or so. Besides, the University has started growing into a teaching body, with some 21 departments at its two campus

at Jammu and Srinagar. The Government grant to the University has shot up from a bare 50 thousand in 1949 to about 25 lakhs this year.

These institutions of higher learning are preparing the trained professional manpower for the handling of many jobs indispensable for developing a dynamic and progressive society. Here too, what is socially significant is the growth in the number of girls in high schools and of women students in our colleges.

In 1949 there were 15,000 boys and 1,150 girls in high schools (IX through XI grades). While the number of boys in these classes has gone up to 25,000, the number of girls in these classes has shot up to 8,000. The increase is not even 100 per cent in boys schools, while it is 700 per cent in girls schools. The ratio of imbalance between boys and girls in high schools has decreased from 12:1 to 3:1.

Similar is the story of the striking growth of women's education at the college stage. While the number of men students in colleges has gone up from 6,300 to 7,100 in the third Five Year Plan period (1961-66) an increase of about 14 per cent, the increase in number of women students at the colleges has gone up by about a hundred percent from 1,680 to 3,000. The imbalance in ratio between boys and girls becomes progressively less as we travel upwards and becomes 2:1 at the college stage.

There has been as shown above, a rapid increase in educational facilities at all levels. To achieve the target laid down in the Constitution, namely of establishing free education for all the children of all the people up to the age of 14, though still distant, is nevertheless a foreseeable objective during the eighties of this century. To restore our perspective on such a gigantic problem with all the accompanying handicaps of smaller resources and for bigger population to cater to, our achievement is not less

than that of even U.S.S.R.

It is the area of quality of education, the improvement of education at all levels, that one may not be very satisfied. It is obvious that to some extent quality has to be sacrificed when a democratic expansion has to be achieved in so short a time. But most of all, our energies from now on will be devoted to the consolidation and improvement of our educational edifice from bottom up. Unfortunately, this is an area where the limitations of economy act as a break on our aspirations and programmes. The equipment of schools, of libraries and laboratories and workshops buildings and playgrounds, of hobby room and extra curricular activities necessitates huge investments. While on these fronts some progress has been made much remains to be realised still. Still another field for unlimited improvement is the area of textbook production. We would welcome good textbooks from anywhere in our country or abroad and adapt these to our uses. The National Council for Educational Research and Training has already made some headway in this. I am impressed by the quality and the low price of their science books for higher secondary schools for instance, we have prepared new text books, thoroughly reliable and attractively decked out.

However, the whole strategy of improvement revolves round the teacher. It is in the recruitment, the quality of training and in service, and constant flow of expert advice that a difference in this field can emerge. We have revised the scales of our teachers again and again, though these are not entirely to our satisfaction, particularly at the lower levels, remuneration has more than doubled at most levels. The number of training institutions for elementary teachers has increased from two in 1948 to 18 today and the yearly output is in the neighbourhood of 1000. Likewise, the number of training

colleges for secondary schools teachers has gone up from 1 to 3 and its output has increased from 40 in 1950 to 400 graduate teachers annually.

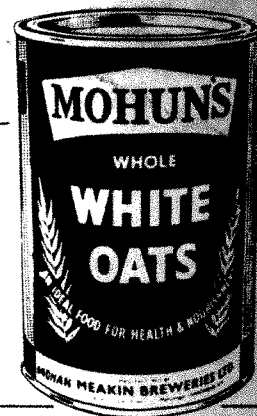
We have set up tehsil units for educational administration and we are expecting a detailed and technically expert attention and advice to be made available to the teacher in the school. Greater attention must now be due on a helpful and co-operative attitude on the part of the inspectional and administrative agency which still suffers from the inherited police-like tradition based on fear and punishment. The teacher alone can act creatively and imaginatively in a free society and generate needed changes at the level of the minds and attitudes of the rising generation. He can do this if he is a free agent, trustful and trustworthy unhampered by the plethora of examination which test the few for the higher vocations, and examine the many from sheer bad habit. To the many who are called in our democratic society into life, education must have a flexible and less bookish curriculum for developing their potentialities to the fullest. Here too a certain type of consequence is operating. The large numbers of diploma holders must now create the new climate for channelising their talents into more manual and productive activities. The future Indian school will have to be a school of work whether work is manual or mental. Such work schools are a common legacy, the world over. The ideas of Gandhi and Marx, of Dewey and Lenin, and Kerschewistiner and Wirt are a testimony of how in the era of industrialisation, the gulf between the liberal and the vocational must be bridged.

It is the task of educators in our country ridden by caste and theory and a disinclination to work manually, to transform our educational institutions from places of theoretical intellectual oneness to those of practical human many-sidedness.

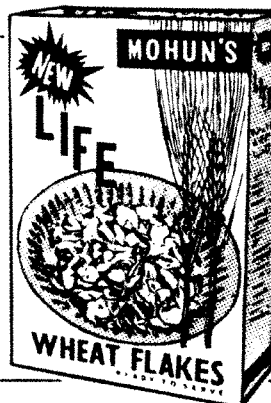
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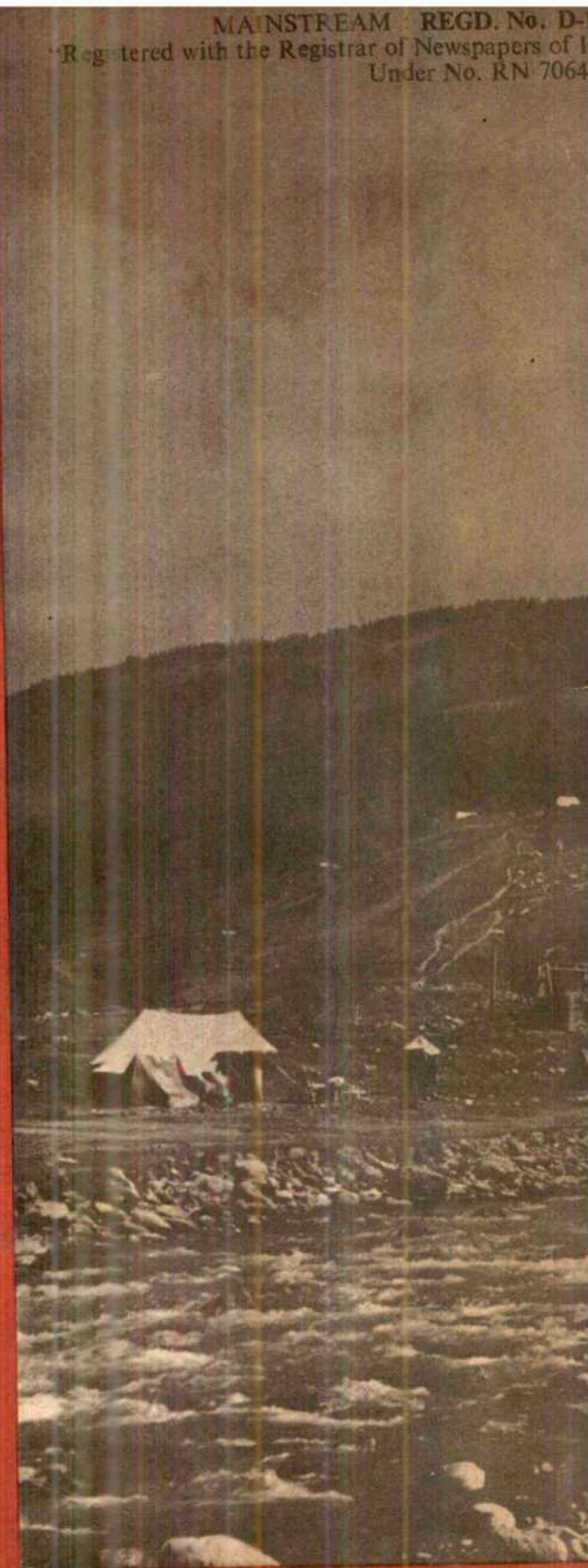
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35 P.

LOHIA

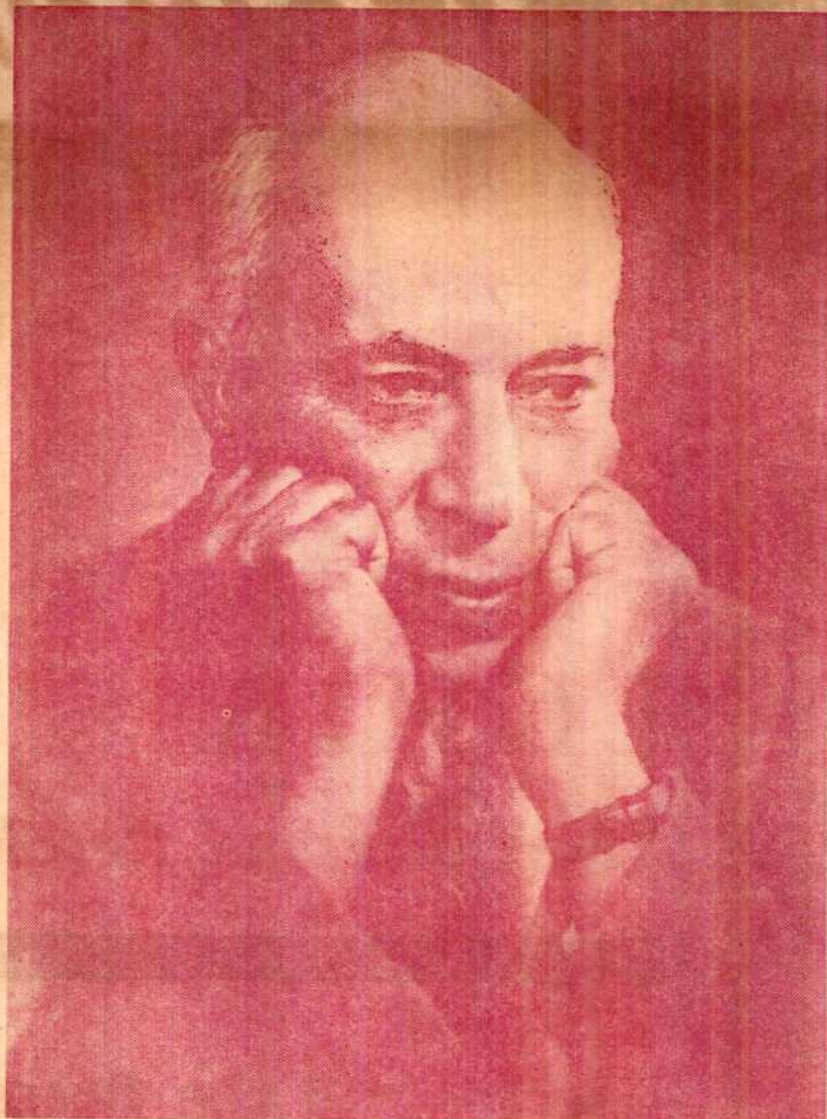
The Quicksand Revolutionary

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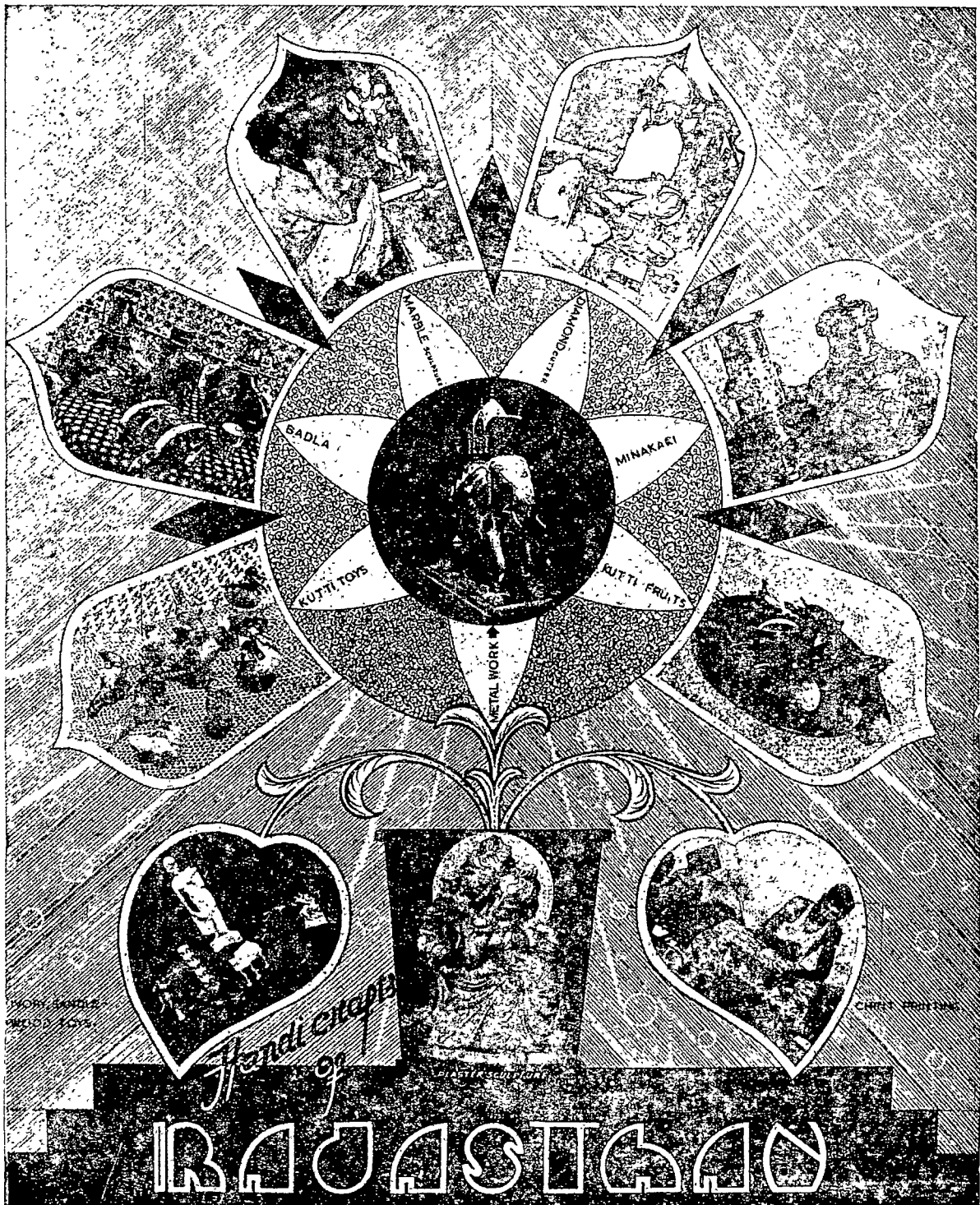


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FRANKLY INADEQUATE

THE much-publicised seven-day session of the Congress Working Committee has only helped to confirm that its leadership has yet to draw the right lessons from the eloquent electoral verdict of February and bring about the necessary basic changes in the character and methods of functioning of the organisation. The pious sentiment expressed in its resolution on organisational matters that there "will have to be greater commitment to the basic creed and policies of the Congress" finds little reflection in the crucial resolution on the tasks Congress Governments should set for themselves in the coming period. Despite the hullaballo raised by the Big Business Press about the "mandate" of the Working Committee to the Government, the resolution does no more than make vague declarations of intent and mere "requests" to its representatives in the seats of power. In view of the patent inability of the Congress leadership to make up its mind on positive steps to be taken towards ending the acquisitive society which has grown during the years of freedom, the liaison committee set up to ensure co-ordination between the administrative and organisational wings is bound to prove a mere debating body hardly fit for the task of giving a clear direction to policy and implementation.

The main resolution, for instance, quotes the Election Manifesto in respect of "social control" over banking institutions without making any effort to define what precisely the term means, and appeals to the Government to implement it, presumably in the light of any interpretation which those in charge of the administration choose to place on the unclear expression. It is well known that different interpretations were made of the convenient phrase even before polling: some Congressmen took it to mean nationalisation, while others—of the influential Right wing—saw it only as a call for streamlining existing arrangements. The Working Committee clearly has failed

purposes. If these were the lines on which the Working Committee had thought, the obvious course for it would have been to set a time-limit by which at least the major banks in the country should be taken over and outline the spheres in which the resources so made available should be utilised.

Similarly in regard to State management of the export-import trade, it should not have been unduly difficult for the Congress leadership to formulate a clear-cut phased programme, in which case it need not have been content with expressing the "view" that this field should be "progressively undertaken through State agencies." State trading in foodgrains, was accepted at Bhubaneswar, but now the Working Committee has only found it possible to state that "a national policy" in this direction "should be worked out." The Congress has for long been pledged to the building of consumer cooperatives; yet the Working Committee has done no more than reiterate the principle.

Congress leaders have never tired of declaring that their aim is to end monopolies and concentration of economic power. After the Bhubaneswar resolution on the subject, a Monopolies Commission of sorts was set up, but even the half-hearted and totally inadequate steps recommended by that Commission remain unimplemented. And the Congress leadership has now chosen to express the pious "hope" that "effective steps" will be taken. It is certainly a confession of the incapacity of the party to fight the monopolists and even to chalk out a programme to curb their power in the national economy. Again, it says that "concrete steps" should be taken to place restrictions on individual holdings of urban land. Was it totally beyond the capacity of the party leadership to work out a programme for achieving this end? In regard to land reforms and agricultural credit, the Working Committee has merely repeated oft-expressed sentiments which so far as the people are concerned have lost all meaning.

impotence to deal with entrenched interests is provided by the part of the resolution relating to ex-princes. It carefully excludes the privy purses from the scope of any possible future Government action and calls for attempts to remove "incongruous" privileges enjoyed by these feudal anachronisms. For twenty years now these feudal relics have been receiving crores of rupees from the public exchequer without contributing anything to it in return. The Congress leadership which in this context refers to the "concept and practice of democracy" should be aware that pampering of parasites of this kind who draw huge sums of money to live their lives of luxury and ease and often enough debauchery is not exactly in conformity with the concept and practice of democracy. It is not enough to make the nation's laws applicable to these privileged parasites—though it is doubtful if the rulers have the courage to do even this; the ex-princes must be told to work for a living like any citizen of India. The appeasement of erstwhile exploiters and tyrants must stop. The Congress Party cannot bring this about.

Sri Morarji Desai has already indicated that most of the vague wishes expressed by the Working Committee will be ignored. He has made it clear to the Committee that he considers nationalisation to be only a slogan. Even in respect of the export-import trade he has talked of non-availability of adequate administrative machinery. He does not want the Government to take on too much: there goes the

public sector. He wants the ex-princes to be "persuaded" to give up their privileges. And the Prime Minister at the outset told the Working Committee that it should not ask the Government to do anything which it could not. In short, the Government is not prepared to undertake any radical measures, and the party leadership is still in no position to insist on a clear programme.

—One redeeming feature is that the Left within the Congress got a better hearing at the last meeting than at any time in recent years, with the result that the need at least to appear progressive was realised. If the party's Left wing is able to mobilise opinion in support of firm measures in pursuit of the general lines laid down, it may still be possible to prevent the final and irrevocable identification of the Congress with the Swatantra Party. Those among the Congress leaders who genuinely desire the introduction of radical economic measures can conceivably derive strength from the party's Left wing if it mounts a campaign within the organisation, in the Parliamentary Party and among the people. This is the only way to restore at least some measure of confidence among the people and to draw sympathy from parties outside which are pledged to the achievement of socialism. If action on this basis is not launched immediately, the Left wing in the Congress may find itself reduced to total nullity, in which even the country's biggest party may become an appendage of the Swatantra-Jan Sangh combine.

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TURN IN THE TIDE FOR INDIRA ?

THE success of Dr Zakir Husain in the Presidential poll has no doubt enhanced the position of Smt Indira Gandhi both in the Congress hierarchy and in the Government.

The fact is undisputed that it was mainly through her initiative that not only Dr Zakir Husain's candidature was accepted by the Congress High Command but he could poll so well in the contest itself. While it is known that Smt Gandhi is disturbed by the patent defection of a substantial section of the Congress in Andhra, she could take credit for having calculated correctly that a good section of Opposition support would also be forthcoming for the new President. New Delhi observers would also add that an additional factor which helped Smt Gandhi in getting her nominee elected as President is the rather unimpressive role played by the Opposition. For one thing, the experiment of a common stand between the Right and the Left Opposition has turned out, quite correctly, to be an unnatural alliance which brought no credit to the progressive elements in the Opposition camp.

The Prime Minister can also feel heartened by the good response that Dr Zakir Husain's election as President has evoked in the world outside. Particularly the reaction in the Afro-Asian countries has to a large measure helped to neutralise the anti-India campaign that has been fostered not only by Pakistan and China but certain sections of the West as well. At home, it has shown up the morbid communalism that Jan Sangh essentially represents and has also established the much-needed sense of security for the minority community.

The success in the Presidential election has also lifted to a certain extent the drooping morale of the Congress Party. The almost uninterrupted succession of setbacks that marked the fortunes of the Congress from the date the

polling results of the General Elections started coming in seemed to have been checked after ten weeks of nightmare experience for the Congress leadership. In this respect the Government benches seem to be in a much better shape to face the new Parliament which begins its session in the coming week.

The Prime Minister's own image also, to a large measure, has improved; for it has shown not only her tenacity to get Dr Zakir Husain through but also her capacity to organise large-scale canvassing for her own candidate within the ranks of her own party. And to the extent that her own position has improved, it is quite clear the position of some of the other traditional bosses of the Congress like Sri S. K. Patil and Sri Atulya Ghosh has been downgraded, because in this high-tension contest these bosses hardly played any role.

As for Sri Morarji Desai, the position has neither improved nor gone down. Sri Kamaraj after his initial canvassing for Dr Radhakrishnan's candidature, stood for Dr Zakir Husain once his nomination was formalised by the Congress High Command. He has strongly frowned upon the petty communal campaigning of a section of the Opposition. However, the Congress President's main concern in the past few weeks has not been so much over the Presidential contest as on bringing about a certain policy orientation inside the organisation itself. This is mainly because Sri Kamaraj is known to have always held that the slump in the Congress prestige has come as a result of the deviation from the basic national policies and large-scale concessions wrung by the vested interests, both indigenous and foreign. In this context, the Congress President seemed to have been more concerned with the outcome of the marathon session of the Working Committee than with that of the Presidential

contest.

Incidentally it may be worth touching on the style of campaign and the calculations that guided the different factions in the Congress hierarchy in the Presidential contest. An important angle of approach which could be noticed among Smt Gandhi's supporters was that if Dr Zakir Husain got defeated, then the Indira Government would have to resign and as a result there would follow a mid-term poll for the Lok Sabha. Such a prospect of facing another General Election scared away a good section of Congressmen and they preferred not to gamble for the defeat of the Congress nominees and bring down a calamity upon their own head.

However, it was evident that the anti-Indira forces were calculating on a very different plane. If Dr Zakir Husain got defeated, there was no doubt that a new scramble for power would have broken out inside the Congress Parliamentary Party. With Smt Gandhi's discredit, it was quite on the cards that Sri Morarji Desai's followers would have demanded a re-election of the Party leader; and basing himself on this very calculation, Sri Chavan would have rallied his own forces for a determined bid for leadership. On the other hand, Sri Jagjivan Ram's followers were also known to be toying with the idea of their leader playing the role of a Charan Singh at the Centre. Among these three factions, Sri Chavan's group seemed to have been more optimistic because they hoped that they could bank on the support of Smt Gandhi's followers in any determined showdown with Sri Morarji Desai. All this makes it clear that Dr Zakir Husain's defeat would have unleashed a suicidal civil war inside the Congress High Command which Sri Kamaraj could never have been able to prevent nor Smt Gandhi to ward off any desperate move to retain her own power.

WITH the success of the Congress in the Presidential contest, the policy deliberations in the Congress Working Committee assumed certain amount of significance and they do point to the possibilities of a new power-alignment in the Congress hierarchy. It should however be kept in mind that these are still in the realm of possibilities and firm indications have yet to emerge.

In the Congress Working Committee discussion, the demand for a radical re-orientation of Congress policies naturally came from Sri K. D. Malaviya and those of his way of thinking. In fact, this trend made a much more important contribution than any time in the past. The point to note however is that this time the radical angle was not the lone monopoly of Sri Malaviya or Sri Nanda. Interestingly enough on quite a few issues Sri Subramaniam and Sri Asoka Mehta talked on the need for progressive policies. This tongue-in-the-cheek performance of these two gentlemen who have contributed most to the erosion of basic national policies in the last two years could hardly deceive anyone. Partly they tried to rehabilitate their own discredited position and partly they seem to have taken up that radical posture to discredit Sri Morarji Desai who, they had banked, would reject all such measures out of hand; and once Sri Desai did that, Sri Asoka Mehta and Sri Subramaniam thought, they would be able to make themselves once more indispensable to the Prime Minister.

In this connection it is to be noted that while Sri Subramaniam still claims to be in the good books of the Prime Minister, Sri Asoka Mehta seems to have sensed that his position is not so secure and therefore he is keen at the moment on cultivating Sri Chavan. On Smt Gandhi's part, there seems to have been a certain amount of disillusion about Sri Mehta's genius. But as regards Sri Sub-

ramaniam she is believed to be taking a compassionate view and is keen on providing him with a safe berth. Hence the speculation that Sri Subramaniam might become the new Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Regarding this post, a number of names are believed to have been considered ranging from Sri D.R. Gadgil to Sri B.K. Nehru. If Smt Gandhi can get over her illusion about Sri B. K. Nehru (who along with Sri L. K. Jha and Sri Asoka Mehta may be regarded as the architect of the pro-American phase of Smt Gandhi's Prime Ministership, a phase which covered the period culminating in the devaluation of the rupee in the mid-summer of 1966), then it is most unlikely that Sri Nehru would get the post despite the known support of Sri Morarji Desai that he is reported to have enlisted. (Sri Desai is keen on having him as his Principal Finance Secretary). Sri Subramaniam, on the other hand, suffers from the handicap that both Sri Desai and Sri Kamaraj are allergic to him. It is understood that one of the conditions which Sri Desai has put forward about Sri Subramaniam getting the stewardship of the Planning Commission is that he would have to stick to the post for at least four years, a condition which would naturally debar him from coming back to Parliament and trying his luck for a Cabinet post.

Coming back to the Working Committee's deliberations, the general expectation was that Sri Morarji Desai could be depended upon to oppose any radical programme. Presumably to make this a certainty, Sri L. K. Jha was reported to have met Sri Desai; whether Sri Jha was working on the direct advice of the House of the Birlas is not yet clear though New Delhi circles would expect that even in the period of leave between his departure from the Prime Minister's Secretariat and his assumption of the Governorship of the Reserve Bank, Sri Jha would remain alert guarding the interests of the Birlas and also of the US.

As against this move to see that Sri Desai takes upon himself the responsibility of opposing any

radical policy programme in the Congress Working Committee, some of his own supporters and friends were wise enough to advise him not to take up such a posture. Sri Desai's personal inclinations are of course known. As a true-blue conservative, he would look upon with disfavour any radical programme which he himself would not only find it difficult but disinclined as well to carry through. However the advice tendered by some of his friends seems to be that he should not earn the odium of being branded a stumbling block to any radical policy of the Congress; he should rather emphasise that he would be prepared to carry out loyally any such programme provided he was assured of the fullest co-operation of the Government particularly of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister. But Sri Desai could be trusted to remain udeviating in his line: in the very last round, he fought so that the resolution might only urge the Government to "examine" the policy proposals rather than direct it to implement them.

So an interesting situation developed; on one side, Sri Desai did not come out as strongly against the radical measures proposed, as his adversaries hoped him to do, while, on the other hand, he threw the onus on his Cabinet colleagues to assure him of the fullest cooperation in carrying them out.

Meanwhile, it was clear that Sri Kamaraj and Sri Nanda were strongly in favour of a radical programme atleast to rehabilitate the Congress in the eyes of the people. Sri Chavan and Sri Jagjivan Ram lent strong support to such a strategy.

In this peculiar juxtaposition of forces in the Congress Working Committee, the ten-point policy resolution passed without any show of resistance from the expected quarters, though Sri Desai, Sri Mehta and Sri Subramaniam did not betray any sign of having changed their basic outlook. This was clear from the fact that in the very initial round of discussion, both Sri Asoka Mehta and Sri Desai criticised the move of the non-Congress Ministries to abolish land revenue,

Next week, in the issue of May 27, Mainstream will carry special articles on Jawaharlal Nehru, to mark the third anniversary of his passing away.

while Sri Kamaraj scotched that criticism. Sri Mehta also wanted sophisticated industries to be thrown open to the private sector, which would have meant the total subversion of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

Another significant instance of Sri Asoka Mehta's reactionary proclivities has now come to light. He is believed to have strongly supported the US demand for shrinkage of the area of cotton cultivation on the plea of stepping up food production. The S. R. Sen Committee has rejected this proposal, which has been strongly objected to by the business community, which does not want to be held in ransom by the US for the supply of raw cotton for their flourishing textile industry.

The overall impression in New Delhi about the new policy resolution adopted by the Working Committee is that quite a large part of it may only remain on paper though it is learnt that a two-year period has been earmarked for its implementation. However, some policy moves are expected to be taken in the immediate future. These are likely to involve a tightening

of the functioning of the Reserve Bank, particularly, curbing if not eliminating its encouragement to speculative practices through unrestricted trade facilities which it offers to men with unearned wealth. Secondly, the nationalisation of general insurance seems to be in the offing and this may be announced during the coming budget session of the Parliament.

However, it would be unreal to forecast that with this Working Committee resolution and its morale boosting success in the Presidential contest, the Government benches would come out completely unscathed in the coming session of Parliament. Smt Gandhi and her colleagues may congratulate themselves on having won skirmishes, if not minor battles, in the last few weeks; but the big war of turning the direction of policy from capitulation to self-reliance is yet to be waged and it is on the success of that that the fate of her Government finally rests. And it is precisely here that one can detect the Achilles' heel of the Indira Government. The latest round of surrender could be seen in the Commerce Minister's liberalisation proposals which will only

help to strengthen Big Business and foreign monopolies at the cost of Indian economy.

* * *

THE medieval fanfare with which the wedding of Raja Dinesh Singh's daughter with Raja of Ramgarh's son was celebrated last week has become the talk of the Capital.

From the invitation cards in gold and red—with the Kala-kankar coat-of-arms imposed on them—to the liveried guards strutting about with swords, the spectacle had all the glitter and glamour of the age of chivalry but looked politically indecorous at a time when famine and economic hardships have hit the millions in the country. On top of it all, the use of the Government-owned Hyderabad House—normally reserved for official functions in honour of visiting foreign dignitaries—together with the PIB bigwigs dancing attendance, all this promises to invite severe stricture in Parliament.

Smt. Gandhi's motley entourage is fast proving to be a liability for the Prime Minister.

May 16

N.C.

Lohia : Quicksand Revolutionary

C. N. CHITTA RANJAN

ONE of the leading Left intellectuals thrown up by the freedom movement, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has systematically driven himself from frustration to frustration over a period of three decades, without however losing much of his verve, originality, or infinite capacity for throwing a spanner in the works, gleefully unmindful of direction and deriving immense personal satisfaction from the mere fact of having created new confusion.

Dr. Lohia started public life with two major handicaps: he was totally convinced that he alone among the national leaders was clear about the aims and charac-

ter of the kind of revolution India needed and was capable of translating these ideas into positive and purposeful action; and he had to fight for the top position from the second rung of the national leadership. Loved by Gandhiji, who could bestow affection on brave young men without accepting any of their ideas, Dr. Lohia may perhaps be pardoned for imagining that he was in the direct line of succession to the nation's supreme leader and consequently for feeling piqued when the mantle fell on Jawaharlal Nehru who thenceforward came to be looked upon as an usurper. What started as irritation grew into positive

hatred in the years after Gandhiji and became so ingrained that it covered Nehru's descendant and successor in power at one remove. The SSP leader would surely be more kindly disposed towards the present Prime Minister but for her parentage.

Dr. Lohia undoubtedly is a theorist par excellence. A commentator wrote rather unkindly four years back: "Convinced that he can write the most phenomenal book since Marx, he does not sit down to it because he might in the process miss the Revolution he believes he is destined to lead." About his conviction of being the nation's Man of Destiny there can

be no doubt: he has made no secret of it. Nor has he, in the writings he has sat down to briefly from time to time, given any indication of not being certain of being in a way greater than Gandhi and Marx, having found out the weaknesses of both and discovered the third infallible path of Revolution.

Educated in Germany at a time when Hitler was organizing to take over power, Dr. Lohia was obviously impressed by the techniques adopted by the Fuehrer even if he did not approve of the latter's aims or philosophy. For a long time he believed—it is not clear whether he continues to do so—that an organized army of men, unarmed to suit the national context, should bring about the Revolution and transfer the fruits thereof to the mass of the people. His famous "Land Army" was one such concept. The people in his thinking were not directly involved in the process of Revolution; their participation was envisaged only after the learned doctor and his army-to-be had completed the Revolution, a task which could be accomplished only by a professional cadre under one supreme leader. The Pardi satyagraha illustrates the point: it was not a case of organising the tribal people to occupy land but of a group of trained volunteers taking over the land and then distributing it among the tribals. Thus the Lohia concept of Revolution was different from that of Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan at the time: the latter believed in a mass movement on the basis of mass awakening and organisation.

Again, Dr. Lohia at one stage thought in terms of caste war instead of class war, the logic being that in Indian society castes had taken the place of classes. This approach slurred over the existence of economic strata cutting across caste lines but this did not seem to worry Dr. Lohia. Barabanki, stronghold of Dr. Lohia's party, once resounded to caste slogans.

He has always been fond of summing up a situation and a solution in a picturesque phrase, lending an air of intellectual mysticism to his periodic pronouncements. The theories of Equal Irre-

levance, the Four Pillars, Approximation and Equidistance are examples. It looks as if he was occasionally assailed by doubts but the mood never lasted long enough to bring about change in the man. He once wrote, for instance, "I have sometimes been made uneasy by my own programmatic extremism or immoderation."

Three periods of the socialist movement in India he once classified: from 1934 to 1948 was the "chapter of the Ginger Group" when the socialists, as part of the Congress, attempted to drag it leftward. In this period they were known as the Congress Socialist Party, none of whose members was clear about the direction in which the rest wanted the Congress dragged. The second phase of "the Big Noise" was from 1948 to 1951 (the Socialist Party) the phrase itself indicating the extent of achievement. The third, from 1952 to 1955 was "the chapter of the Great Indecision" when Dr. Lohia and his men were part of the Praja Socialist Party. Then came the periods of breaks and mergers, without it being yet clear whether the cycle of Big Noise and Great Indecision is over or not, since once again there is talk of merger of the SSP and the PSP and there is no dearth of noise.

So long as Jawaharlal Nehru was alive, Dr. Lohia had little time or inclination to bother about much else, although he did permit his followers to play at Left unity from time to time. And every time apparent unity was achieved between the PSP and the SSP Dr. Lohia's personality stood in the way of its being cemented on the basis of a workable arrangement. His followers, even those who do not always agree with his dramatic stances, have seldom felt like defying him or putting pressure on him to be reasonable. This perhaps is one of the difficulties arising from hero worship among intellectuals.

After Nehru's death there was reason to hope that old obsessions would vanish giving way to a new purposefulness, and that Dr. Lohia and his followers would get down in right earnest to the long-neglected business of forging Leftist unity. This hope was not

speedily realised for various reasons, chief among them so far as the SSP was concerned being Dr. Lohia's patent inability to shed complexes and prejudices acquired over long years. If Nehru was not there, his ghost was there to keep the SSP supremo busy. Demolition of the Congress, identified with Nehru, became the one consuming passion: the Revolution could wait; more so could Left unity. It was only as the Fourth General Election approached and all the Opposition parties, including the progressive ones, became conscious of the immense possibilities opened up by a situation in which the Congress stood discredited and did not have the advantage of the Nehru spell, that the SSP leader was persuaded to work earnestly for Opposition unity. He spoke constantly of Left unity but his main preoccupation was with any kind of alliance that could bring the Congress down to the dust. This is not to say that he alone was guilty of thinking on these lines, forgetting that it was even more important to consolidate the Left forces against the mounting pressure of the Right. Almost all Left parties were conditioned to the same type of thinking, some because they felt power had to be acquired for survival and some because they thought that once the Congress was reduced in size and importance Left unity would not be so hard of achievement.

The Fourth General Election produced dramatic results which naturally gave room for hope of further changes leading to the Leftist forces acquiring power and using it for bringing about long-awaited drastic socio-economic changes. At a time when it was necessary to beware of the sinister aims and steady progress of the parties of the Right, including the Right wing of the Congress, Dr. Lohia led the way in seeking an all-out Opposition alliance aimed at wiping out the Congress but without providing anything like a recognizable Left alternative. Pursuing the logic of his policy of discrediting the Congress, he made use of the forum of Parliament to engage in sentimental outbursts over Svetlana the delicate flower and in the pursuit of the diamond necklace and the

mink coat to the exclusion of pressing problems of the people. His claim is that by focussing attention on the necklace and the mink coat he was attempting to pinpoint the contrast between the lives of the rulers and the ruled. In his preoccupation with what to ordinary minds might appear to be irrelevant trifles in the context of the vast changes urgently needed in the country, he did not find time—or perhaps was not inclined—to fight against the increased pampering by the Government of the country's biggest industrial and business houses at the cost of the people's welfare. While Sri Madhu Limaye and Sri George Fernandes, two of his most brilliant lieutenants, were constantly trying to focus attention on the doings of big business houses and the CIA and its agents in India, Dr. Lohia was content to hold forth on heartbeats, and flowers, and the like.

So far as the States are concerned, Dr. Lohia has adopted an intriguing attitude. While the SSP's insistence on the minimum programme being fulfilled in Kerala without delay is understandable, it is difficult to comprehend the significance of the party leader's attitude to the participation of a particular member in the Bihar Government. While constantly talking of a takeover at the Centre with the help of the Opposition's Right, Left and Centre, he is unwilling to give the coalition governments already formed either time or help to carry out their promises. On the other hand, the Damocles sword of a threat to do walk out of the coalition governments is always present. Dr. Lohia may indeed be right in thinking that as power corrupts it is safer for his revolutionary spirit to stay out of power and keep the struggle going permanently. But once the concept of a coalition government is accepted, the implication of participation in power has to be accepted also, and all else follows. One cannot agree to participate in power and insist on being an anarchist at the same time.

It must however be said to the credit of Dr. Lohia that he has been able to befuddle the Left parties in the country: he draws the red herrings, and the majority

of the Left parties including the CPI and CPM change their courses. And he does not always do it openly or blatantly. There can be no other explanation for the Communists accepting Sri Subba Rao as the Opposition candidate for Presidentship or for leaving it to Sri Masani to act as the Opposition spokesman on crucial occasions.

Dr. Lohia has little more than contempt for most Opposition parties: he is sorry he once described the Jan Sangh as a dynamic party; the Jana Congress and the Jan Kranti Dal are "funny amalgams"; there are many "crows" parading as peacocks in the Opposition; and there are any number of "skunks" too. It is in the context of this supreme contempt for the rest of the Opposition that his continuing quest for Opposition unity despite the setback in the Presidential election has to be viewed. In his latest pronouncement on strategy, Dr. Lohia has talked of "Opposition consolidation" being only the first objective, the others being socialist consolidation, united fronts, common platforms on single aims, and "building up their own respective parties and ideals." Such a stage-by-stage advance towards the socialist goal should be unexceptionable if it were based on recognition of the genuineness and honesty of the other parties pledged to the same goal. It is not so. The last point of the fivefold plan is significant for an understanding of his mind. He does not talk of organising a socialist movement in which all the Left parties can participate; nor of a mass party into which all the Left elements can be brought. He obviously believes that if the situation is kept continuously confused with various alliances and short-term agitations, his own party will emerge as the only socialist party and he can personally lead the country to a new socioeconomic order. Maybe wishful thinking, but there it is. It would be unlike Dr. Lohia to concede that anyone else can lead the Revolution along the right lines. His frequently expressed admiration for a certain section of the Left would also seem to stem from the belief that in course of time he can get them under his wing.

A long time back Dr. Lohia wrote : "A comprehensive Opposition with a social outlook, wanting to achieve revolutionary changes in administration and economy, would be enduring both in its aims and methods.... A comprehensive Opposition breeds responsibility of outlook as well as of method, while an episodic opposition is as irresponsible in its fleeting aims as in its fleeting methods." Again, "the Socialist movement in India... has suffered from a deadly malady. It has often provoked and excited without making adequate effort to fulfil and consolidate." Even if Dr. Lohia does not proceed always on the basis of this logic, it may be hoped that other SSP leaders will; there are indeed indications that the rising stars on the SSP horizon would prefer making the adequate effort to fulfil and consolidate as emphasized in theory by their leader. The obstacle lies in the large personal following Dr. Lohia has in the party, constituting his strength and his party's near-fatal weakness.

Concept of Truth

Dr. Lohia once said : "A favourite phrase of my early youth was the concept that truth was a line at one end of which stood yes and at the other end no and the intervening space consisted of varying shades of yes and no." From early youth till now Dr. Lohia would appear to have been briskly traversing this imaginary line. No doubt this perplexing search for truth will continue till the end of his life, making him adopt different postures at different times. Should he keep the SSP also travelling to and fro on this line? Or should he leave the party to pursue its ideals under the leadership of younger men, devoting himself totally to the endless pursuit of truth? Either he or his followers should provide the answer. He surely will not, for he fancies himself at the centre of every storm and would like to be the Supreme Leader swallowing up everything that comes along, much in the way of quicksand. It would be a tragedy for the SSP and the left if the right answer is not found.

Whither State-Centre Relations?

Case for a New Modus Vivendi

V. R. KRISHNA IYER

1967 has seen sensational and significant events and portents in the whole country. The Fourth General Election has wrought phenomenal changes in the political panorama of India.

Some have hailed the results as a polarisation of politico-economic forces, the strengthening of the progressive parties, groups and elements, providing newer and wider opportunities for these forces to act in combination, and the disfiguring and disintegration of the Congress Party which, notwithstanding socialist cosmetics, is virtually the sanctuary of the reactionaries and political pharisees in the country and of the elements sensitive to neo-imperialist pressure. Other political analysts, however, take the view that the emergence of the Swatantra and Jan Sangh in larger numbers in many States and at the Centre, the defeat of the Socialistic Congressmen and the victory of the Right-of-the-Centre elements in the Congress bodes ill for the Left in India. Whatever the omens, all are agreed that there has been a political shake-up affecting the whole country to such an extent that old assumptions about Congress omnipresence etc. have been belied and new and urgent problems, constitutional and political, have been thrown up to the surface, which demand serious attention. Viewed in the back-

ground of the nascent electoral effervescence and the kaleidoscopic changes in the governments in the States the subject of the evolving pattern of Centre-State relationships has suddenly and rightly become topical and of profound import for the democratic future of our nation.

So long as one party governed at the Centre and in the States, as happened in India since Independence, the conflicts likely in a federal set-up did not show up; more so was this the case since the dynamic and magnetic personality of the Prime Minister dominated the political life of the country, including the States. The writ of the Congress High Command and of Nehru could and did run in all the States, and federal India remained substantially unitary in practice.

Congress Irresponsible

But on April 5, 1957, Sri E.M.S. Namboodiripad headed a Council of Ministers in Kerala, bringing the Communist Party into office and driving the Congress Party into the Opposition. Those twenty-seven months till July 31, 1959, gave rise to constitutional and political problems bearing on Centre-State relations which were tackled by the Central Government and the ruling party so irresponsibly to the Indian Constitution that when the full story of their doings is unfolded, the fewer the pages, the better for the Congress. A close-up of those twenty-seven months will be instructive in any study of Federal-

State relations under the Indian Constitution. But that story, largely still untold, cannot repeat itself in 1967, since fantastic political changes and combinations and new hues on the horizon have shot up. No longer is Kerala a tiny non-Congress island to be dismissed as a malignant Communist pimple. Today there are as many States under non-Congress as under Congress rule, what-with the DMK in Madras, and coalition cabinets, with communist participation or support, sprinkled all over the map. No longer is there a charismatic Nehru to declare a "mass upsurge" or dictate a fresh election or demand a dismissal of the Kerala Ministry undeterred by public opinion; and the Kamaraj Congress image has become haggard and seared by defeat and defection, schisms and ideological embroglio.

The mosaic of Indian politics presents ideologically incogruous coalitions, with built-in instability mechanisms, sharper and bigger Congress-non-Congress clashes and greater possibilities of constitutional tensions and new Centre-State relations. Absent political wisdom and imagination, the nation may flounder; given flexible and patriotic statesmanship the nation may amply meet the new challenge to our federal democratic bona fides and ability. Re-thinking is the desideratum.

The foundations of the Indian federal system were laid in 1935, since the Constitution of India is truly an heir of the Government of India Act, 1935, and follows, in

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the main, its features. We are not concerned here with the somewhat academic controversies about the chief features of our Constitution being more consistent with a unitary or quasi-federal than with a full-fledged federal constitution as understood by Bryce and Dicey. The truth is that there are strong centripetal forces at play in the Constitution of India; and on a unitary base a federal pattern has been woven. India is a large, multi-lingual, multi-religious, many-faceted land with a geographical, political and cultural unity generated and fostered by history and pre-history, British rule and freedom struggles. The partition of India, the blood-bath that followed the Kashmir aggression as also the other compulsions of the twentieth century, including the need for strong defence, unified political direction and promotion of economic unity and balanced development, left no alternative to the framers of its Constitution but to create a strong Centre with States enjoying autonomy but without, in any way, imperilling the unity and strength of the country.

The legal pundits and statesmen who moulded the Articles of the Constitution, although eclectic in their attitude, largely borrowed from the Government of India Act, 1935, which had for its object and spirit concentration of as much power as possible in the Centre, dictated obviously by the unwillingness of the foreign ruler to allow Indians to exercise too much autonomy in the provinces over which central control and, therefore, British control, was to come to an end. The Act of 1935, as Jennings has said, was a bad precedent for the Constitution of an independent country. "It is a useful principle" says Ivor Jennings speaking of the Indian Constitution "that one should never trust politicians; but it is equally true that in the context of the future one should never trust constitutional lawyers. On the whole, the politician of tomorrow is more likely to be right than the constitutional lawyer of today". Many of the problems of Centre-State relations which haunt us now and hereafter can be blamed on the politicians and the

constitutional lawyers whom we may euphemistically describe as the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution.

Necessary Device

The need for national unity and strength could not blur or obliterate the urge to preserve and enrich the diversity and love of autonomy of the well-defined regions of India; for, federalism is a manifestation of democratic constitutionalism; it involves the division and limitation of governmental power, the demarcation of forbidden zones, frustration of the will of the majority on issues deemed to be of special importance to regionally grouped minorities; it implies political pluralism, decentralised administration in short, it is a necessary device of democracy for a large and varied landscape.

The need for a federal pattern had been suggested ever since the Nehru Committee Report of 1928; and even after the Constitution came into existence the re-organisation of linguistic States was launched upon so as to rationalise, streamline and emotionally charge the democratic aspirations of the people of India. The degree of responsible Government enjoyed by the people is measured more at State level than at the Centre since the former has more intimate contact with the life of the common people so much so if State autonomy crumbles democracy itself declines. The Centre, from the national capital, cannot properly take into account the almost incredible range of physical and economic variations and regional differences, and excessive centralisation causes interminable delays in arriving at decisions and putting them into effect in the field. Frustration and demoralisation can be averted only by a new, mutually respectful and helpful protocol for Centre-State relations.

Indian history has taught us that disunity has jeopardised independence itself—a danger currently magnified by border conflicts and neo-colonialist manoeuvres. In a federal distribution, defence, major fiscal sources and every other item of national concern must naturally belong to the Centre.

The nation must speak primarily through Parliament. At the same time, all this argument about unity and panic about security should not be speciously used to stifle regional autonomy and cultural flowering and balanced economic development.

A synthesis of these two approaches, in an understanding spirit, should be the basis of those constitutional conventions which must be evolved over the years to make our federal democracy enduring and purposeful. For the first time the nation is having a new experience of exploring federal diversity. Let us find out the potential areas of discord between the State and the Centre in our Constitution.

To begin with, the very offices of President and Governor, their powers and political individuality and loyalty and constitutional obligations are important aspects of a study of State-Centre relations. I shall presently show how clashes may occur between the State and the Union on account of the way the President or the Governor exercises powers vested in him under the Constitution.

There is another important source of possible State-Centre rift which can no longer be blinked. Although socialism is our national goal, as accepted by most parties and the bulk of the people, and although a grandiloquent Preamble to the Constitution and the Chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy proclaim justice, social, economic and political, equality and fraternity and what not, there are also guarantees to private property, dangerously ruled as inviolable by the Supreme Court of Chief Justice Subba Rao. The complexion of the Indian economy is feudal-capitalist and progressive change will inevitably involve interference with property right. Of course, each State Government may have its own problems and programmes; it may envisage many measures like State trading, nationalisation of industries, of transport, heavy taxation of business or large-scale experiments on co-operative farming and other enterprises, abolition of prohibition and socialisation of lotteries, etc. Even in the field of education

the role of the State may depend on the ideology of the Government of the day. If the legislative or administrative adventures of a State, socialistic in character, are not to the liking of the Centre and the latter vetoes them (as it can, in some circumstances), then the relations between the State and the Union will consequently be embittered. These sharp differences in political and economic approach may as well cover the entire gamut of administrative action and policy.

Linked up with these matters is another fruitful opportunity for friction. Unlike in certain other constitutions, the Indian Constitution envisages the Central Government utilising the State executive machinery for its work, if required, (Art. 258) and vice versa (Art. 258A). Supposing the two governments have basic differences on certain matters, for instance, verification of the political antecedents of candidates for public employment, how can the Union Government get its work done through a hostile State agency? Here is an illustration of the type of difficulty which may well exist in a set-up where the States have Ministries sharply different, ideologically, or otherwise, from the Central cabinet. Recently, Sri Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, said that he would say "No" to the Centre if his Government or Police were called upon to verify the political antecedents of candidates recruited by the Union Public Service Commission.

Here is another case of ideological estrangement. Broadcasting is a Central subject but can the State Governments use this effective agency for mass communication? In federal fairness they should be able to. But if the policy of a State Ministry is opposed to Central policy on a subject and a State Minister desires to broadcast a speech where critical references are made to the Centre, can the All India Radio censor or refuse the State Minister's speech or the State's request to use the medium for its own propaganda? Again, can the Broadcasting Stations beam programmes critical of a State Government? What should be the norms in this matter?

The recent controversy that has arisen over the cancellation of the broadcast over AIR by the West Bengal Labour Minister on account of the censorship of his speech by the Director of the Broadcasting Station highlights the need for evolving conventions to ensure proper inter-governmental and inter-party conduct.

I can visualise other like conflicts in many matters, sensitive and important, between the State and the Union, what with all the complexities of a developing society with regional, linguistic, religious differences. What code of conventions could harmonise the executive functioning of the various governments, or, as Ivor Jennings has absurdly suggested, is the matter to be left to writs of mandamus by courts?

Our system of Government, based largely on the British Parliamentary model makes the legislature the mainspring of the apparatus. The rule of law and the socio-economic content thereof depend on the laws the States and the Union make. Strictly speaking, the Council of Ministers is but a committee of Parliament charged with the duty of carrying on the executive. Government under the broad directions of and accountable to the legislative organ. The executive must obey the legislature and the judiciary can but interpret and execute the laws. The substance of federal freedom really belongs to a State only if legislative action, without Central inhibition, is assured over large and vital areas.

No Submission

Federal fiat, had passed unchallenged by State Governments when Party mandates gave political sanctions to them; today, when the Congress is teetering as an effective national party and has eight States with anti-Congress regimes, any overbearing Central ukase will be a summons to defiance, to make common cause against the Centre or form informal blocs. The Congress States themselves, out of provincial pressures, may well line up against the Union at least on some issues. The hour has arrived when delicate adjustments and healthy conventions are allowed to grow

smooth out of thorny points. Where the Constitution is rigid and needs amendments to avoid clashes and ensure viability for the States we should not hesitate to embark on them. The Constitution is for the community and not the community for the Constitution. It is better to bend than to break the Constitution for obstinacy and lack of imagination in inflicting federal thralldom upon the States may now mean chaos, not crass submission.

The Constitution of India declares that "India, that is, Bharat, shall be a Union of States". Our written Constitution provides for distribution of powers between the Union and the States, installs the judiciary, with the Supreme Court at the apex, as the ultimate interpreter of the Constitution and assigns a subordinate position to the ordinary laws which become void if they violate the Articles of the Constitution. Of course, as Prof. Keith has observed, the Indian Constitution contains certain abnormal features, but as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out in the Constituent Assembly "the States under our Constitution are in no way dependent upon the Centre for their legislative or executive authority. The Centre and the States are co-equal in this matter... The chief mark of federalism... lies in the partition of the legislative and executive authority between the Centre and the units. It is therefore wrong to say that the States have been placed *under* the Centre". Dr. Ambedkar repudiated the complaint "that the States have been reduced to municipalities".

The Constitution of the Republic of India contains three legislative lists collected in the VIIth Schedule—the Union List, enumerating subjects over which Parliament exercises exclusive legislative power; the State List itemising the subjects over which the Units have exclusive legislative power; and the Concurrent List specifying subjects over which both Parliament and the State Legislature can legislate. All residuary powers belong exclusively to the Union (Article 248). The legislative powers of Parliament cover 97 items including the Defence of India, foreign affairs,

Railways, shipping, currency and banking, inter-state trade, Income-tax, Customs and other items having a national character. The totality of legislative powers of the Union is so vast, that coupled with the residuary and the special powers of legislation (even on the subjects included in the State List) it might be remarked that the Indian Republic is highly unitary from the legislative angle.

Article 254 renders the State law void when it is in conflict with a law made by the Parliament or an existing law. It must be remembered that the existing law is so wide that hardly any State legislation under the Concurrent List can be thought of which will not affect some existing law. The only way legislative power can then be exercised by the State is by reserving the State law for consideration of the President and secure his assent. Under existing constitutional conventions presidential consideration and assent mean the approval of the Government of India. Thus, the Central Cabinet is virtually the ultimate authority to decide whether the State can legislate on any of the items in the Concurrent List. The Kerala Ministry (1957-59) had considerable difficulties in getting such innocuous measures as the Kerala Court Fess Act, the Kerala Building (Lease and Rent Control) Act, and the Kerala High Court Act, approved by the President, that is, the Central Ministry. The practice has grown up that legislation which is likely to require presidential assent must first be submitted to the Government of India and could be introduced in the State legislature only if the former consent; and suggestions made by the Centre should be incorporated in the projected bill. Thus, the ordinary legislative activities of the State Government become largely subordinated to Central pleasure; at least in the matter of the Concurrent List items—a humiliating position to accept.

The State legislature is stated to be sovereign at least in regard to State laws. But in practice there is a big snag even here. Article 220 of the Constitution states that when a Bill has been passed by the

Legislative Assembly of a State it shall be presented to the Governor who “shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom or that he reserves the bill for the consideration of the President”. He may even return the Bill and require reconsideration of the provisions. When a Bill is reserved by a Governor for the consideration of the President, Article 201 gives him the power to assent to the Bill or withhold assent or direct reconsideration. On a reference back to the House, if the bill is passed again “the Governor shall not withhold assent therefrom” but under Article 201 when the President refers back the bill and it is again passed by the House “it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration” but whether he can still withhold assent or not is left delightfully vague.

Die-hard Habit

When can a Governor refuse assent to a Bill? Can he do so even if his Council of Ministers advise him to give assent? Parliamentary democracy implies that if the Council of Ministers advises the Governor to assent to the Bill he cannot withhold it. When can the Governor reserve a bill for the President's consideration? Can he do so even if his Ministry advises to the contrary? Or can he form an independent judgment? In Kerala, when the Communist Ministry was in office, the Governor reserved certain important bills on which some controversy was raised by the Opposition Congress Party (which was in power at the Centre)—the Kerala Education Bill and the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill are in point—the Governor did not act in obedience to his Ministry's advice, so far as I know, but reserved these bills for presidential consideration on his own; presumably this Congress Governor acted on central instructions. If a Governor acts either on his own or at the instance of the Central Government, in reserving a bill for the consideration of the President, will it not amount to gross constitutional impropriety because he virtually takes his cue from the State Opposition (which

rules at the Centre; though) or independently of his constitutional obligation to act on the advice of *his* Ministry. But when the President appoints and removes the Governor—and he does so on the advice of the Central Ministry—the sensitiveness of such a head of State to the wishes of the ruling party at Union level is understandable; more so when the die-hard habit of the (Congress) Union Government of appointing party men or permanent civil servants or other yes-men only as Governors continues.

When a State bill sponsored by the State Government is reserved for Presidential consideration on whose advice should the President Act? Can he take advice from the Central Ministry in a matter relating to a State bill? If so the conclusion is clear; in the event of the State Ministry being of a party which sits in opposition in Parliament, at any rate, should the President at least consult the State Ministry or is he bound to act only on the advice of *his* cabinet? Can he refer such a Bill for the opinion of the Supreme Court, under Article 143 of the Constitution, on the advice of his Council of Ministers, in the teeth of opposition by the concerned State Ministry? Can he send back the bill with suggestions to introduce amendments favoured by the Opposition at the State level (that is, the ruling party at the Centre) and if the State Assembly refuses to approve of such amendments, can he refuse assent altogether? The Kerala Education Bill experienced these difficulties and established how the ruling party at the Centre may use its powers to the prejudice of the State Ministry when political acrimony arises.

Administrative relations between the States and the Union are regulated by the Indian Constitution leaving a great deal of room for rift. The executive power of every State shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament and the existing laws (Article 256.) Article 256 goes further and says that the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to the State *as may appear to the Government of India* to be necessary for that

purpose. Similarly, the executive power of a State, under Article 257, shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union and the Union Government may give such directions to a State "as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose".

These are wide powers to issue directions on the subjective view of the Union and may interfere with State autonomy in the field of administration. Vasu Pillai's case is an illustration of possible abuse. Vasu Pillai had been sentenced to death. His application for commutation of death sentence was rejected by the Governor at a time when the Kerala State was under President's rule. When the Nambudiripad Ministry came into office it decided to commute a petition for the same relief was pending with the President and had been one dismissed earlier. The power under Article 161 could have been exercised by the State Government because it is not exhausted by one rejection. Nevertheless, the Home Ministry took the curious view that since the President had already dismissed the application of the prisoner under Article 72 it was not open to the State Government to exercise power under Article 161 as, in the view of the Central Government, it would be an exercise of State power so as to impede or prejudice the Union's executive power! The correct view, as I understand it, is that both the Governor and the President have concurrent jurisdiction to grant pardon or commutation and merely because the President has rejected it the Governor's jurisdiction is not taken away. Nevertheless, it did happen that the Central Government told the State Government in Vasu Pillai's case that the Governor could not do so. A show-down was avoided by the Home Minister exercising clemency.

Confrontations between the State and the Centre may conveniently be construed by the Centre as disobedience of Union directives which, in turn, may be read subjectively as a break-down of the constitutional machinery at the State level. Article 365 enables the

President (that is, the ruling party at the Centre) to hold that a break-down of constitutional Government in a State has occurred if there is a failure to give effect to any direction issued under the very wide and on-justiciable powers conferred by Articles 256 and 257 of the Central Government. If in the legitimate exercise of powers under Article 161 the Kerala Communist Ministry in 1957, had commuted Vasu Pillai's death sentence, the bitter Congress regime at the Centre could have, by a perverse exercise of power under Articles 257, 365 and 356 dismissed the ministry and dissolved the Assembly! Nearer Ayub than Nehru!

Central Despotism

Again, a seemingly harmless provision—Article 355—vests a duty in the Union to protect the States against internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution (no duty nor right is given to the State to ensure obedience to the constitutional provisions by the Union). Supposing, as happened in Kerala in 1959, the party ruling at the Centre creates internal disturbance, can you expect bona fide Central assistance to quell the violent "upsurge"? What remedy, except a resentful but ineffectual public opinion, exists against a party which engineers domestic commotion and relies on it, to declare a break-down of the constitutional machinery? In July 1959, the Congress Working Committee decided that the Kerala Government had failed to maintain constitutional administration and advised the President to proclaim assumption of all power, thus benefiting by its own wrong and Nehru's Congress Government invoked Article 356 promptly!

These doings reveal the implications and amplitude of Central despotism possible under our Constitution, unless sound checks—judicial or through conventions—are built into the scheme of Parts XI and XVIII. The recent Rajasthan Proclamation shows the danger is still there.

Imagine another possibility—the case has actually occurred.

Can the Home Ministry go on nagging the State Government asking for reports of alleged law and order violations coming within its ken through its party sources and thus constitute itself into a sort of supervisory authority over the State Government on the pretext of discharging its duty, under Article 355, of ensuring constitutional Government in the State? Can the ruling party or any other party hostile to the State Government concerned move a resolution in Parliament that the constitutional machinery has failed in the State and that the Centre should take over? Who is to place the case of the State in Parliament then? The Home Minister of the hostile ruling party? And if, because of its majority in Parliament, the ruling party gets a motion passed, what follows? Can the constitutional Government of a State be thus placed at the mercy of the Opposition in the Assembly (which rules at the Centre)? Sri Asoka Mehta and Dr. K. B. Menon did move resolutions (1958-1959) in Parliament making fantastic allegations and the State Government had no opportunity to meet them in Parliament except through Sri G.B. Pant!

The President acts, under Article 356, on the basis of the Governor's report or otherwise. The truth is, as was affirmed by Prime Minister Nehru at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting held in Delhi on August 4, 1959, that the President acts on the advice of his Cabinet. Of course, in the Kerala case, the Congress Governor produced a clever report, behind the back of his Council of Ministers. The question of the constitutional loyalty and political devotion of Governors needs proper study if State-Centre relations are to be based on clean and correct principles. Is he a central spy? Or symbolic head of State? Or defender of the Constitution in the light of his own independent judgment? The Governor, under the 1935 Act, had two masters, the Governor-General (regarding matters to be performed in his discretion or independent judgment) and the elected ministry. The Indian Constitution has abolished dyarchy. Nor is there provi-

sion for any Instrument of Instructions. The simple, inescapable conclusion in our parliamentary democracy is to make him a king with the right to persuade his ministers but with the duty to accept their advice—and not to act where no advice is tendered. He cannot receive, or act on instructions from the Centre; he cannot override his Cabinet responsible to the Assembly, by giving himself powers of independent decision. Not his conscience but his cabinet; not what he thinks is the Constitution but what the House, through its responsible ministers, thinks it is, leaving it to the court to declare it otherwise.

The position of the Governor, unless properly understood, will create immense complications and vitiate State-Centre relations. In the present political situation of the country even one or two members may tilt the scales. Article 333 provides that the Governor may, *if he is of opinion* that the Anglo-Indian community needs representation in the Legislative Assembly, nominate such number of members of the community to the Assembly, as he considers appropriate. This matter being not justiciable, as the language of the Article suggests, it becomes important to know whether the Governor can act on his own or is bound by the advice of his Ministers in the choice of the Anglo-Indian member. If it is President's rule, can he forestall and baulk a Ministry's advice by anticipatory action of nomination or should he, in constitutional propriety, wait for the elected representatives choosing a ministry and abide by their advice in the matter of the nomination. In 1957, Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, the Governor, nominated the Anglo-Indian member without reference to the Nambodiripad Ministry. In 1967, Sri Bhagwan Sahay, presumably, acted on the advice of the Nambodiripad Ministry.

Another matter of considerable moment : Whom should the Governor invite to form a ministry in an ambiguous situation? If the leader of one party is chosen, that itself will bring in peripheral, wavering elements into its fold and a party which may not command a majority may be able to

form a Ministry through the artificial advantage. In India today political fickleness being common this advantage will loom large. Since, under Article 164, the Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor, the question arises whether the Central cabinet can operate on the Governor by way of remote control from Delhi. At least one Governor has told me that he has never regarded himself as amenable to instructions from the President or Home Minister on this issue. He is expected to act on the basis that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the legislature and apply this pivotal proposition to the situation presenting itself, according to the best of his judgment. This sounds constitutional sense. Obviously, the outgoing Ministry which cannot command the confidence of the House has no title to advise the Governor on the future Chief Minister; nor can the President, that is, the Central cabinet, in propriety guide the Governor. However, recent events in certain States and recent constitutional discussions have created an amount of confusion on this subject.

Practical Aspect

There is also the practical aspect that a Governor who is appointed by the President and who holds office during the pleasure of the President and by and large belongs to the ruling party at the Centre normally behaves to the political advantage of that party. The oath of office under Article 159 compels the Governor to discharge his functions so as to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and not the Congress or other party in power at the Centre. The constitutional head, in a parliamentary democracy, obeys his oath of office by defending the noblest principle of responsible Government contained in Article 164(2) of choosing that party or coalition of parties which, in his judgment, can be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Governor's role and responsibilities in constitutional theory are similar to those of the President, as laid down in Part V of the Constitution. Without going into

the special and very limited situations in which the President or Governor may have scope for taking the initiative or playing a fruitful role, it will be correct to state that they are like the King under the English Constitution, the Head of the State but not of the executive, representing the nation but not ruling it. Dr. Ambedkar rightly expressed the constitutional position, when he said in the Constituent Assembly: "He is the symbol of the nation. His place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known". It is apposite to quote what Sir Allady Krishnaswami Iyer, another architect of the Constitution, stated in the Constituent Assembly :

"The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. If the President stands in the way of the Council of Ministers discharging that responsibility to the House, he will be guilty of violation of the Constitution and he will be even liable to impeachment."

Sir Allady made it clear that even in regard to the emergency powers as well as Ordinance-making powers, the President can do nothing on his own responsibility and is always bound to act according to the advice of his Cabinet; for, the word 'President', used in the Constitution, merely stands for the fabric responsible to the legislature. Our Supreme Court which, under Article 141, is the ultimate authority to lay down the law, has ruled in the now familiar case of Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapoor and others *vs.* The State of Punjab that "In India, as in England, the executive has to act subject to the control of the legislature; but in what way is this control exercised by the legislature? Under Article 53 (1) of our Constitution, the executive power of the Union is vested in the President but under Article 75 there is to be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. The President has thus been made a formal or constitutional head of the executive and the real executive powers are vest-

ed in the Ministers or the Cabinet. The same provisions obtain in regard to the Government of States, the Governor or the Rajpramukh, as the case may be, occupies the position of the head of the executive in the State but it is virtually the Council of Ministers in each State that carried on the executive government. In the Indian Constitution, therefore, we have the same system of parliamentary executive as in England and the Council of Ministers consisting as it does, of the members of the legislature is, like the British cabinet, 'a hyphen which joins, a buckle which fastens the legislative part of the State to the executive part'. The cabinet enjoying as it does a majority in the legislature concentrates in itself the virtual control of both legislative and executive functions; and as the Ministers constituting the cabinet are presumably agreed on fundamentals and act on the principle of collective responsibility, the most important questions of policy are all formulated by them".

Those who plead that the President has special responsibilities—and by implication this must apply to the Governor also—are really arguing that the President, in certain situations, can defy Parliament. In a parliamentary system no King of England could get away with his head if he claimed to override Parliament itself, which in the ultimate analysis, represents the people. Within certain extremely limited circumstances, there is room for play of presidential dynamism but the brooding spirit of parliamentary supremacy must prevail at all time.

Once this position is clearly accepted the Centre's temptation to use a Governor for its own purposes will be abandoned and a healthy convention of choosing and withdrawing a Governor in consultation with the Chief Minister of the State would develop. It is significant that Sri Nambodiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala, recently stated that he did not know about the decision to withdraw the Governor Bhagwan Sahay from Kerala and the appointment of Sri Viswanathan in his place. A Governor should be *persona grata* with his cabinet.

All the Kamadhenu sources of taxation are with the Centre and financial patronage can be extended by it to the States if ideological or other political considerations govern distribution of assistance of allocation of revenues. There will naturally be heart-burning which will weaken faith in the fairness of the Union. At present the resources of the States do not afford sufficient scope for bold policies of economic development. Naturally more resources must be placed at the disposal of the States based upon well-established considerations of equity. It is appropriate that in working out the various financial provisions in the Constitution, principles are evolved which will leave the States satisfied.

Another Central institution which can greatly damage State-Centre relations is the Planning Commission—that extra-constitutional, over-sized, obstructionist body which has frozen State initiative and bred frustration in matters of economic development, by its behaviour as an expert, super-central organ created by the Union Government. What good it can do to co-ordinate and plan a priority-oriented economic transformation of the nation is more than offset by its distant, irresponsible, bureaucratic and speciously specialist pretensions. Important projects for which the State may plead can never materialise without the approval of the Central Government and the Planning Commission. Central green signal by way of issue of licenses, release of foreign exchange, inclusion in the State plan and other interminable hold-ups make even the digging of a large tank or starting a new foundry the plaything of Central pleasure! Denial of economic self-respect and intelligence to States and over-centralisation of masterly control in New Delhi must give place to a mutually respectful, semi-independent status for States. It is therefore proper not merely to decentralise in great measure the planning operation but also provide ample scope for initiative for the States. In the matter of food a crisis has been developing in the whole country affecting the States in varying degrees. The unity of the

nation is being shaken not merely by the maldistribution of big projects and imbalance in economic development (for which the blame must be shared by the Central Government and the Planning Commission) but also by the absence of a national outlook in providing help to the States in the matter of food supplies. Ready suggestions may not be available but the question affecting as it does the common people, enables short-cut solutions by the States putting the blame on the Centre and the Centre blaming it on the States. How should the country make equitable allocations on the food front? What principles should govern the claims and responsibilities of the States and the Centre? There is room for constructive thinking on this subject.

The highest judiciary in the State, namely, the High Court has a pivotal role to play in the administration of the laws. How are the Judges to be chosen? Can the Centre override the State's wishes. Do the existing protocols in this matter suffice. At present the Union Home Ministry has the decisive say and the experience of the Nambodiripad Ministry in 1957-59 shows that the State's recommendations are suspect in the eyes of the Centre. A senior District Judge, but a Keralite, was suggested by the first Nambodiripad Ministry but the name was turned down and the same gentleman was recommended by the Kamaraj Ministry and he adorns the Bench of the Madras High Court. Such political discrimination is intolerable. Better respect for each other should be developed by the States and the Centre in this regard also.

The matters indicated above, which, I confess, deal only with some of the federal provisions that are a fruitful source of serious controversy between the States where the party ruling at the Centre is sitting in Opposition in the State Assembly. As far as India is concerned, it is appropriate that jurists and statesmen devote urgent attention to this subject before political acrimony vitiates a rational, national debate. This article is designed "to make people argue, for, by argument they reach understanding".

Gheraos and the Bosses

SATISH LOOMBA

A sustained propaganda campaign in the jute press was brought to a head at the meeting of the Standing Labour Committee held in New Delhi on May 10. There the employers made a determined bid to get a declaration outlawing "gheraos". In fact not one item of the agenda could be discussed and important issues like the Bonus Act, recognition of unions and amendments to the Employees State Insurance Act were all shelved. The debate at this meeting brought out forcefully who stands where in the new *co-relation* of class forces which is emerging in India.

What are "gheraos" and why all this attack on them?

A "gherao" is a form of trade union struggle in which workers surround the employers or the management in order to compel them to negotiate and settle a dispute on the spot. This form of struggle is not new; in fact it has been carried on for more than twelve years. It is confined more or less to Bengal alone, though occasionally it has been used in other States also.

It was alleged by the employers that "gheraos" are illegal as they constitute coercion, and may lead to violence. In fact some of their spokesmen went so far as to warn that if gheraos were allowed to continue, the very fabric of Indian democracy would be torn to shreds. They singled out, naturally, the West Bengal Government for concentrated and concerted attack and in fact demanded that if that Government did not suppress gheraos through ruthless police measures, the

Centre should intervene in one form or another.

The employers' antipathy to gheraos was shared by the INTUC. For all the brave resolutions which it has recently passed, announcing its determination to take a stand independent of the Congress Government, it was quite clear that among the trade union organisations their leadership stood firmly with the employers on questions which really go to the root of class relations. They supported the demand for outlawing gheraos and have declared that gheraos do not constitute a legitimate weapon in the armoury of trade unionism.

Of course the Congress Governments, at the Centre and in the few States where they have still survived, stood fully by the Indian monopolists.

But the role of HMS was not worthy of a genuine trade union organisation nor of the PSP which is the leading force in that organisation and a participant in a number of non-Congress Governments. They failed to see (or did they?) the real purpose behind this whole attack on the gheraos and linked up with the employers and their defenders and servitors, the Congress Government and the INTUC.

Facts clearly show that the real purpose of the attack was not so much to get a declaration against gheraos, but to some how get a reversal of the policy adopted by the Governments of Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar and UP that the police will not interfere in the trade union struggles against the interests of the workers,

except in situations where law and order is threatened. Gherao was used only as a pretext. And since West Bengal has the biggest concentration of Indian and foreign monopoly and Big Business interests, and since in West Bengal a Government has been established which has refused to act as a custodian and tool of these vested interests, it came in for attack first. There is no doubt that if this attack succeeds in Bengal, it will be extended to other Governments.

The West Bengal Labour Minister reported to the meeting that in all there have been 152 cases of gherao during March and April 1967. Within one week of assumption of office by the new Government, employers carried out large scale dismissals retrenchments, lay-offs and closures affecting over 45,000 workers. In many cases the worker was neither dismissed nor retrenched nor laid off; he was simply refused entry to work through sheer force. It is these cases of large-scale denial of work which led to the present "gherao" struggle and 28.8 per cent of the total gheraos were in connection with such cases.

It is to be noted that when the employers close down business or retrench large number of workers or lay them off, and that too in violation of an existing tripartite understanding requiring them to give a notice of three months, it is not possible for the workers to resort to other methods of trade union struggle. A strike, for instance has no meaning in such cases.

Another 17.1 per cent of these 152 gheraos were occasioned by such practices as the refusal to give the interim relief awarded by the Central Engineering Wage Board and accepted by the Government of India nearly a year ago; the refusal to implement the award regarding minimum wages in smaller engineering concerns of the VII Industrial Tribunal given after a prolonged hearing lasting from 1962, and the refusal to pay wages due.

Pending for 12 Years

Again, 25 per cent of the gheraos relate to the demands pending for long periods and which the employers refuse to settle. In some cases these demands have been pending for as long as 12 years; the employers went on procrastinating while the Congress Government merrily fiddled while the workers were compelled to go on working on the old terms.

It may be argued, now that a non-Congress Government has come, why go on a gherao? Why not seek its intervention? The facts are revealing. On no less than 211 occasions during the last two months alone the employers have refused to attend conciliation meetings, called by the West Bengal Labour Department or the State Labour Minister himself.

The law as it stands has no provision by which an award can be enforced. Nor is there any provision by which attendance can be enforced for conciliation. Any amendment of law in these directions would require the prior sanction of the President of India.

The West Bengal Labour Minister also stated that in one case alone out of these 152 gheraos was there any violence and on that occasion appropriate action was taken at once.

Thus whatever may be the propaganda of the employers and their advocates, facts speak for themselves. A calculated wave of retrenchments, dismissals, denial of rights and violation of awards and agreements was let loose immediately the non-Congress progressive Government

took over in West Bengal. The attempt was to discredit it. If it failed to solve the problems, it would lose its mass base among the workers. If it intervened in the old way through repression, it would come into direct collision with the democratic masses. The new Government refused to fall into this trap or be browbeaten. A smear campaign was then let loose with the entire might of the bought press at their command, with the Central Government's apparent show of concern and with the help of their trusted lieutenants in the labour movement—the leadership of the INTUC. The aim was to compel the West Bengal Government to change its policy and if it refused to do so, to break it through Central intervention. The Standing Labour Committee was sought to be utilised as a forum for isolating the West Bengal Government.

Unholy Alliance

But the times have changed. Not only the AITUC stoutly resisted this dirty game, to some extent the UTUC also refused to toe the line. And what is even more significant is that other non-Congress State Governments besides West Bengal come out clearly, sharply and cogently against this attack by the unholy alliance of Big Business, Congress Governments and their henchmen in the trade union movement. The Labour Ministers of UP and Kerala saw through the game and refused to change the policy of their Governments of protecting the legitimate interests of the workers, including non-interference by the policy.

The trade union movement has a dynamic record of struggles. It has had to fight here as in all countries, to win its rights. At its very birth, it faced repression and many people had to give their lives to get the right of association established. As Dange pointed out, the right to organise, the right to strike have all been won through struggle and had been strongly denounced by the opposing classes, when the workers sought to establish them. Now, the right to gheraos is being resisted.

The "gherao" struggle has had to be resorted to because of the offensive of the employers. If the organised coercion of the employers stops; if they implement awards and settlements and in case legislative sanctions are forged to compel them to do so; if the lengthy and tortuous processes are made speedy and simple; if the employers stop violating laws; if they settle disputes amicably across the table; if they stop terroristic acts against the workers, then obviously the workers will have no reason to resort to such a struggle. Instead of recognising this the employers and the Congress Governments are seeking to curb the workers.

The AITUC was compelled to walk out of the meeting of the Standing Labour Committee because the employers, the Government and the INTUC, this trinity of vested interests, their custodians and their servants refused to word the resolution in a way which would condemn or disapprove coercion from whatever quarter it emanates. Clearly this would not have suited their political game.

Design of Big Business

Democratic opinion in this country must recognise the true state of affairs and the design of Big Business behind all this smokescreen of "coercion" and "insecurity." At the same time the trade unions must be vigilant and see to it that gheraos are resorted to only when absolutely necessary, that when carried out they are perfectly peaceful, and that no avoidable hardship is inflicted on anyone who is unconnected with the disputes. Instances are abundant when agent provocateurs have turned peaceful strikes and demonstrations into violent and rowdy actions. Such attempts will be made now so as to discredit and disrupt the trade union movement and subvert the declared policy of the democratic State Governments. Workers being conscious must not adopt tactics which will turn the edge of the struggle against the movement itself and against the Governments which have refused to act as agents of employers.

Investment Structure and Income since 1956: A Preliminary Note

V. B. SINGH

THE strategy of Indian economic development, enunciated in the Second Five Year Plan, emphasizes that for accelerating the rate of growth it is imperative to mobilize a sizeable portion of India's economic surplus for the purposes of productive investment.

The experience of the centrally planned economies reveals that they have invested 20 to 30 per cent of their national income to get a rise in the national income at the rate of 18 to 22 per cent, and the industrial employment by 10 per cent. Forty per cent, or even more, of the investment has been in the construction of basic industries producing the means of production.

The developmental strategy of central planning has been to concentrate investment, generally about one-fifth in the construction of industries producing the means of production. In the Indian institutional framework, this approach was first enunciated by the Mahalanobis Plan. As a corollary the Second Plan declared that the public sector would grow, both absolutely and relatively, faster than the private sector. (*Second Five Year Plan Report*, p. 28).

But there have been drastic changes in this strategy, sometimes even to the point of reversal. With the result that operationally Indian planning has failed, as we shall show in this brief note, to

attain its central objectives—rapid industrialization; a higher rate of sustained growth; reduction in unemployment and economic inequalities—as stated in the Second and Third Five Year Plans of India.

With the help of tables of I and II an analysis of the structure of investment and income since 1956 has been attempted (see Appendix).

Table I reveals that the absolute as well as relative share of the public sector investment, both in agriculture and industry, is increasing. The share of public investment in agriculture has increased from 25 per cent (II FYP) to 64 per cent (IV FYP), that is, the increase has been of the magnitude of 150 per cent. But in industry, the share of public investment has increased, in the corresponding period, from 53 per cent to 61 per cent, that is, by 15 per cent only (cf. 2.0 below).

The absolute increase in the public sector investment in agriculture has been about 140 per cent in IV FYP over the II FYP.

The public investment in agriculture is found to be ineffective. A sizeable sum is spent on the maintenance of unproductive administrative staff. There are leakages as well. The installed capacity remains underutilized.

Possibly the way-out lies in supplying the articles of agricultural inputs instead of money.

The supply of agricultural inputs should be organized on the basis of barter. State Trading in food-grains should be immediately effected. These are the possible methods in the hands of the Government to create a balance

between the input and output of agriculture with a view to increasing production and satisfying the needs of the people.

Table 1 shows that there is an increase in over all public sector investment from 46 per cent in the I FYP to 64 per cent in IV FYP.

This increase mainly has been due to the increase in the share of public sector investment in agriculture that is an *unconditional* aid to private sector—which is true in a different way, for industry as well.

In contrast the increase in the share of public investment in industry has been slight. In the total investment in the private sector of the national economy the share of industrial sector has increased over the period; whereas the industrial share of public investment has remained constant during the II and III FYPs. The slight increase in the IV FYP is illusory. To quote the words of the *Draft Outline*: "In sectors like industry transport and power, which have large imported components, the price has gone up substantially in rupee terms as a result of devaluation" (p. 43).

The facts that the investment in the public sector has a long gestation period; and no adequate physical regulations have been enforced over the supply and distribution of consumer goods, have resulted into a rise in industrial prices.

The public investment in the social services (Table 1) has increased over the three plan periods (26, 37 and 54 per cent).

The share going to health and education has not been an effec-

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Investment Pattern of India's Planning: 1956—1971.*

Head of Development	SECOND PLAN																THIRD PLAN															
	Investment																Investment															
	Rupees crores	As percentage to total investment of the sector					As percentage to total investment on the head of development					Rupees crores						As percentage to total investment of the sector					As percentage to total investment on the head of development									
	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16																
Agriculture and Community Development	210	625	835	86	20	12	25	75	660	800	1460	11	20	15	45	55																
Irrigation and Power	..	865	40 ^b	905	24	1	14	96	4	1662	50 ^b	1712	26	1	16	97	3															
SUB-TOTAL	..	1075	665	1740	30	21	26	62	38	2322	850	3172	37	21	31	73	27															
Industry and Minerals	..	960	850	1810	26	28	27	53	47	1670	1325	2995	26	32	29	56	44															
Transport, and Communication	..	1275	135	1410	35	4	21	90	10	1486	250	1736	24	6	17	86	14															
Social Services & Miscellaneous	..	340	950	1290	9	31	19	26	74	622	1075	1697	10	26	16	37	63															
Inventories	..	..	500	500	..	16	7	..	100	200	600	800	3	15	7	25	75															
TOTAL	..	3650	3100	6750	100	100	100	54	46	6300	4100	10400	100	100	100	61	39															

TABLE I (Contd.)
FOURTH PLAN (DRAFT)

Head of Development	Investment							
	Rupees crores				As per centage to total investment of the sector ^a			
	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private	Whole economy	Public	Private
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Agriculture and Community Development	1575	900	2475	11	11	12	64	36
Irrigation and Power	2994	506	3044	22	1	14	98	2
SUB-TOTAL	4569	950	5519	33	12	26	83	17
Industry and Minerals	4166	2670	6836	31	34	32	61	39
Transport and Communications	3010	630	3640	22	8	17	83	17
Social Service and Misc.	1855	1600	3455	14	21	16	54	46
Inventories	..	1900	1900	..	25	9	..	100
TOTAL	13600	7750	21350	100	100	100	64	36

*For first Plan Period

Sector	Investment	
	Rs. crores	percentage to total
Public	1560	46
Private	1800	54
Total	3360	100

Source: Government of India, Planning Commission, *Third Five Year Plan* and *Fourth Five Year Plan Draft Outline*.

a Sector refers to: Public Sector/Private sector/Whole economy (=Total)
b Irrigation included under irrigation and community development.

TABLE II

Sectorwise Trends in National Income: 1950-51 to 1964-65
(At 1948-49 prices)

Sectors	National Income							
	1950-51		1955-56		1960-61		1964-65	
	Rupees 100 crores	Percen- tage to NNP	Rupees 100 crores	Percen- tage to NNP	Rupees 100 crores	Percen- tage to NNP	Rupees 100 crores	Percen- tage to NNP
I. Agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities	43.4	49.0	50.2	47.9	59.0	46.3	65.0	43.2
II. Mining, manufacturing and small enterprises	14.8	16.7	17.6	16.8	21.1	16.6	25.5	16.9
III. Commerce, transport and communications	16.6	18.8	19.7	18.8	24.6	19.3	29.7	19.7
IV. Other services	13.9	15.7	17.3	16.5	23.1	18.1	31.4	20.9
V. Net earned income from abroad	-0.2	-0.2	—	—	-0.5	-0.3	-1.1	-0.7
VI. Net national output-National income	88.5	100.0	104.8	100.0	127.3	100.0	150.5	100.0

Source: Reserve Bank of India, *Currency and Finance Report*, 1965-66.

tive investment in human capital. For example, the quality of education has deteriorated. Buildings—so-called schools and hospitals—have been constructed without teachers and doctors.

In the transport and communication the share of private sector has increased from 10 per cent (II FYP) to 17 per cent (IV FYP), that is, by 70 per cent.

This implies that the private sector is finding it profitable to invest in the non-commodity sector.

With proper control over the private sector this investment could have been diverted to commodity sector—the most produc-

tive sector.

Because it can be maintained that, to a large extent, the additional demands on transport could be met, through organizational changes, for the fuller utilization of the existing capacity, instead of additional investment.

Table 2 reveals that the share of agriculture in the formation of national income has been declining—from 49 to 48, then to 46 and finally to 43 per cent.

Table 2 also reveals that the share of the industrial sector has remained almost constant.

Table 2 also reveals that our

national income has increased to some extent because of the contributions made by commerce, transport, communication and other services.

It is to be noted that the share of 'other services' has recorded the larger increase (see table 2).

How long shall the nation live on such economic illusions? Will one be unjustified in concluding that we are drifting away from our declared goals and objectives (as outlined in Section I above)? Even those who may not share this conclusion will agree that the Fourth Five Year Plan has ceased to be a five year plan.

Marxism and Maoism—II

PYOTR FEDOSEYEV

MARXISM-Leninism is the scientific outlook of the working class, generalization of the historical experience of the struggle, theory and tactics of the proletariat in the revolutionary transformation of society, scientific analysis of the ways and means of building socialism. Proletarian internationalism is intrinsic in Marxism-Leninism.

Mao-Tsetungism is a petty bourgeois chauvinist ideology and policy, theoretical justification of its hegemony in the international communist and national-liberation movements. Mao-tsetungism is an expression of petty-bourgeois adventurism in foreign and domestic policies, manifest especially sharply during the transition in China from the democratic to socialist changes.

Denial of Role

The denial of the leading role of the proletariat by the Chinese pseudo-Marxists is explicit in their interpretation of the essence of the world revolutionary process. Interpreting the experience of the national-liberation, popular-democratic revolution in China in an un-Marxist way, Mao Tse-tung extends this interpretation into the

entire world revolutionary process and the solution of the problems of the building of socialism in other countries.

It is well known that the most numerical section in the national-liberation movement is the peasantry. Considering the problems of the national-liberation movement, Lenin urged to take into account the fact that "the overwhelming mass of the population in the backward countries consists of peasants... It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties, if indeed they can emerge in these backward countries, could pursue Communist tactics and a Communist policy without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement, and without giving it effective support." (Lenin, Selected Works, p. 498).

Lenin made an all-round analysis of the role of the peasantry in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the national-liberation movement and brought it to the logical conclusion on the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. Lenin's idea is recognized by the Communists of all countries and is a guide to action for them.

Unjustified Conclusion

During the national-liberation struggle and the popular revolution in China the peasantry played an immense revolutionary role. Applying the Marxist-Leninist ideas to the specific conditions of China and relying on the experience of the working-

class movement and proletarian revolutionary personnel, the Chinese Communist Party used successfully the vast revolutionary possibilities of the multi-million-strong peasantry in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. Revolutionary strongholds in rural areas carried an important role in this struggle. However, Mao Tse-tung has drawn from this a perfectly unjustified conclusion that during the socialist stage of the revolution the same alignment of forces is preserved as at its democratic stage; that the socialist upheaval will move from country to city.

Premise

Proceeding from this premise, Mao Tse-tung pictures the following prospects for the development of the world revolutionary movement: the rebellious "world countryside" will encircle the "world city", the peasant uprisings in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will surround North America and West Europe and will destroy world imperialism. In contrast to Lenin's idea of the proletarian-peasant alliance on the world scale, the Maotsetungists oppose country and city, East and West.

Evidently, this concept proceeds from disbelief in the revolutionary possibilities of the world working class, from the denial of the proletariat's leading role in the revolutionary process, in the socialist transformation of society.

This is the second and concluding portion of an article which appeared in the theoretical organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, KOMMUNIST (No 5, 1967). The first instalment appeared in Mainstream (May 6, 1967). The author is a leading member of the USSR Academy of sciences.

This attitude basically contradicts the interests of development of the world revolutionary movement and the vital interests of the peoples of the developing countries fighting against imperialism. It leads to the disruption of the main world revolutionary forces, to the breakaway of the national-liberation movement from the socialist countries and the international working-class movement. This isolation would expose the working people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the arbitrary rule of "their own" landlords and capitalists, to the enslavement by foreign capital.

Why then do the Chinese arch-revolutionaries impose this concept on the world revolutionary movement? Perhaps, because they bank not on the socialist countries, not on the world communist movement, but on the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements of the eastern countries, expecting to rely on them for the attainment of their hegemonic aims.

1958 Resolution

It is not surprising that in their home policy the Mao Tse-tung group also belittles the role of the working class and denies the proletarian leadership of the popular masses of China.

Having put forward the idea of transforming agricultural cooperatives into people's communes, Mao Tse-tung proclaimed that these constitute the best form of an accelerated transition to communism. In his opinion, the people's rural communes constitute the universal form of the building of communist society. He has persistently imposed these homespun ideas of his on the Chinese Communist Party. In August 1958 a resolution taken by the Central Committee of the CPC already stated: "The people's commune is the best organizational form of the gradual transition from socialism to communism, and in its development it will be the basic unit of future communist society..... Evidently, the realization of communism in our country is

not something far away. We should make an active use of the people's commune and find through this form a concrete way of the transition to communism". It was recommended to adhere to the principle: "We should militarize organizations, act in the militant spirit, and conduct a collective way of life". Having been established first in the countryside, the communes were, according to the Maotse-tungists' ideas, to embrace the industry, unite all urban population and thus lead to the victory of communism throughout the country.

Thus, Mao Tse-tung and his supporters have "discovered" a rather old theory put forward by the Social-Revolutionaries: the countryside will come to communism earlier than cities and will lead the urban population. These views were at that time soundly criticized and emphatically rejected by Lenin. During the socialist revolution and the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, the leading role of the city with respect to the countryside is an irrefutable law. "The city," Lenin stated, "inevitably leads the countryside. The countryside inevitably follows the city." The denial of this indubitable truth of Marxism by Mao Tse-tung means the denial of the leading role of the working class in the socialist transformation of society.

Dump-heap Motto

The failure of the theory and practice of the people's communes undermined the Mao Tse-tung group's positions but did not cure it of the ailment of the petty-bourgeois populist-anarchist ideas of the main forces of the communist transformation of society.

The notorious "great proletarian cultural revolution" is the sharpest expression of the denial of the leading role of the working class and its party, lack of trust in its trade unions and Young Communist League. The Mao Tse-tung group has set against and hounded at the Communist Party the mobs consisting of students, the

anarchistic organizations of the hungweipings and rebels. The motto "studying youth is the barometer of the revolution" has been produced from the dump-heap of history.

The Mao Tse-tung group is extensively employing troops against the Communist Party and administrative bodies. Armed power against the legitimate organizations of the working class: this is what evidently constitutes the practical meaning of the notorious thesis "The rifle produces power" which Mao Tse-tung's supporters regard as a "major contribution" to the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Actually, the interpretation and use of this thesis in China today look much like a "justification" of a reactionary military coup d'etat.

Theory of Coercion

The denial of the role of the working class and its party is closely linked in the theory and practice of Mao-tsetungism with ignoring the vital interests of working people. The policy of raising their living standards under socialism has been declared by Mao Tse-tung's supporters to be "economism". Their hope to attain communism without the personal material stimulation of working people, on the basis of "revolutionary" calls and slogans only, clashes with Leninism. Under the flag of communist propaganda the Maotsetungists actually dish out the old Confucian precepts on the possibility of solving all problems and saving man from all evils by his moral self-improvement.

It can readily be noticed that the neglect of the economic conditions contradicts the materialist interpretation of history and is based on voluntarist concepts, and in the final analysis, on the "theory of coercion". No Marxist can ignore the material conditions of life and social development, the vital interests and needs of the masses. Socialism is called upon to secure for the masses not only political power, but also steadily rising material and cultural

standards. Inversely, the neglect of the vital interests of working people is inseparably linked with the antipopular ideology of the personality cult.

The Chinese admirers of Mao Tse-tung extol him because he has allegedly developed the idea of the decisive role of the subjective factor under socialism. According to "sinicized" Marxism, the objective factors determined the development of society in the past, before the socialist revolution, while under socialism it is subjective rather than objective factors that are decisive. The enhancement of the role of the subjective factor under socialism is hypertrophied in this case and reduced in the final analysis to the influence of a "great personality" on the social process.

Scornful Attitude

It is true that Mao Tse-tung and his followers voice quite a few phrases about the role of the popular masses and the working class, but actually their attitude to the people is scornful. The multi-million-strong population of China is represented by Mao Tse-tung as devoid of any ideas and spiritual traditions and is likened to a "sheet of white paper" on which he can write whatever he likes. "On a sheet of white paper", he harangues, "there is nothing; but the latest, the most beautiful words can be written, the latest, most beautiful pictures can be drawn on it". This is how Mao Tse-tung visualizes the relations between him, the "leader-mentor" and the Chinese people.

It should be noted that such anti-Marxist views met with a rebuff among the Chinese Communists. At the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, resentment at the growing cult of the personality of Mao Tse-tung was clearly voiced. In connection with changes in the Rules of the Party, it was said at the Congress: "Of course, the personality cult as a social phenomenon had a long record and it could not but find a certain reflection in our party and social life". The Congress denounced the personality cult and declared that the Party rejected the deifi-

cation of a personality as something alien to it.

Such denunciations of the ideology and practice of the cult of a personality are causing Mao Tse-tung's and his admirers' extreme displeasure. It is quite clear why the "hungweipings" vile abuse is aimed against those who once came out against the inordinate glorification of Mao Tse-tung.

The cult of the personality of Mao Tse-tung has depreciated the role of the masses, the role of the Communist Party and led to the denial of socialist democracy. Surely, no reference can be made to the leading role of the Party or certain norms of party life if only one congress of the CPC was held during the seventeen years of the existence of the People's Republic of China.

The glorification of Mao Tse-tung now exceeds the ugliest manifestations of the cult of a man ever witnessed in history. While the Chinese emperors were regarded as the "sons of heaven" and the rulers of the "celestial empire", Mao Tse-tung is extolled as the brightest sun. Mao Tse-tung's supporters are using in this case the long vicious tradition of the cult of rulers. More than two thousand years ago the Chinese philosopher Mo Tse taught: "What the ruler considers the truth we should also consider the truth; what he considers a lie, we should also consider a lie". Today such precepts are used to "justify" the cult of Mao Tse-tung, reduce the masses to the level of a thoughtless held parroting the utterances of the "ruler."

Mao Denies Socialism

Having lost any sense of proportion, the admirers of Mao Tse-tung declare Maotsetungism to be the "highest" stage of Marxism and want to impose it on all communist parties of the world, on all peoples. They expect to make the cult of Mao Tse-tung a tool of hegemonism in the world communist and national-liberation movement.

The "theory of coercion," military command and enforcement is extended by Mao Tse-tung into all historical periods up to the higher phase of com-

munistism. He denies socialism as a special phase of communism and includes socialism in the transitional period during which coercion or suppression is known to play still a rather considerable role. This concept is ascribed by Mao Tse-tung to the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, in the proposals of the Central Committee of the CPC ("Pravda" of July 14, 1963) it was said: "Both Marx and Lenin believed that the entire period up to the entry into the higher stage of communist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Theory of Marx

Actually, in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme" and other works Marx clearly differentiates the "transitional period", the "first phase of communism", i. e. socialism, and the "higher phase of communism". In accordance with the theory of Marx, Lenin identifies in his famous work "the State and the Revolution" the following stages of the establishment and development of the communist formation: the "transitional period from capitalism to communism," i. e., to the latter's first phase, followed then by the "first phase of communist society", and finally, the "higher phase of communist society" (see Complete Works, vol. 33, pp. 86-95). With respect to every period Lenin considers in this work and subsequent studies the question of the economic basis of society, of the state and its functions.

During the transitional period the economy has many formations; along with the growing socialist formation, there are still remains of the capitalist system of the economy, and accordingly, there is still a class of exploiters; a severe class struggle on the principle "win or die" is waged between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Elaborating on the ideas of Marx on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the transitional period, Lenin wrote: "...during the transition from capitalism to communism suppression is still necessary; but it is now the suppression of the exploiting minority by the

exploited majority. A special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, the "state", is *still* necessary, but this is now a transitional state" (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p.374).

During the first phase of Communism, i.e. under socialism, all means of production are social, every working person performs definite social work and is remunerated according to his labour. The presence of the state during the first phase of communism is associated by Lenin not with the need for suppressing any hostile classes, for these have already been eliminated, but with the need for protecting and augmenting social property, the control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption. "To this extent, therefore, there still remains the need for a state, which while safeguarding the common ownership of the means of production, would safeguard equality in labour and equality in the distribution of products", (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 378.)

Destiny of State

The economic basis of the total withering-away of the State is the development of the communist formation to such a high level that the productive forces are sufficient to meet the reasonable requirements of all citizens and essential differences between mental and manual labour have disappeared. Referring to the destiny of the state during the higher phase of Communism, Lenin wrote: "It will become possible for the state to wither away completely when society adopts the rule: 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need' i.e., when people have become so accustomed to observing the fundamental rules of social intercourse and when their labour becomes so productive, that they will voluntarily work according to their ability". (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 379).

Such is the dialectics of the establishment of the communist social formation, such are the main stages of its development.

Why do then the Chinese pseudo-theorists deny socialism as a special phase of the establish-

ment of the communist social formation, and identify socialism with the transitional period?

The fact is that having taken up the positions of anti-Sovietism and spreading insinuations about the growth of bourgeois elements in the Soviet Union, the Maotse-tungists would like to impose on our Party, the Soviet Union, the theory of aggravation of class struggle up to the higher phase of communism. They suggest quite definitely that the function of suppression the socialist state applied to the exploiting classes during the transitional period should be extended onto the entire period of socialism up to the higher phase of communism.

The Chinese theorists and propagandists constantly reiterate that under socialism class struggle must become more intense and last at least 100 years, 200 years or perhaps even longer. This attitude is a complete distortion of Marxism-Leninism and the prospects of socialist development.

Of course, the struggle against alien elements continues under socialism as well. But under the conditions when the exploiting classes have been destroyed, and only two friendly classes—workers and collective farmers—and the socialist intelligentsia remain, emphasis should be laid on ensuring the further consolidation of all social strata around the working class and strengthening the socio-political and ideological unity of socialist society.

Anti-Lenin Course

The anti-Sovietists have always dreamed of sowing strife in our country among workers, farmers and intelligentsia, of splitting and opposing them, of weakening and undermining the social, political and ideological unity of our society. Perhaps this is what the Chinese anti-Sovietists would like to see? This is, perhaps, why they attack so viciously the propositions of the Programme of the CPSU on the development in our country of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into an all-people's socialist state? Why do they strive to impose on our

Party the anti-Leninist course of applying dictatorial methods of control and curtailing socialist democracy under the conditions of the complete and final victory of socialism and up to the attainment of the higher phase of communism? Perhaps, they would like to narrow thereby the mass social basis of our state and to undermine the consolidation of the masses around the Party and Soviet power.

The identification of socialism as the first phase of communism with the transitional period has also another aspect viz., the Chinese leaders' desire to shun a concrete analysis of the economic formations, of a peculiar class structure of Chinese society, and real forms of class struggle during the transitional period.

Question Avoided

It is well known that the process of socialist transformation implies serious changes in the relations between classes. Yet in Mao Tse-tung's public statements this question is studiously avoided or is couched in extremely abstract and vague terms.

In his statement "On the Question of the Correct Resolution of Contradictions Within the People" in February of 1957 Mao Tse-tung presented a list of various contradictions instead of a concrete analysis of the economic formations and class structure of Chinese society. He refers to two types of contradictions, the contradictions with respect to enemies and the contradictions inside the people. Among the contradictions within the people he makes mention of the following: between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie; bracketed with them are the contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie, inside the national bourgeoisie, etc.

But this abstract description actually leads to the rejection of the class approach to the evaluation of various social strata of society under the conditions of the transitional period, to the automatic transfer of the tactics characteristic of the national-liberation stage of the revolution onto the stage of the socialist

transformations. Indeed, if the proletariat-peasantry and proletariat-national bourgeoisie contradictions in the transitional period are referred, as follows from the above scheme, to the same type, the proletariat's policy with respect to these classes must also be of the same type.

Shortly before it was emphasized in the Resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China that the "main contradiction inside the country is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie". At the same Congress Mao Tse-tung put forward a vague motto of consolidating "democratic classes". In the light of his "teaching" on the contradictions in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, it appears that communism can be built on the basis of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry with the bourgeoisie.

Chinese Capitalists

It goes without saying that the countries marching along the road of socialism have different social structures, different class compositions. In the Soviet country the exploiting classes were eliminated long ago, and this process was accompanied by a severe struggle. The classes of landlords and big bourgeoisie were eliminated during the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War. Then the development of the socialist industry and of state and cooperative trade ousted capitalist elements out of industry and trade, and the Kulaks were eliminated as a class as a result of mass-scale collectivization.

A "peaceful transformation of the capitalist industry and trade" is known to have been carried out in China. Mixed state-private enterprises were set up, and a peculiar "redemption" of enterprises by paying the owners interest on capital was effected.

Marxism Leninism takes into account the variety of forms in the building of socialism and class struggle in different countries. But, of course, universal laws of class struggle should not be neglected either. If exploiting elements—capitalists, landlords,

kulaks and tradesmen—remain in some capacity to work in state and cooperative enterprises, this does not mean that they have become supporters of socialism. It should be noted and realized that these elements continue, after the so-called peaceful transformation of the capitalist industry and trade, to influence the class structure of society, policy and ideology. These elements are a good nutrient for the ideology of chauvinism, racialism, nationalism, etc.

The Chinese press has never published data on the number of capitalists in China still receiving interest on their capital and the sums the state pays to these capitalists. According to the foreign press, the number of capitalists in China exceeds 1,000,000 and they are still receiving 5 per cent on their "capital investment"; out of these about 300,000 are working as managers of nationalized enterprises. In the form of remuneration they receive from 300 to 400 dollars a month and in the form of interest on capital some of them receive from 200,000 to 300,000 and more than a million dollars a year. To be able to receive such profits in capitalist countries the shareholders must possess capital worth several million dollars. The Chinese "Marxists" hold in deep secrecy this mechanism of capitalist exploitation. The fact that China's foreign economic ties have for several years been in the process of switching from the socialist to the capitalist world is also passed in silence.

Mao's "Explanation"

Characteristically, the "great proletarian cultural revolution" has not affected the interests of the Chinese millionaires. At the first stage of the "cultural revolution" the demand to stop paying the capitalists interest on capital occurred somewhere in the hungweipings' leaflets. However, as though by a signal this theme then disappeared from the arch-revolutionary wall posters.

Of course, this attitude to the capitalists has caused great perplexity and brought sharp criticisms on the part of

representatives of several Communist Parties. Mao Tse-tung's supporters offered an "explanation"—they declared that the question of the abolition of payments of interest on capital to the capitalists would be posed after the accomplishment of the "great proletarian cultural revolution". Thus, they confirmed once again the fact that the "cultural revolution" is no anti-bourgeois revolution but the attempt to crush the resistance on the part of party and state organizations, on the part of the masses, to the Mao Tse-tung group's adventurist policy.

Serious Resistance

Today Mao Tse-tung's supporters evidently realize that these attempts are failing ignominiously. They change their tactics as they resort to the ancient politicians' principle often repeated by Mao Tse-tung: "Pull taut and slacken up in turn". They begin to flirt with a certain section of Party personnel while carrying on the slaughter of others, they sound the retreat from time to time and lay the blame for the raids on Party organizations and the massacre of Party leaders on the lack of discipline among the hungweipings and rebels. However, this manoeuvre promises no success. Many Chinese Communists have proved to be much more staunch and convinced than Mao Tse-tung and his supporters assumed, and the Chinese workers, peasants and professional people have not turned out to be a "sheet of white paper" on which Mao Tse-tung thought to write whatever he liked. A serious resistance put up by the Party and non-Party masses to the so-called "great cultural revolution" indicates that the senseless adventurist policy basic to this "revolution" which has plunged the country into chaos will be surmounted by the Communists of China and the Chinese people. Sooner or later the Marxist-Leninist course will triumph in the Communist Party of China, and it will take a worthy place in the world communist movement and People's China in the serried ranks of the joint anti-imperialist front.

Planning and Five Year Plans

M. M. KHULLAR

THE degree of success which economic planning can achieve in a country depends on the quality of planning, the social and political environment and the combination of available resources—both internal and external. It would be erroneous to condemn planning simply because a certain economic plan for the country envisaging a set of targets happen to founder against the rock of ambition and high expectation.

It will be obviously fallacious to proclaim the superiority of free-market economy over planning on the ground that certain developed countries of the world free from regulation and control have a higher rate of economic growth as against a particular under-developed country which has elaborate planning machinery and comprehensive Five Year Plans. Comparisons between dissimilar situations cannot result in any valid conclusions unless we are sufficiently circumspect and do try to investigate into the peculiarities of each situation and refrain from attributing every development to planning or the lack of it.

It is necessary that while looking into the balance sheet of India's Five Year Plans, we must bear in mind the distinction that each vote against the Plans is not a verdict against the philosophy and practice of economic planning. If economic advance is our principal goal, the world economic history and contemporary experience will unmistakably drive every intellectual to the gospel of planned utilization of resources

rather than to the slogan of leaving an economy, and particularly an under-developed economy at that, to the hazards of an impersonal and blind relationship between the forces of supply and demand.

Herein any attempt to make a useful study we are confronted with certain difficulties which may be rather conceptual in character. The principal hurdle lies in our defining as to the precise connotation that could be given to planning—as against State intervention arising from legitimate endeavours of a welfare state. The sort of objective criteria such as proportion of public expenditure to national income or the number of regulatory legal enactments to impose economic discipline may be rather misleading. The governments in countries like U.S.A. and the United Kingdom are spending much more than what we do in India but this does not make them planned economies. Likewise, these countries do have abundance of social legislation without making any ado about planning. Such a spate of welfare activities and enormous expenditures on social services cannot be equated with planning.

The basic difference lies in the approach and distribution of emphasis. State intervention at best is both preventive and promotional; macro-analysis is undertaken to preserve the micro-approach. In the case of planning, it is deliberate, conscious and outright positive: micro-thinking is made subservient to the macro-analysis backed by certain organizational or institutional arrangement within the economy. With such a dividing line, it

should be safely possible to classify the various national economies and draw some lessons about the best techniques of economic development.

The Table I indicates the different ratios of economic growth in the case of centrally planned and private enterprise economies.

It is evident from Table I, that rate of economic growth has been in general much higher in the case of centrally planned economies as compared with private enterprise economies. It is this phenomenon which invests the Russians' slogan—'Catch up with America' with lots of reality. Again, it cannot be denied that the economic progress made by the Soviet Union during the last four decades of planning compares most favourably with a century of economic development in Europe.

In the case of India, however, where we have a mixed economy, a federal constitution, a mushroom growth of political parties and a growing crisis of character in general the Five Year Plans may have not produced results commensurate with the resources but have certainly not turned out to be the saddest commentary on planning. Certain indicators such as national income, per capita income, expectation of life, rate of investment, production of steel, generation of power and growth of other key industries and the changes in the composition of India's foreign trade are definitely indicative of the country's economic progress since the inception of planning.

India's national income increased from Rs. 9,850 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 16,630 crores in

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TABLE I

A. Centrally Planned Economies

Country	Period	Average annual rate of growth of total net material product at constant prices (in percent)
U.S.S.R.	1950-60	10.2
China (Mainland)	1952-60	13.6
Romania	1950-60	10.4
Yugoslavia	1953-60	8.5
Poland	1951-60	7.8
Czechoslovakia	1950-60	7.5
Hungary	1950-60	6.4

B. Private Enterprise Economies

Country	Period	Average annual total rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product at Market Prices
U.S.A.	1950-60	3.3
U.K.	1950-60	2.8
Australia	1953-60	4.3
Canada	1950-60	3.9

(Source : UN Year Book of National Account Statistics)

the year 1964-65. This indicates an increase of 69 percent giving an annual increase at a compound rate of 3.8 percent. Prior to the adoption of planning in the country, for decades together, the growth rate is estimated to have been in the neighbourhood of one percent. Even in the sphere of agriculture, although it is true that a big part of the battle remains to be won, yet we have no record of dismal failure in fighting out the legacies of comparatively such a backward and stagnant sector of the economy. According to the Draft Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan, the compound growth rate in agriculture during the period 1950-51 to 1964-65 has been three percent whereas in the previous decades it has been less than half a percent.

Decline in Deaths

Despite the explosive demographic conditions characterised by an unprecedented rapid increase in population from nearly 360 millions in the year 1951 to 500 millions in 1965, the per capita income has increased at the average annual rate of 1.8 percent during the period 1950-51 to 1964-65.

The average expectation of life at birth in the decade 1941-50

is estimated to have been 33.45 years for the males and 31.7 years for the females. The expectation of life in 1965-66 stood at fifty years. The improvement in this regard has been twice as compared to changes in longevity during the previous fifty years. Incidentally, this is explained by a sharp decline in the death rate from 27.4 in 1951 to 16 in 1965. Decline in death rate, of course, is the result of advancement in medicine and public health as well as an overall improvement of the socio-economic condition of the people.

Growth of Capacity

India's capacity to maintain a much larger population at a higher standard of well-being could not have been possible without a considerable increase in the volume of investment. Total investment in the economy which was 5.5 percent of national income in 1950-51 has increased to about 14 percent in the year 1965-66. Our rate of industrial progress has also been fairly satisfactory whether judged in terms of the index of industrial production or the diversification of the industrial structure. There has been 146 percent increase in industrial production between 1951 to 1965.

Before the commencement of India's first Five Year Plan, we had at best a nucleus of consumer goods industries. Value added in the manufacturing industries in respect of intermediate goods and machinery were hardly of much significance. Between 1950-51 and 1965-66, the value added at 1960-61 prices by these industries has increased from Rs. 89.5 crores and Rs. 30.9 crores to Rs. 620 crores and 315.9 crores respectively. Table II further indicates the growth of capacity in some of the key industries.

Structural changes in the Indian Economy are also reflected in the changing composition of India's foreign trade. Under the British rule India used to export mostly agricultural commodities and raw materials and was an importer of manufactured goods. This emphasis has since changed to the export of manufactures and light engineering goods and to the import of capital goods. Thus it appears that India has certainly been on the march.

The rate of economic development has not been as fast as in the centrally planned economies but otherwise does not compare so poorly with the free enterprise economies unless, in certain specific instances, Indian planning has failed to offset the factors such as the impact of massive foreign aid, extraordinarily helpful social and political environment and high quality of human capital or the generous natural gift of some important resource such as oil etc. For example in the latter category would fall countries like Japan, West Germany and

Due to unavoidable reasons, the final instalment of P.K. Naidu's article, SCIENCE POLICY IN CRISIS (previous instalments published in Mainstream, April 29 and May 6) is held over this week. It will definitely appear next week. (Mainstream, May 27, 1967). The delay is regretted.

—Editor.

TABLE II			
Industry	Unit	1950-51	1965-66
Finished Steel	Thousand tonnes	1040	4600
Aluminium Ingots	do	4.0	65.00
Diesel Engines Stationary	Thousands	5.5	85.00
Automobiles	do	16.5	68.5
Machine Tools	crores of rupees	0.3	23.0
Sugar Machinery	do	Nil	8.0
Bicycles (Organized Sector)	Thousands	99	1700
Sulphuric Acid	Thousand tonnes	101	664
Cement	Million tonnes	2.7	10.8
Iron Ore	do	3.0	23.0
Petroleum Products	do	0.2	9.9
Electricity Generated	Million kwh	6575	36.400
Nitrogenous Fertilizer	Thousand tonnes of N	9	233
Caustic Soda	Thousand tonnes	12	218
Coal	Million Tonnes	32.8	70.0

(Source : Draft Outline Table 6 Page-10)

some underdeveloped oil rich countries of the Arab world. Again, we should not forget that the growth pattern of economies before and after the take-off stage are not directly comparable.

It is, of course, shocking when some disgruntled persons choose to sing the chorus of the British Raj in India and try to recount the abundance of milk and honey in the country. It cannot be denied that rising prices, food problem and unemployment are problems which touch the common man intimately and require no economic expertise for diagnosis.

A certain amount of rise in prices is, perhaps, inevitable when there is an increase in the supply of money, deficit financing is adopted as a means of forced savings and capital formation and the investments are biased towards infra-structure, basic and heavy industries. Deficit financing is of course more hazardous but certainly more convenient and less painful in its operations. Mathematical formulation regarding the responsiveness of an economy to the invasions of the mint and the printing press are not uniquely and universally valid. Working the economic engine without excessive heating is something which is partly learnt from trial and error. Furthermore, the rise in prices is a phenomenon not exclusively restricted to India. The following figures do reveal that many countries particularly in Latin America surpass India

as far as inflationary trends are concerned. (Table III)

Our increased dependence on foreign imports is, however, not so much caused by stagnation in agriculture as by the increased demand for food. Notwithstanding, the drought conditions in the year 1965-66 India increased its food production from 54.9 million tonnes in 1950-51 to 89.0 million tonnes in 1964-65.

According to a study published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture during the period 1948-63, the food production in India increased at the rate of 3.2 percent per annum while the annual rate of population growth and the demand for food have been 2 percent and 3.6 percent per annum respectively. On the other hand taking the underdeveloped nations of the world as a whole, between 1938-60, grain production increased by 42% but the per capita food availability on account of enormous increase in population declined by 3 percent. India's per day

per capita production of food has increased from 12.8 oz. in 1950-51 to 15.4 oz. in 1964-65.

Here it should be remembered that during the period preceding India's three Five Year Plans, the population of the country has increased by 140 millions which is nearly equal to the combined population of England, France and Federal Republic of Germany or alternatively that of Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. The Food Enquiry Committee had pointed out in 1957 that another half-an-oz. increase per capita per day consumption of cereals would add to the demand for food by about 2 million tonnes. On the average the annual cereal intake of an Indian is about 139 kgms. as against only 63 kgms. by a Canadian.

Apart from these highlights of the Indian Food situation, we may also examine if our neighbours in South Asia or South East Asia have made progress by strides as they also continue to be in the grip of food shortage. After the Partition, Pakistan started off with a much more favourable position in respect of man-land ratio, the share of cultivable and irrigated area as well as food production. In the year 1965-66 Pakistan imported food grains to the tune of 2 million tonnes whereas imports in 1950 were as meagre as 48,000 tonnes. Recently in Ceylon, the food ration was reduced to fifty percent on account of a deterioration in the supply of food grains. Indonesia under Suharto has once again resumed import of rice.

TABLE III

Country	General Wholesale Price Index in 1964 (1958-100)	Consumer Price Index in 1964 1958-100
India	134	131
Argentina	619	600
Brazil	1273	1266
Chile	345	400
Colombia	185	192
China (Taiwan)	147	147
Turkey	142	157

(Source: U.N. Statistical Year Book—1965)

Thus, the food problem seems to be the bane of population explosion and under-development rather than the ugly off-spring of planning. Of course, slight shift in the priorities of investment and better planning can ensure speedier rise in agricultural productivity rather than leaving Indian agriculture to chance and providence in which the inert and uninitiated mind of the Indian farmer seems to have more faith rather than waging war against Nature.

Failure to eradicate unemployment is perhaps, another serious charge against Indian Planning and the Five Year Plans. In a cynical strain one would be only speaking the truth by declaring that at the end of each Five Year Plan, the ranks of the unemployed swelled more than at the beginning of it. Closer analysis will, however, definitely reveal to the rational mind that generation of gainful employment opportunities does envisage an investment of few hundred crores of rupees every year.

Planning has certainly helped in stepping up the rate of investment in the economy. With an alternative pattern of investments, possibly a little more of employment opportunities could have been created to the extent that capital employment ratio varies from industry to industry. That, however, does not justify the belief that, perhaps, in the absence of Planning unemployment and under-employment could have been eliminated to a greater extent. The monster of unemployment has been gathering strength in spite of the fact that employment has been created for 28 millions during the period of three Five Year Plans. Back-log of unemployment at the beginning of the Fourth Plan may be around 12 millions. The tentative employment target of the Fourth Plan is fixed at 20 millions jobs. During the Fourth Plan period, however, another 23 millions will be added to the labour force. Incidentally in addition to the difficulty in finding more capital resources for investment there is also the problem of labour force being mostly dispersed over five and half lakh villages, being un-

skilled and attached to local environment. Perspective planning, however, does envisage unemployment to all work seekers by 1976.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the position is not so very hopeless as it is made out to be. We are, of course, confronted with serious economic challenges the remedy for which certainly does not lie in retreat from planning. It has to be an hour of national resolve for the liquidation of privilege and a firm and undaunted pursuit of the ideals of planning.

It is interesting that principal beneficiaries of the Government's efforts to promote economic development by way of providing certain facilities as well as industrial finance are most vocal critics of planning. Some vested interests seem to be making a fad of economic freedom without realising that these need to be reconciled with the objectives of meaningful liberty to live a better and fuller life for the common man—both in the present and the future. Champions of free enterprise seem to be misleading the public opinion by citing irrelevant experiences of certain powerful leaders of world prosperity. The lament of certain economists that the country was suffering from 'over planning' may be in consonance with the resentment of those who occupy position of privilege and control and whose sense of security is seemingly threatened by every

added tentacle of the state. The answer to growing inequalities within and fast widening gulf of international disparities lies in proper orientation in terms of national perspectives and a set of bold measures on the part of government in the under-developed countries.

Prof. R. Schickele of the Food and Agriculture Organization rightly observed in 1963 at a Conference in Israel: "I think we are pretty well convinced that to leave economic, social and political progress entirely upto what is glibly called free enterprise, is not going to work in most of the under-developed world, in most newly independent States".

Let us finally hope that those at the helm of affairs will not be pressurized into abandoning path of planning and socialism. Short-falls in respect of Five Year Plans at best prove inadequate and insufficient planning rather than establish inherent weakness in any system of planning. We may improve, strengthen and streamline the machinery and method of planning but the goal must remain more complete and comprehensive planning. In any act of rethinking about India's Five Year Plans, we must not run the risk of throwing the baby of planning with the bath water of our Plans.

Planning is like antibiotics which taken in smaller dosage may fail to control the infection. Full course is necessary if the economy is to be cured of its ills.

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The Struggle Against Helplessness

KRANTI-SEN

Two months have elapsed since the United Front took over at the Writers' Buildings—the seat of the West Bengal Government. Two months may not be a long enough period to effect basic changes—'basic', of course, with the constitutional limitations about which some of the United Front partners are rather supersensitive—but it is long enough to bring out the salient features that distinguish the non-Congress Government from its unlamented predecessor.

To be sure, there are distinguishing features as far as policy statements go. A 'non-official note' released to the Press by the Director of Information gives a brief account of the progressive measures taken by the Government during the first six weeks of its existence. The note, *inter alia*, records the following:

1. The Calcutta Corporation tax on *bustees* (slums) has been reduced while that on buildings with an annual valuation of over fifteen thousand rupees has been increased;

2. Landless labourers and poor peasants will be given up to five cottahs of homestead land from the *khas* land of the Government;

3. No tax or cess will be realized in the drought-stricken areas where the extent of crop failure is 60 per cent or over.

4. Elections to 25 municipalities which were either superseded or made to carry with old sets of Commissioners will be held during May-June;

5. The Government employees' right to organize themselves has been recognized and those (including State Transport workers) dismissed by the Congress Government for taking part in legitimate movements have been reinstated;

6. Police intervention in the legitimate trade union movements has been stopped and directives have been issued to complete conciliations within three months;

7. Steps have been taken to ensure higher minimum wages to workers engaged in thirteen different industries;

8. The purchase price of paddy being procured by the Government has been increased by five rupees per maund; and

9. Price of rice sold through ration shops will not be increased despite the enhanced rate in purchase price. (The Chief Minister recently told newsmen that the Government would incur an annual loss of Rs. 4.5 crores on this account.)

Incidentally, the Director of Information—himself a member of the bureaucracy—notes that in order to break the 'bureaucratic inertia' the Government has taken bold steps by changing personnel in different branches of the administration.

All these are good as far as they go. The thing is, they do not go far enough.

For instance, the prices of food articles, vegetables, pulses and mustard oil are steadily going up. Immediately after the General Election there was a perceptible fall in prices. The wholesalers were panicky. But the food market has since 'rallied'—to use a stock-exchange term. As soon as prices began rising, the 'Super Cabinet' of the United Front met to discuss preventive measures. It was suggested by one of the parties that a Commercial Intelligence Bureau should be set up to collect facts about the market mechanism, namely, who controls the supplies of pulses, gram, mustard seeds and oil, etc. which are

imported from other States; who are the intermediaries between the big trader and the retailer, what are the factors responsible for price fluctuation, etc.

From experience it was found that a sudden price rise usually made the petty shopkeeper or grocer the target of public indignation. Out of fear he would close his shop and nothing would be available in the market for days together. Ultimately the people would have to persuade him to come back and accept whatever price he might charge. He would accuse the wholeseller while the latter would blame the merchants. The Left parties, uninitiated into the mysteries of market mechanism, could do little except talk about State-trading in foodgrains or opening of consumer societies. And the whole thing would end there. The idea of a Commercial Intelligence Bureau was, therefore, readily accepted by all the parties. But nothing concrete has been done so far to set up such a body.

Meanwhile prices are on the increase. The Government, no less than the people, seems helpless. According to a press report, the Deputy Chief Minister Sri Jyoti Basu recently told a public meeting in Birbhum that the price rise was due to the manipulations of a few highly influential businessmen and admitted: "We are helpless in this matter."

Such admissions of helplessness, however, will earn him or his Government no kudos. Already, faint murmurs are audible about the *raison d'être* of a Left Government that can do no better than the Congress to curb prices or bring recalcitrant traders and businessmen to book. The murmurs are likely to become more vocal, fanned by the Con-

gress and other reactionary forces, unless remedial measures are immediately taken. Pleading 'Constitutional limitations' or making the Centre a convenient scapegoat for all ills—as is becoming the fashion not only in West Bengal but in other States as well—will not carry them very far. The sooner it is realized the better for all.

The same helplessness one sees with regard to policy on public transport. Private buses were allowed by the Congress Ministry to ply in Calcutta during the Tramways workers' strike in December last. Subsequently, it transpired that the procedure followed in issuing temporary road permits for the vehicles was most irregular. There were allegations of shady deals between the bus owners and a former Minister. The United Front Government promised inquiry into each case after which appropriate action was to be taken. A thorough overhaul of the Calcutta State Transport Corporation was also promised. The road permits were valid up to March 31. The U.F. Government extended them by a month up to April 30 in the first instance.

Affairs of CSTC

Last month, in course of a lengthy Press Note the State Government explained: "During the regime of the late Congress Government the Corporation was brought to difficult pecuniary straits from which it cannot be rescued easily now." The Corporation, the Press Note stated, had nominally a fleet of 1180 buses, but only 680 were in running condition. It needed 300 new buses for new routes but "the present financial condition of the CSTC will not permit it to restore its original strength and to purchase 300 new buses." The State Government, therefore, had "regretfully come to the conclusion that on the one hand the policy of expanding nationalized bus service must be interrupted for a short time and on the other... the new routes which need to be opened and the routes from which the Corporation will withdraw should be made over to the private sector."

The affairs of the CSTC did, indeed, come to a sorry pass under the Congress regime. For one thing, the time-honoured practice of foisting retired Government officers—favourites of this or that Minister—on the Corporation made its administration top heavy. For the other, pilfering of stores, especially of fuel, was alleged to be taking place on a large scale. One has also to admit that fare-dodging by a section of the passengers also added to the Corporation's losses. As to the last point there was a marked improvement after the new Government came to power. A Calcutta daily reported that during the first week of March the daily receipt of the CSTC had gone up by 50 per cent.

Under the circumstances, it was to be hoped that even if the Corporation could not emulate the example of the DMK Government of Madras—namely, bringing down State bus fares by one paisa per stage—it would take immediate steps to clear the Augean stable of the CSTC, lighten its top-heavy administration by sacking the superannuated bosses drawing fat salaries, and with the help of augmented revenue bring its entire fleet into active service.

Now it appears things will not change as quickly as one expected. The people are now told that the Government will "determine the measures that should be adopted to bring the Corporation back to the road of prosperity" on receipt of the Evaluation Committee's report which is expected in about a month's time. Meanwhile private buses remain and get the new routes.

No Fare Increase

About the future of the Calcutta Tramways Company also, it is not known if the Government has made up its mind. Union leaders are reported to be finding it difficult to rebut the view that under the present pecuniary conditions of the Company wage increase is not possible without fare increase. The rise in fares announced by the Company in March has been temporarily stayed by an order of the High Court. What does the Government propose to do

if the High Court ultimately finds the fare increase to be in order?

Till now, the position of the parties of the United Front is, if fare increase be allowed, they will request the passengers not to pay enhanced fares and the conductors not to insist on realizing them. This, surely, cannot be a policy of the Government. If the Company decides to close down the services in such a situation, the Government must take positive steps to run them. Is it prepared to take over the management of the Company—just as the Congress Ministry did in the case of the Oriental Gas Company—or to nationalize it altogether? (A Director of the London Board of the Company met the Transport Minister in the first week of May and is understood to have suggested that the Government should buy the Company if it did not allow fare increase.)

Jotdars Not Responding

The position with regard to food procurement is also far from encouraging. Under the new food policy all producers holding 10 acres or more of irrigated land (or 12 acres or more of non-irrigated land) are required to sell their surplus produce to the Food Corporation of India, acting as the agent of the State Government. The target is to procure two lakh tons of rice. Till May, 5 however, only 71,000 tons could be procured.

The Deputy Chief Minister Sri Basu complained the other day that big jotdars were not responding to the Government's appeal for cooperation in the matter of declaring their stocks of paddy and selling them to the FCI. If appeals failed, he warned, other methods would have to be adopted. The Cabinet has since considered the procurement position and indications are that big producers will have to be compelled by law to sell their stocks to the Government.

The wisdom of lifting the ban on inter-district cording — announced in course of the Food Minister's policy statement in March—was questioned at many

quarters. In fact it is now admitted that taking advantage of free movement, huge quantities of rice are being smuggled out of West Bengal to Bihar and the neighbouring countries of Nepal and Bhutan. Unless all loopholes are plugged quickly and effectively, smuggling may further aggravate the already precarious food situation in the months ahead.

Another point that may be mentioned in this connection is whether the increase of the purchase price of paddy by five rupees has benefited the actual producers since it is believed that by the time the decision was taken, substantial quantities of paddy had already passed into the hands of big jotedars and mahajans who will now profit by the enhanced rates.

The bane of the situation is that the parties so far could do very little to transform the spontaneous enthusiasm of the masses in the wake of the Congress defeat to concrete and coordinated mass activity throughout the State. There is an uneasy feeling of a slow drift that cannot but cause anxiety to all who want to see the United Front Government continue and succeed as an alternative—a better and progressive alternative—to the Congress.

The success of the Government lies in implementing concrete measures that will enable the people to feel the impact of the change in their day-to-day mundane life. But no measures can be effectively implemented unless there is a popular sanction behind them. In order to build up that sanction, the parties will have to jointly organize the masses, will have to explain to them the meaning and implication of each progressive measure and mobilize them in defence of the policies and programme of the Government. The helplessness of the Government in face of the manipulations of the vested interests will be reduced in proportion to the intensity of mass activity, of mass radicalization.

To unleash this process is a stupendous but inescapable task and calls for developing a living contact with the people at the

grass-roots level. The concept of the U.F. people's committees arose in this context as it was felt that without a network of such committees neither a dialogue between the people and the Government could be kept up, nor public support transformed into a tangible quantity.

One has to admit regretfully that the parties, though agreeing on principle to the necessity of forming these committees, could do precious little to bring them into being. Sectarianism, parochialism and big-party chauvinism—if one may use that expression—stand in the way to building up the organs through which mass participation in the Government will be possible. Resistance to forming such united front Committees at the district level and below is most marked in the case of CP(M).

At the moment the parties are going through a painful phase of negotiations to present a united front against the Congress in the ensuing municipal elections. The outcome is not always much heart-warming. The adamant attitude of the CP(M), its talk of 'eliminating' other parties and

its desperate bid to project itself as the sole alternative to Congress at any cost—perhaps even at its own cost—may queer the pitch for the entire Left in West Bengal. Its policy is in marked contrast with that of the CPI which has repeatedly appealed for unity of all democratic forces, especially for unity with the Marxist CP. Sri Ajoy Mukherji also lays stress on closest unity.

The Congress is still very much a force in the political life of West Bengal. It is trying to revamp its organizational machinery at the lower levels. Circles close to the Congress Bhawan are aware that the coming municipal elections will be a trial of strength between the Congress and the United Front. The Left parties can underestimate the Congress only at their own peril.

The ardent desire of all progressive people of West Bengal is the unity of the Left and democratic parties. They want to see that the spring of hope that has driven away the twenty years' winter of despair does not prove to be a short-lived one. The masses will not fail the parties; let the parties not fail the masses.

Book Review

Anatomy of Bihar

The Economics of a Backward Region in a Backward Economy
Vol. I, Dr. Kedarnath Prasad (Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta
pp 472+XV 1967, Price Rs. 36.)

TILL recently nobody inside or outside Bihar ever cared to look into the progress of the State or analyse the cause obstructing faster growth of its economy. Everybody from the Planning Commission down to the Congress and the various Opposition parties, thought everything was going well. The Planning Commission has, since its inception, been maintaining a long panel of economists, but no one from Bihar was even included. The Universities in Bihar and liberally financed Research Institutes manned by well-known experts, though numbering about a dozen, have not produced anything which can

throw light on the state of affairs in Bihar, and the reasons for the slow growth—or perhaps stagnation—in almost all fields.

The Government of Bihar has from time to time tried to give some data and information about the social and economic development of the State, usually after a time lag of three to four years. Even the so-called annual Government publication *Bihar* has not been published for many years.

It is a pity that there is no history of the State except a very sub-standard book by a lecturer of Begusarai College. No book on economic history which can give the historical

background in which the present state of affairs can be discussed and analysed—has ever been attempted. At a particular stage, the Government, seemed to be thinking of publishing some studies. It published a passable book *Bihar through the Ages* and got the history of the freedom movement written by a well-known historian. *The History of the Freedom Movement* by Dr. K.K. Datta was published in three volumes. This so-called history was obviously written without proper planning and to suit the people in power. Inaccuracies, misinterpretations and one-sided glorification of some persons and omission of even the names of many freedom fighters and events known to the people throughout the State, have rendered the book virtually useless.

Another historian attempted to study the movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal in 1912. His prejudices against the Bengalees and lack of analytical power stood in the way of his producing a first-rate study from the mass of data he had laboriously collected.

Dr. Kedar Nath Prasad of Patna University has tried to study the economic development of the State during the plan-period.

Bihar has 17 districts, of which 13 are backward ones having 3.86 crores of people. In other words, 83 per cent of the total population of the State is in the backward districts. Bihar, according to the author, is the most backward State in the country. One should have expected from the author some light on his criteria for terming a district or a region backward and a discussion of the factors which have led him to include thirteen districts in this category. And he might have also given the names of the districts.

Dr. Prasad then throws light on the human and natural resources of Bihar and the development in the different sectors of the State during the plan-period.

Bihar is the second largest State in the country with a population of 4,64,60,000 and the ninth State from the point of view of area. Consequently it has a

greater density of population (691 per square mile). Since 1921, the population has been increasing very rapidly. During 1891-1921, the increase was only nine lakhs while during 1921-1951 it was 110 lakhs. Though the rate of growth of population is not very high (19.78 per cent) as compared to the other States, the absolute growth is very high (146.46 million) because of a larger base.

The slow rate of industrialisation, and the negligible scope for migration to other States have resulted in the greatest dependence on agriculture in the country. In Bihar 90.5 per cent of the total population is dependent on agriculture; out of this 24 per cent are agricultural labourers. From the point of view of literacy the State ranks eleventh. Only 18.4 per cent are literate. In spite of this the expenditure for education per capita of the population, in 1962-63 was only three rupees and 22 paise and this was the lowest in the country. Only 57 per cent of boys of the age groups 6-11 went to school in 1961-62, though there has been loud talk of compulsory primary education. Medical and public health services are very meagre. In Bihar there are 15 registered medical practitioners per one lakh of population while for all-India the number is 19 and for West Bengal it is 78.

In this backward State, the conditions of the people of the Scheduled tribes, numbering 40.5 lakhs (that is, 11 per cent of the total population) and inhabiting 22 per cent of the total area is most miserable.

By 1981, the total population of the State, according to the author, is likely to be 7,32,29,900: one should have expected from the author the source of the figure of the projected population and also the assumptions on which the projection is based. Anyway, with this population in 1981 and the slow rate of growth of the economy, the situation will become alarming.

The State has enormous natural resources. But they have been till now the monopoly of a few fortunate ones. According to Dr Prasad, 85 per cent of the

total area of forests in the State is in private hands. The net revenue of the State from forests has been meagre in spite of the abolition of the zamindaris. In 1960-61, it was only Rs. 40 lakhs. One explanation can be that the forests were in a very denuded condition when their control was taken over.

Even more than a decade after the Zamindari abolition, we are still unaware of the total forest resources in the State. This along with the lack of well-trained persons in the State to look after the forests hinders proper utilisation of resources for industrial purposes. If the author had thrown some light on the settlement of forest resources by the State Government with the contractors, it could have shown how the revenue of the State failed to increase.

As regards minerals, the State accounts for 40.57 per cent of the total mineral production of the country. It produces almost the entire quantity of copper, apatite and kyanite and a large portion of coal, mica, bauxite, china clay and iron ore.

The author suggests that the rates of royalty in West Bengal, Bihar and M.P. should be made uniform. Bihar gets a very low rate of royalty. Roads and railways have been totally neglected. One road improvement scheme (Rs. 50 lakhs) sanctioned five years ago, has not been completed. According to the author the production of iron ore, which was once the highest in Bihar, is suffering at present due to inadequate transport facilities as not a single mile of railway line has been constructed in the iron ore belt in the State since 1938. The author does not throw any light on the techniques of mineral extraction leading to high cost of production. He cannot dismiss the problem by blaming statutory and non-statutory obligations. He does not seem to have given any thought to the possibilities of establishing industries with the minerals found in Bihar.

Transport and communications have not been developed with any seriousness. The road mileage per square mile of area is only

0.01. The same is the case with the rail and water ways.

Per capita consumption of electricity is only 17.83 in Bihar while it is 30.40 for India as a whole. The agricultural sector consumes only 4.5 per cent of the total energy consumed in the State. This is because of non-availability and high changes. It would have been useful if the author had given some information on this point.

The agricultural sector has been most neglected. Net area irrigated was 22.6 per cent of the net area sown. On this score, the position of the State is the eighth in the country. The disparity in land ownership is very wide. Families with lands above 15 acres are 7.8 per cent of the total number of families owning or cultivating land and they produced only 31.9 per cent of the total foodgrains. About eight per cent of the land-owning families cultivate 32 per cent of the land whereas 23 per cent of them cultivate 32 per cent and 69 per cent of them cultivate 36 per cent of the land. Productivity is very low. The value of output per acre is Rs. 186.83 and net output per worker is Rs. 302. Bihar comes tenth and sixteenth in the all India on these counts respectively.

Dr. Prasad has given very interesting data showing that investment per farm by size of holdings has been very unequal. For holdings of size below two acres it has been only Rs. 77 while for holdings of five acres and above it has been Rs. 393.

He suggests that unproductive labour in the rural areas should be utilised elsewhere for construction of irrigation channels, tanks etc. and larger funds should be made available to cultivators, particularly the smaller ones.

The net area irrigated was 41,39,000 acres in 1950-51 which declined to 37,72,000 acres in 1960-61. The State went down from the second position to the fourth in this respect. The author has not explained the reasons for this decline.

He discusses the food gap problem at length and shows how the net import of foodgrains has gone up with the passage of time and how the increase of food

production in Bihar during the decade 1951-61 was 18 per cent, well below the national average of 45 per cent.

Dr. Prasad examines the progress of land reforms and co-operative movement. He asserts that without the abolition of the *bataidari* tenancy, reforms will be of no use. Under-*rai*yats must be given occupancy rights.

Dr. Prasad's book is a very informative one after the *Techno-Economic Survey* of 1958. This is of particular relevance when the famine devastation in Bihar has been receiving nation-wide attraction. The weakness of the book lies in the lack of an analytical

approach. He has failed to substantiate and explain most of his assertions and he makes explicit the assumptions on which his statements are based. He lacks historical perspective in which the problems should have been analysed. He does not seem to possess much knowledge of the economic history of the State.

It would have been better if the author had not mentioned some irrelevant facts about his personal life and the squabbles in his University departments. One does not understand why he is not satisfied with the expression of his gratitude to his wife at only one place.

Girish Mishra

Interpreting Cuba

Cuba Wins Freedom by M. R. DINESH (New Delhi Book Club Publication; 1967; Price Rs. 2.50)

M. R. Dinesh who has been closely following and in some ways directly associated with Cuban developments has done a useful piece of work by writing this short book after his visit to that country last year. It is not a scholarly study of either the past or the present or the future of Cuba and its significance for Latin America and the world generally. It is frankly a work of a partisan who is full of admiration, almost to the point of being emotionally touched by the beautiful land he visited and its leaders whom he saw.

This he has done by a few bold and sweeping strokes which outline the birth of the revolutionary movement under Fidel Castro, its programme, its victory and the actual changes that the revolution has wrought in social and economic life of the island.

It often happens that proclamations and declarations from Havana raise questions and misgivings in people elsewhere. One such occasion was when Cuban government declined to sign the Nuclear Test ban treaty. Doubts are also felt sometimes about its role in the current controversies in the international Communist movement and more specifically about the state and nature of the revolutionary move-

ment in Latin America about which Cuba feels special interest and even responsibility. The Cuban positions, however, would be easily understood, whether one may agree with them fully or not if only a few of the facts of Cuban history and revolutionary experience were grasped. The most salient among these is that Cuba won her freedom and revolution by its own unaided efforts on the strength of its own revolutionary forces which started with a small band of armed but dedicated men to overthrow a dictatorship backed by the biggest imperialist power.

The second salient fact is that Cuban history and destiny are inextricably joined to whole of Latin America. To this should be added the fact that Cuba is still actively threatened by US imperialism and the same imperialism is dominating and mercilessly intervening to smash all progressive stirrings in all countries of Latin America. That is the rationale of the Cuban interest and involvement in the growth of revolutionary movement in Latin America as well as its impatience with the course of events in that continent which may not fully understand or appreciate and which may some time create difficulties of adjustment and approach.

—B.R.M.

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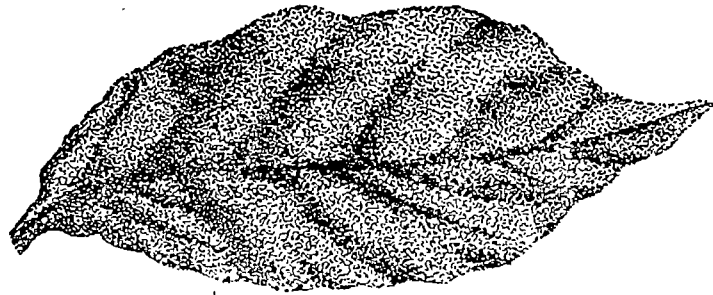
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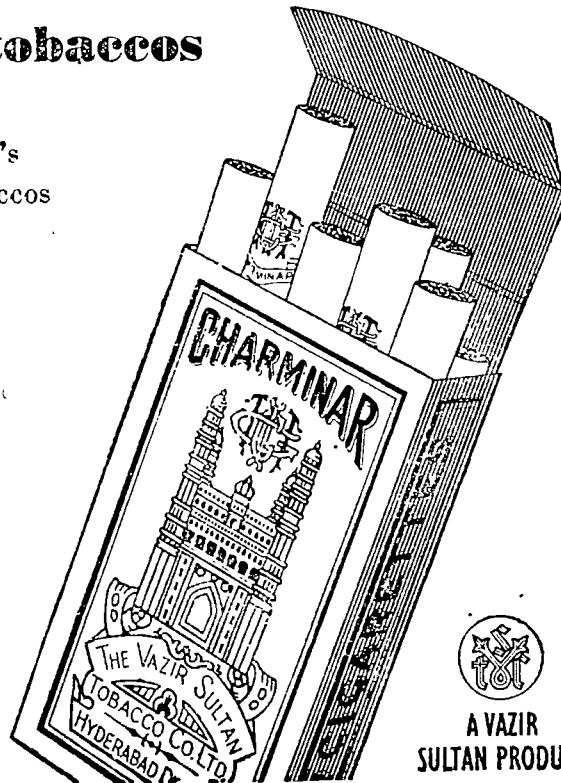


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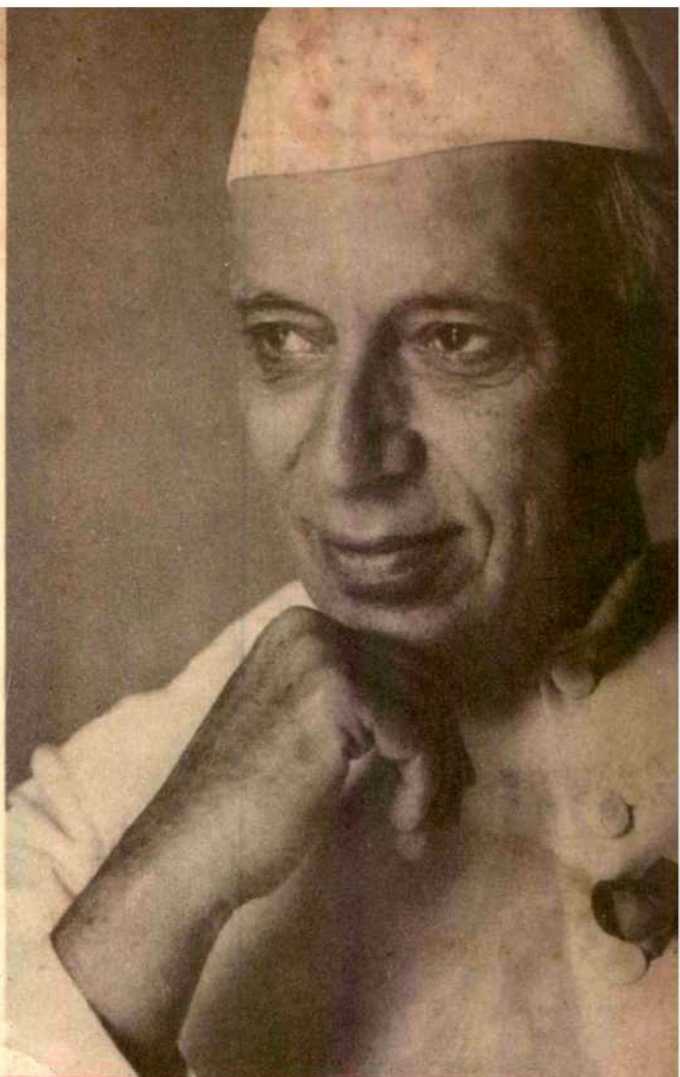
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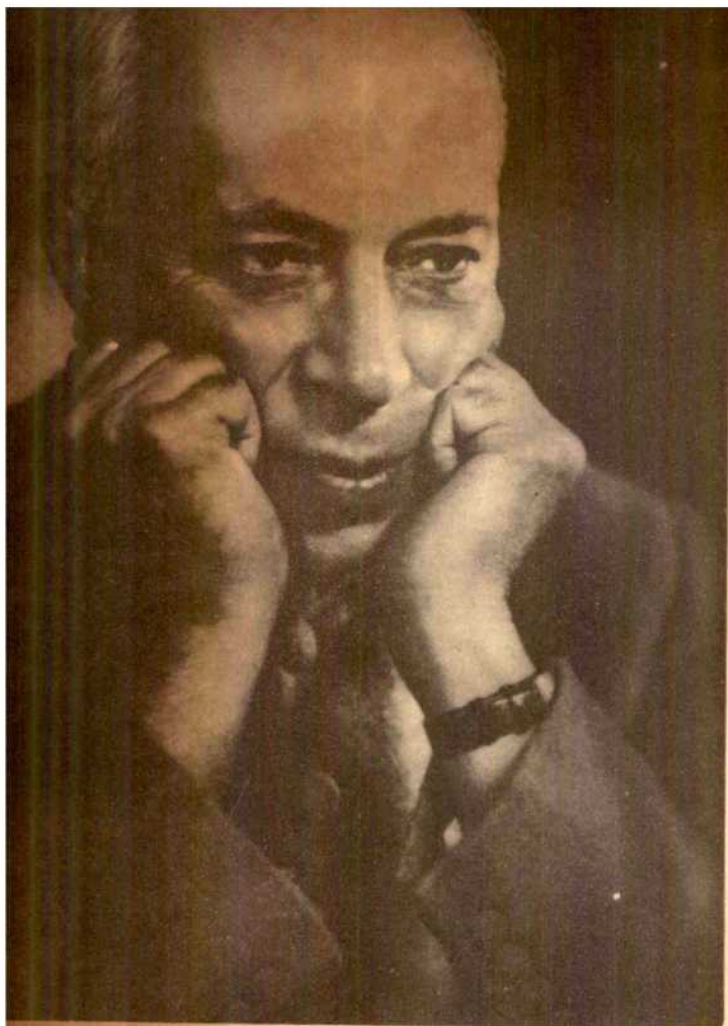
Mainstream

MAY 27, 1967 35 p.

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—Jawaharlal Nehru



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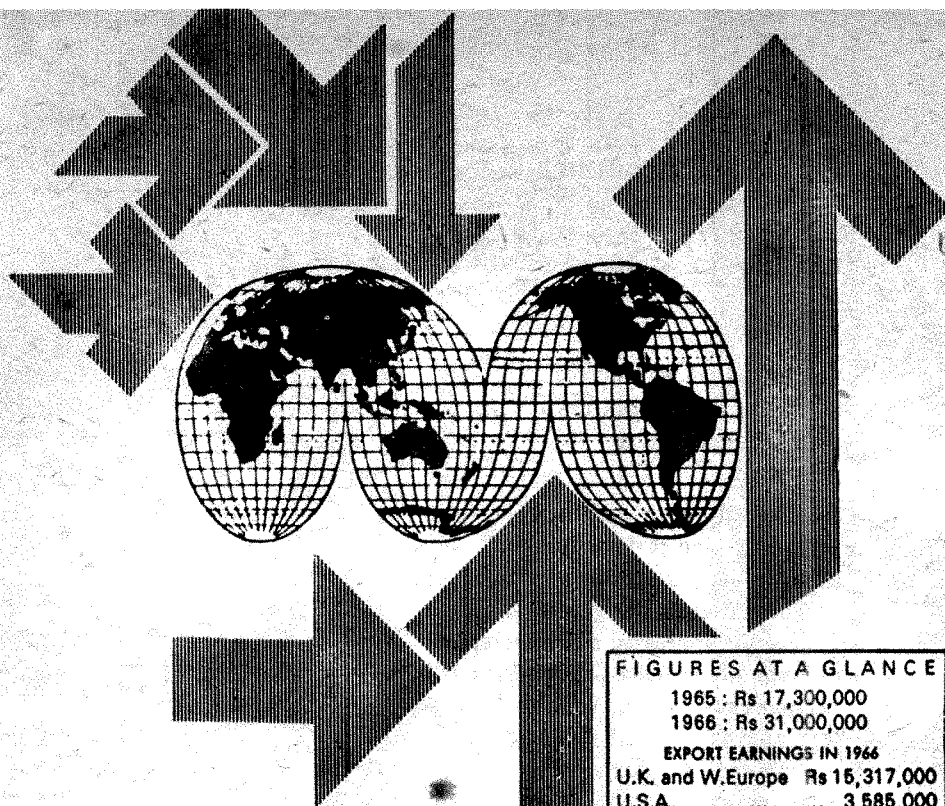
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U.S.A.	3,585,000
Australia, New Zealand	
and Far East	3,123,000
Canada	2,225,000
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East Africa	305,000
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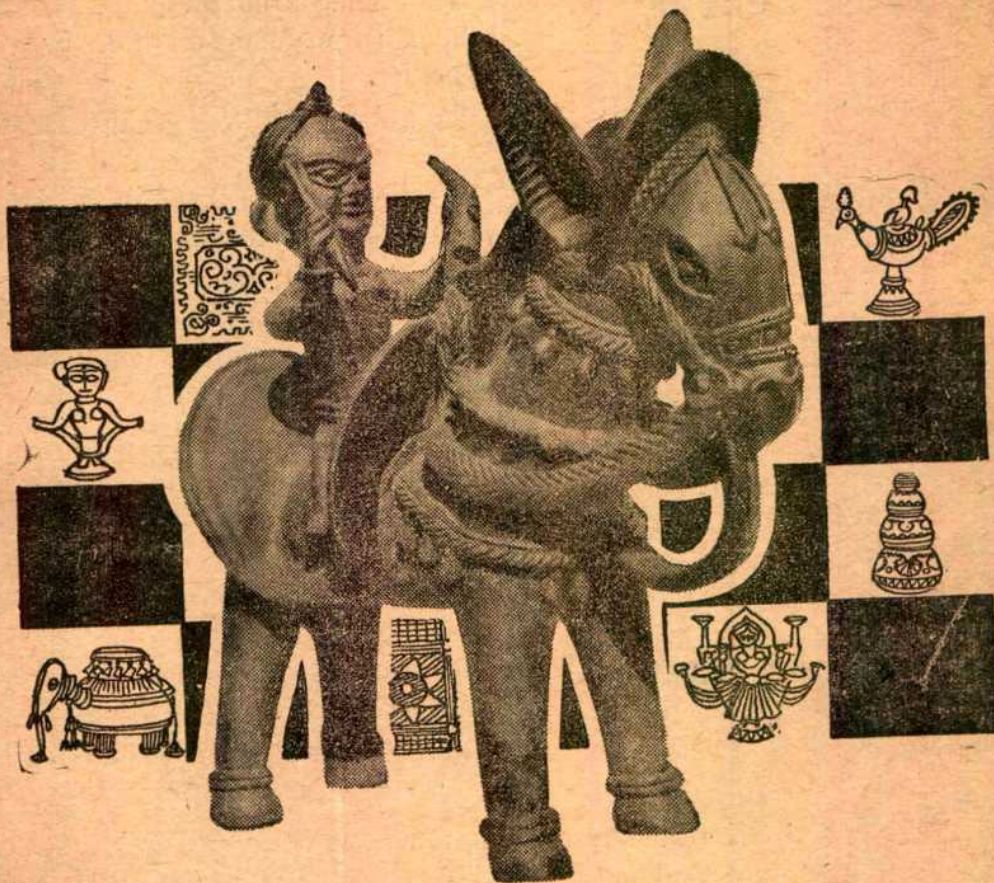
Bata-India, consequently, has to build new markets and to increase exports to

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VALIDITY OF NEHRU

THIS week free India mourns afresh the passing of its chief architect. The events of last three years, and particularly the new situation thrown up by the Fourth General Election, have only helped to underline the continuing validity of Jawaharlal Nehru's ideas and general direction of approach to the task of building a socialist India.

In what amounts to a fitting anniversary-eve tribute, even those who, yielding to pressures from big business and foreign influences, had chosen deliberately to deviate from the Nehru path, have tacitly acknowledged that the Indian context today allows of no course other than the one chalked out by Jawaharlal Nehru. The Congress Working Committee's recent resolution—however inadequate to

present needs and whatever the motives that led the disparate elements in it to accept the resolution—is significant because it represents a rather shamefaced admission by the Party's leadership in both the organisational and administrative wings that its total alienation from the masses is mainly because of such deviation and the failure to implement honestly the policies implicit in the Nehru line. The electoral verdict against the Congress was undoubtedly due in a large measure to the feeling among the people that after Nehru there is no section in the party's leadership strong enough to withstand bamboozling by vested interests and their friends abroad. In other words, the people felt with justification that with the Congress constituted as it is, radical measures aimed at transforming the national economy were not to be expected.

It will no doubt be pointed out that Jawaharlal Nehru himself did not carry out his own policies to their logical conclusion: that he wavered, compromised at almost every crucial stage, and generally acted in such a way that, despite his leadership and his constant reminders about the national goal, the rich became richer and the poor became poorer; that he set goals but was not strong or determined enough to get them achieved within prescribed time-limits.

Such criticism has substance but represents only part of the truth. When assessing Nehru, two important factors have to be borne in mind: one, that his very presence was enough to reassure the people that even if mistakes were made they would be rectified in due course; and two, that the instrument by which he had to transform his ideas into reality had neither the collective calibre nor the cadres needed for the historic task.

Perhaps Nehru can be legitimately charged with having deliberately chosen the available national organisation despite its patent inner contradictions in the hope of being able to transform it into an instrument for socialist construction instead of seeking

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to forge a more purposeful and single-minded organisation with the help of the progressive forces in the country. But to pose the question thus would be to ignore the many contradictions inherent in the then prevailing situation, including the fact that the Leftists as a whole permitted themselves the luxury of drifting without direction and did not lend themselves to be moulded into such a vital organisation. It would also be to overlook Nehru's own background and compulsions.

The contribution that Nehru made is not so much in the positive achievements in the socio-economic sphere—although these were by no means inconsiderable—but in the kind of political and economic thinking he set in motion. It is unfair to hold the indecision and lack of grip which marked his declining years against him, or to blame him for the failure of the political situation to throw up men of stature and dedication who could replace him while he was still alive. What have grown in the Congress Party during the years of freedom are mostly mushrooms of various kinds; the dedicated Congressman is the exception rather than the rule. That is why when Jawaharlal died the vested interests, which had already mounted a campaign against him taking advantage of the Chinese attack, decided that the time had come to make a concerted bid for power; this had to be mainly through the Congress and partly through the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh.

Not only the resolution of the Congress Working Committee but even the minimum programmes of the United Front Governments of West Bengal and Kerala constitute a post-Nehru justification of Nehruism. On the part of the Congress the attempt is perhaps no more than to restore the image of the Party to the extent feasible in the face of Rightwing pressures. On the part of the Leftist coalitions it is an admission that the Nehru philosophy of transformation through democratic processes is the only viable one in the present context. The Leftist coalitions have one advantage which the Congress continues to lack: the availability of dedicated leadership and cadres who, given the grit and determination, have the capacity to introduce and get implemented the radical measures which alone can lead to the India of Nehru's dreams.

So far as the Congress is concerned, since it still is in power at the Centre and in some States, its leaders continue to have a chance to prove their sincerity and honesty of purpose. The resolution adopted recently will mean precisely nothing if speedy steps are not taken to make the resources of private banking institutions available for developing the public sector, if dependence on foreign countries for basic food needs is not ended quickly, if monopoly is not curbed and big business houses are not eliminated step by step, if prices are not brought down and reasonable minimum wages are not ensured, and if a conscious programme is not introduced to reduce regional economic imbalances on a noticeable scale.

The present Prime Minister in the last 17 months has allowed herself to be a plaything in the hands of unscrupulous adventurers, climbers and agents of indigenous and foreign vested interests. But she

still has an opportunity to stop the drift downhill and bring the country back to the Nehru path. If she displays in this matter the same determination she showed in backing Dr Zakir Husain and getting him elected, she and the Congress may not have to be written off altogether. In fact, there is still time and opportunity for Srimati Indira Gandhi to continue the task from where her great father left off. But the first requirement is that she should give up dependence on those elements in her party who have always worked against Jawaharlal and his ideas, and regain the support of those sections which have been fighting for adherence to the Nehru path.

As for the Left Opposition at the Centre and Leftists in Government in the States, their task is to exert increasing pressure on the Union Government to act in conformity with the Nehru ideals in the social and economic spheres. They can make a start with the questions of bank nationalisation and justice for the working class. Pressure from the Right can only be countered by greater pressure from the Left; and the latter has the advantage of being in the interests of the common people and hence capable of mustering massive popular support. This then is the task that the Left should set for itself in the immediate future: if later on a situation arises in which the Leftist forces feel confident of taking over at the Centre and quickening the pace of progress towards socialism no doubt the progressive elements in the Congress will bless such a development even if initially they may have qualms about a backing it openly.

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SLUMP AT HOME AND ABROAD

THE opening gambit in Parliament has once again brought out the political fragility of the Government today.

Despite the accretion of strength that the Prime Minister is supposed to have gained in the period of the recess particularly over the Presidential election—she seemed to be more acclimatized this time to the hazards of parliamentary life—the grim reality of a mounting economic crisis spearheaded by the acute food shortage has shown up the Government's bankruptcy at the policy level. The characteristic feature of the food debate on the very opening day of the Lok Sabha has been that the Opposition, particularly the leaders of the Left parties, spoke with a better grip over the problem than the Treasury Benches. The background was provided by the exposure of the Central incompetence by the different non-Congress State Governments. The Centre's theme that it could not possibly meet the requirements of all the States proved to be unconvincing; and this was evident from the fact that the Food Minister could hardly be effective in rebutting the charges of Central failure to release even the promised quotas in time.

But Sri Jagjivan Ram's is no isolated predicament. Sri Poonacha's Railway Budget promises to prove a serious liability for the Government in terms of its popularity; for, never since independence has a heavier burden been placed on different sections of the public by way of railway fare and freight.

The unrelieved gloom on the economic front is matched by an extraordinary incapacity of the Government leadership to rouse the nation to a mighty

crusade to face the great crisis. Some of Sri Morarji Desai's critics have of late been ascribing this to the time-honoured conservatism of the Finance Minister. While Sri Desai's congenital inability to strike out a bold, radical line is known, the more discerning among the New Delhi observers would prefer to blame the pro-American elements inside the Government—ranging from some Ministers to powerful civil servant bureaucrats—for landing the economy in the present state of collapse and disintegration. Sri Asoka Mehta's backstage lobbying for devaluation and import liberalisation and Sri Subramaniam's P.L. 480 strategy have all placed the economy at the mercy of the World Bank, a charge which is levelled by a large section of Congressmen as well.

The fact that there has so far been no sign of a break from that capitulationist policy as evidenced by Sri Dinesh Singh's generous import liberalisation (thereby earning a pat on the back from Mr. George Woods) and the steel decontrol also at the behest of the World Bank—is turning out to be the biggest deterrent against any belief in the Government's readiness to go in for a radical economic programme, which alone can rouse the nation and prepare it to face any hardship. It is in this background that observers in the Capital do not set much store by the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee to go in for some radical measures.

An idea of the powerful influence that the vested interests wield in determining the course of the Government's policy and action has been provided in the last few days by the controversy

generated over the Hazari Report which has shown up the enormity of the Birla empire. (Incidentally, *Mainstream* can humbly claim to be the first to have brought it to light and its write-up touched off a storm in the Rajya Sabha which led the Government to place the report on the table of the House). It is understood that initially the Ministry of Industrial Development was keen on follow-up action on the report, particularly with regard to the present procedure of issuing industrial licences. But powerful forces were set to work and one M.P. belonging to the august business house even threatened to bring the Government down if any such move to expose it was taken. The Birla lobby in Parliament is perhaps stronger in number than any of the Opposition parties while it has its representatives in key places in the Cabinet, the Secretariat and a number of Opposition groups.

The manner in which a full-scale debate on the Hazari Report is being sought to be stifled or derailed provides a significant commentary on the Birla content in the present power-structure at the Centre. It was for quite some time given out that Sri Morarji Desai's camp did not enjoy Birla patronage as its rival factions did. However, on the Hazari Report the reluctance shown by the Finance Minister and his lieutenants to go in for a full-scale discussion, has made it clear to New Delhi observers that on issues touching the interest of the Birlas, the Finance Minister's over-sympathetic considerations should not be ruled out. The way Sri Chandrasekhar was sought to be mauled in the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting for having parti-

cipated in a *Blitz* symposium on the Birla empire has added proof about the preponderating interest that the Birlas can command in the ruling party itself.

While it is possible that the Left Opposition together with the Left elements inside the Congress might be able to force a discussion on the Hazari Report, few in New Delhi believe that the Government is in a position to take the appropriate follow-up action on it. The extraordinary gymnastics by which the protection of the Birla interest is simultaneously ensured with the mouthing of loud talks of socialism has become too hackneyed to bring about even an illusion in the minds of a large section of Government supporters, leave alone its critics.

* * *

THE state of slump that prevails in the sphere of foreign affairs has been amply brought out by the New Delhi reactions to the present crisis in West Asia. On the plane of formal posture there is little that one can object to the Government of India stand: the Prime Minister has promptly informed President Nasser about India's close bonds of friendship with UAR, and there has been no formal objection to the withdrawal of the UN forces from the Gaza strip. But if one compares the situation today with that which prevailed at the time of the Suez crisis eleven years ago, it is clear that New Delhi has practically ceased to play any active role in world diplomacy. There is no diplomatic initiative on the part of India as could be compared with Sri Krishna Menon's role in 1956.

In this specific case, two interesting points are worth noting. First, there is an active wing in the Foreign Office which seeks to cover up India's passive reaction by trying to make out that there is no reason why New Delhi should come out strongly in favour of UAR. According to this school, UAR did not come out with a strong and unequivocal stand in the two major crises in foreign policy that India had to face the last five years—first, the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and the second, the

Indo-Pak conflict of 1965. It is interesting to observe that forestalling this particular trend, the UAR mission in the Capital has been trying to do its best to convince different layers of Indian opinion, both official and non-official, that Cairo had taken a very sympathetic stand in the Colombo deliberations of December 1962 which enabled Nehru to accept the Colombo Proposals, and also in 1965, U.A.R. did not side with Pakistan against India.

The second point worth noting is the growth of an active Israeli lobby in New Delhi in the last few years. The demand for raising Israeli mission in India from consular to diplomatic status and for reciprocal gesture towards Israel on the part of External Affairs Ministry has been raised from time to time in recent years. The fact that unlike 1956, there has not been any forthright demonstration in support of the UAR point of view, is, to some measure, due to the activity of this Israel lobby which includes not only the Swatantra and PSP leaders but a number of prominent individuals. Judging by the extent of mass popularity there is no doubt that in the awareness of the Indian public, President Nasser symbolises a firm anti-imperialism stand much more definite than that of the present set-up in New Delhi. There was widespread interest, in this country, for instance, in the UAR President's forthright denunciation of U.S. strings attached to the PL 480 transactions. Side by side the Arab League outfit in New Delhi has come to be identified in recent months with a definitely progressive orientation which has a very wide appeal particularly among the radical elements in this country.

The over-all impression in the capital is that the West Asian crisis is not likely to spill over into a full-scale war for neither Israel nor UAR can go in for a war without the backing of their respective super-power supporters. Against this prophecy one has to take into account the current Pentagon thesis (so similar to Peking's!) about the feasibility of limited wars and it is clear that

Israel can always offer herself as a guinea-pig for US experiments.

* * *

THE state of disarray in the Foreign Office is noticed by practically all sections of New Delhi opinion. There is hardly a sense of direction in foreign policy apart from the powerful pro-American lobby which tries to link up every issue with the urgency of getting foreign aid. Sri Chagla has maintained his reputation of being a fine gentleman with a high sense of probity and decorum but in the field of intricate diplomacy, he has not been able to make any mark. His obvious *faux pas* in giving out to the press a confidential assurance by the Iranian Foreign Minister about Teheran's disinclination to stand by Pakistan in the event of any future Indo-Pak conflict is, to say the least, a specimen of very amateurish diplomacy. The subsequent embarrassment that has been caused to both Teheran and New Delhi over this Palam interview of the Foreign Minister has not come as a surprise to informed circles in New Delhi; it has only helped to undermine the standing of Indian diplomacy in the eyes of a neighbouring country. In this context, it will not come as a surprise if Sri Chagla is soon divested of his present portfolio, Sardar Swaran Singh's name as his replacement is also being heard in some quarters.

The true test of New Delhi's diplomacy in the coming months is bound up with its approach towards Pakistan. Sri Chagla's letter to the Pakistan Foreign Minister signifying readiness to discuss all issues including Kashmir and the subsequent developments therein has shown up the vacillation that dogs the step of Indian foreign policy in its present phase. On the one hand, there is a genuine desire for an Indo-Pak settlement on Kashmir and in this the Prime Minister is believed to be seriously interested. How to bring it about on an independent plane without being pressurised by foreign powers is one of the main problems facing Smt Gandhi.

At first, it was thought that Sri Chagla's letter to his opposite

number in Pakistan is the starting point of a new overture. Later on, little evidence was found to substantiate such conclusion. Rather the letter might have been part of a move to rebut the persistent American pressure for lowering the defence budget. From the World Bank to the State Department, the whole host of US emissaries have been making out one point that by settling the Kashmir question with Pakistan and by accepting US umbrella in the defence against China, India could considerably slice down her heavy defence expenditure. How to answer this point became an urgent item of Indian diplomacy. So the moment the Pirzada letter linked up the reduction in defence expenditure with a solution of the Kashmir question, New Delhi could argue that

Pakistan's massive defence programme is mainly for the purpose of grabbing Kashmir by arms, and this is expected to provide a good alibi for the large-scale defence expenditure on the part of India. Whether this tactical move will be able to ward off further American pressures along the above lines is difficult to say. But there is generally a feeling in New Delhi today that the present mood of the Pakistan Government gives little opening for any fruitful talk with Rawalpindi.

However the need for releasing Sheikh Abdullah from detention has gained considerable force in recent weeks. The argument to note in this connection is that there will be hardly any justification for keeping the Sheikh in detention once the DIR lapsed. Whether an amendment of the Constitution could be moved to

retain emergency provision of the DIR for the border States (which includes Kashmir) is also being examined and the general impression is that with the new alignment of parties in Parliament as it is constituted to day, such an amending legislation would not be able to get the necessary two-thirds majority. Inevitably the question of the release of Sheikh Abdullah comes on the agenda.

How far Smt Gandhi during her holiday in the picturesque setting of the Dachigam Rest House last week could bring about a unified understanding among Kashmiri leaders on the necessity of facing Sheikh Abdullah in freedom is difficult to say though it is clear that she was anxious to put it across as convincingly as possible.

May 23

N. C.

Snippets

★ HOW BIRLA IS HELPED

★ CHAVAN AND GHERAOS

★ A HOLIDAY IN NEPAL

THERE is a lot of talk in New Delhi nowadays about the Birla Empire.

I have before me the details of a transaction, whose details when revealed would prove to be a first-class sensation. In Bihar, the K. B. Sahay Ministry even in its death gasp tried to faithfully serve the Birlas. By March 1, when the results of the General Election were out, the Governor had decided to call the new United Front of non-Congress parties to form the Government. Next day, Congress President Kamaraj himself gave out that the Congress would not try to form a Government in Bihar. On March 3, the United Front met to select its Ministers, and on March 5, the new Ministry was sworn in by the Governor.

Actually, the Governor after the announcement of the Sahay Ministry's defeat at the polls, had asked it to carry on in a caretaker capacity until the new Ministry was formed. But on March 4, that is, the day before the new

Ministry was sworn in, Sri K. B. Sahay conveyed in writing to the Accountant General's office that he had given administrative approval for a Birla deal "in anticipation of Cabinet sanction"—knowing fully well that he would not be presiding over the new Cabinet.

What is this Birla deal which Sri Sahay was in such a panicky hurry to push through? At Patratu in Hazaribagh District, the Birlas are setting up an alloy steel plant. For this purpose they needed 824 acres, and the Sahay Ministry sanctioned it for Rs. 2,500 per acre. For a similar plant, the Tatas were allotted at Adityapur a plot of 300 acres at Rs. 7,000 per acre; and the Government-owned National Coal Development Corporation was charged at varying prices some of which went beyond Rs. 10,000 per acre.

For this patently irregular deal, Sir K. B. Sahay signed orders in three capacities—once as Revenue Minister, then as Finance Minister and finally as Chief Minister—all

in course of a single day, his last day at the Patna Secretariat.

But this is not all the benefits that the Birla's Patratu project could get from the Sahay Ministry. It will be getting high-tension electric power at a subsidized rate from the Bihar Electricity Board, entailing a loss of Rs. 56 lakhs a year for the Bihar Government. Actually, the Tatas had been charged a much higher rate for a similar project at Adityapur.

* * * * *
SRI Chavan's visit to Calcutta last week provided an interesting study of his style of functioning. At the Eastern Zonal Council meeting where he met in conference the Chief Ministers from different eastern States, he made an opening speech, participated in the discussions and not once did he complain about the *gheraos* or even lament over labour indiscipline. When all the business was over, he made his concluding speech, and in course of it, he quietly took out a sheet and read out from it his comments against

the gheraos. Quite a few wondered why the Home Minister did not care to take up the subject in the Zonal Council meeting itself. If he did not consider it appropriate for the Council's deliberations, why on earth did he have to read out a prepared statement right at the end of the session?

A little later, Sri Chavan met the press and there he made the *gheraos* his principal theme. And in the bargain, he came out badly as the Calcutta press made him admit that by Sri Chavan's standards, the British Government was right in arresting Gandhiji and his satyagrahis, while the latter were wrong in going in for direct action. Of course, Sri Chavan by his extraordinary logic could justify the discrepancy between his concept of law and order and his sense of political justice.

What has surprised many in Calcutta is that the Home Minister

should indulge in public criticism of the stand of the West Bengal Ministry in Calcutta. An issue on which the Centre might have conveyed its concern to the State authorities can hardly authorise him to sit in open judgment without waiting for the State Government's response. Surely, this is not the best way to keep up good Centre-State relations.

Perhaps the Home Minister has not grasped how narrow is his own political base today. Pandit Pant could do the hectoring against the then Kerala Ministry and the Congress High Command could unleash a "liberation struggle" eight years ago. But, pity Sri Chavan, times have changed so much.

* * *

THE other day a friend of mine was flying back to the Capital from Kathmandu. He discovered that a fellow passenger was the

wife of an External Affairs Ministry official. This lady who was all ecstatic about the Americans, was returning from a refreshing holiday as the guest of the US Ambassador in Nepal. Her husband, I later on found out, is a policy-planning expert in our Foreign Office.

Should our Foreign Office experts engaged in sensitive jobs as policy planning permit themselves or their families the hospitality of American diplomats abroad? Is this in accord with normal diplomatic convention? And does the Foreign Ministry realise the impact of such jaunts upon the local people? At Kathmandu we are supposed to be competing with the Chinese to capture the mind of the Nepali people: how would they look upon an Indian diplomat's wife enjoying a trip as the guest of the American Ambassador? —Scribbler

Nehru's Decision-making

S. S. KHERA

THIS short piece on what I might call the anatomy of decision attempts to interpret in part and in a small way the approach of Jawaharlal Nehru to those processes of decision-making which constitute political, governmental and administrative functioning.

Anyone privileged to watch and assist in his day-to-day attention to public business, could not fail to observe the fact that two fundamental features informed his own decision-making. These were the qualities of being rational and being human. They explained perhaps also in some measure his devotion to the advancement of science, and to his scientific attitude in general; as well as his deep concern with relationships, in terms of a multitude of diversities—diversities amongst people which he saw as enriching the human race rather than fated to divide men

into groups and camps mutually estranged and hostile.

Indeed, he seemed to be of the very few men of his generation capable of arriving at decisions, sometimes extremely difficult decisions, which could reconcile the incompatible features of rationality and humanness. The brief analysis attempted here seeks on the one hand to discover the clues to the decision-making processes of his mind, and on the other to derive from the experience of his particular modes of decision-making, some indicators for the proper conduct of public business.

We might consider first as to the nature of decision. What is a decision?

A decision is a conscious act of choice. It is a selection from among alternatives available to choose from. These alternatives might be two or more. A decision as we define it here does not include a sudden act on impulse, non-rational, nor something done unconsciously, nor an unrelated ex-cathedra dictat. These things belong to

the pathology of the human mind and human action; and indeed there are not wanting examples of them in recent, and even in current history, sometimes with tragic consequences on a large scale.

In this latter class also, as of interest and concern in dealing with the pathology of the subject, but excluded from our immediate purview, I would include those groups of decisions which proceed not from the mind of man in the exercise of his human judgment, but where the decision is surrendered or relegated to agencies that might be termed occult, astrological, and other modes of the non-natural, non-rational, and non-logical. This is not to say that there may not be something in any or all of these. They have to be reckoned with; for which of us is not in some degree or other superstitious in some at least of our attitudes and actions? In any case, we must recognise the fact that there is quite a widespread resort to this transference of decision-making to the trust of

Former Cabinet Secretary, the author had unique opportunities of studying Nehru's mode of functioning at close quarters.

agencies which remain mysterious to the human mind. Public administration and governmental decision-making in a country like India provide a constant flow of examples of this phenomenon; but in various ways and degrees it is a fairly universal one. But these things do not come within the meaning of decision-making that concerns us here.

Voter Decides

Since present-day governments and administrations are in most cases founded upon the concept of sovereignty of the people, we might draw a sample from the decision-making process whereby the people decide who shall form the government. In a general election such as is known in the parliamentary democracies, the voter decides whom he will vote for. He may choose from among the names upon his ballot paper. If the election rules prescribe that only one of the persons named will be elected, then he may choose any one of them, and only one. This is the limit of his choice. If he attempts to exceed the field of his choice in any way, for instance by expressing an order of preference on the ballot paper, or adding a name of his own choice, his decision will be frustrated, and will be no decision at all. Upon the multitude of such individual decisions, counted and arrayed in predetermined ways, depends who will govern the nation or a State within a federal structure, and also to a considerable extent how the nation will be governed, until the next election. Governments and political parties, apparently set in power indefinitely and irremovably, can be thrown out, decimated, and sometimes suddenly relegated to the waste heap of history, through this democratic process of the people deciding to be governed only by those who command their continuing approval (not merely confidence) and in ways of government acceptable to them.

In legal proceedings in a court of law, the judge's choice decision usually lies

between convicting or acquitting the person accused before it of an offence under the law, or between entering judgment for the plaintiff or dismissing the suit in a civil dispute. There are of course other variations on the range of choice in different cases; but these are the main alternatives in most cases, and limit the field of choice accordingly.

The same sort of continuous necessity to select from the alternatives available is characteristic of legislative decision. To exceed it, as most legislatures are prone to do, in a mistaken belief as to the extent of their powers, tends to result in conflict, and where a written Constitution exists defining the powers of the legislature, legislative decision is often struck down by the courts of law as *ultra vires*. Legislatures may even be specifically cautioned, through the judicial decision of prospective over-ruling, that they must be careful to remain within the limits of legislative choice prescribed by the Constitution. A decision of the Indian Supreme Court, handed down in February 1967, has made history in this respect, in warning the legislature against intruding upon the fundamental rights of the citizen enshrined in the Constitution of India.

Bad Examples

One may fairly postulate one of the major means of measuring the quality of a government, or a legislature, or an administration, or the judiciary, or the management of an enterprise namely, their capability to discover the full range of alternatives available in any particular set of circumstances, singly or in their various permutations and combinations, and from among them be able to select that which will yield the most satisfactory, or perhaps as so frequently happens in real life, the least unsatisfactory results. Not to be able to know or to gauge the existence of the various alternatives is a mark of a lack of efficiency and enterprise. It seems worse still, knowing the alternatives available, not to be

able to exercise judgment and choose; or to look around for possible alternatives which do not exist, as an escape from the responsibility of having to choose. And worst of all is to know which choice is the best in the circumstances, but not be able to exercise decision in accordance with it. This indeed is simply bad management and bad administration. We have had some bad examples of it on the part of the very people in high positions of governmental and administrative responsibility who so endlessly exhort others and tirelessly preach at them to achieve a clean and efficient administration.

Fundamental Parameters

Having referred to the specific fields of decision-making responsibility which more directly affect the public interest, we may now turn to the more fundamental parameters which govern and circumscribe the decision-making process itself; for these must equally govern administrative, governmental and management decision-making.

Amongst the basic parameters which condition human decisions, we may distinguish four as being of some outstanding significance. These may be described as: philosophy, purpose, direction, and plan.

The philosophy may consist of a specific doctrine; a dogma; a set of beliefs; a set of values. It may assume the form of the principle of the infallibility of a leader. Hitler and Mussolini were extreme examples; but we have them in lesser degrees and various manifestations more frequently than some might recognise. The urge to be led, combined with the euphoria that authority and power breed combine to conspire towards the prevalence of this principle. Or it may be in the form of adherence in different degrees of rigour, or rigidity, to a set of religious beliefs, a dogma of a church or a creed, a belief in human equality or its reverse, the belief that some races are superior to others, and so on, to serve as reference points for taking decisions in particular instances;

or fixed belief in human values such as truth, and non-violence, to govern human decision and action.

These are but some samples; the list may well be an open-ended, unlimited one.

Purpose

The purpose of a decision, or of a set or series of decisions may be to find something, to do something or get something done—to get somewhere.

The direction may be towards an objective, or perhaps towards the defeat, deflection, or delay of an objective being attained, and may be direct or indirect and it may be in different depths of time. Some of the end points in time may indeed be beyond the reach of the proximate future, or may even be beyond the sight of the immediately foreseeable purpose.

The plan would consist in the main of a strategy, of tactic, of methodology, of agencies, and of resources

Where any one or more of these basic parameters is missing, or is insufficiently defined, or is erratic, then, although one or even some few decisions may prove viable, nevertheless one might with some confidence expect that over any substantial sequence of its decisions which will be made the, process of decision-making itself, quality, and its consequences, will tend to reflect the characteristics of those basic parameters.

We might affirm then that for any human activity which is rationally ordered activity and not merely accidental, non-rational, human decisions made from point to point must tend to reflect and to be conditioned by a philosophy, a purpose, a direction and a plan. If this is so, it becomes a proper concern and a proper task for those who have to make decisions, and particularly those who are entrusted with the making of decisions which affect others, to distinguish and recognise, and to accept for the purpose of their particular area of responsibility, the appropriate philosophy and purpose which must inform their actions, and to be able to set the directions and

also to be able to formulate a plan for the fulfilment of the philosophy and the attainment of the purpose. We need not look for perfect states of being in these things; for that would be asking for the impossible, constituted as we all are at present; but surely these things merit much greater attention than they obtain in the course of the governmental, administrative, and managerial processes.

Jawaharlal Nehru seemed constantly to be reminding himself, and he certainly often reminded those around him, that conscious decision-making is essentially a process of the human mind; it is a human process and not a mechanical or electronic process. It is a function that is immediately dependent upon the human mind, and upon human feelings.

Variety of Devices

Over the very recent past, scientific discoveries, technological inventions and devices have begun to provide new aids, of an entirely new sort, towards man's mental and not merely his physical effort. An increasing number and variety of devices, and increasingly fast and sophisticated ones, are becoming available: computers for rapid calculations; electronic machines for the tabulation, storage, classification, analysis and retrieval of vast quantities of complex information; even decision-making machines, "slaves", but none the less invested with the function of making decisions and getting them implemented; devices for communication and control, with a whole branch of mathematics, cybernetics, to deal with them.

All these provide man with the means of accelerating his own thought-processes; he is for the first time able to feed into the process of choice from available alternatives an increasing number and variety of variables; he is also able to calculate the outcome, albeit within wide and somewhat crude limits, of different choices which might be made in a given set of circumstances. These are but two of the ways that the phase change in scientific and technological advance affects the decision-making process.

Yet, when all this is taken into account, and every possible advantage is taken of these new aids to decision-making, the fact remains that they are, and can only be, aids, and cannot replace the essence of the process of decision-making. True decision-making remains a human function. One hopes that it will remain so. For if it should cease to be so, man will have truly destroyed himself with his own inventions, or will have 'put it beyond his power to save himself, which comes to the same thing.

Jawaharlal Nehru also seemed to be constantly and consciously keeping himself and those around him aware that knowledge is a vital aid to decision-making. It was perhaps this that kept him always fairly close to the fundamental precepts of dialectical materialism, and away from abstractions, and from idle conjecture.

No Mystery

Knowledge is by definition something that is known to man or something that becomes known. There is no real mystery about knowledge, or about new knowledge that is discovered. What is truly mysterious is the unknown; and there is a vast and limitless universe of the unknown. However much one might speculate about the yet unknown, it remains hidden in the womb of the future, until it is discovered with such apparatus as human ingenuity can devise. If the history of human knowledge teaches us one lesson, it is this: Abstract conjecture has through the ages tended to retard knowledge except where it has been possible to test and verify its truth, sometimes after the lapse of centuries; while on the other hand observation and experiment has tended to advance human knowledge. Imaginative conjecture is indeed a gift; its value lies in the speed with which it can be tested, and if need be rejected, so as to clear the way for further search.

In administration, as in the professions of science the margins of error can be reduced by the use of existing knowledge and its application to the decision-

making process. This requires essentially the will, the practice and the effort to apply the common scientific disciplines of which the most important include adherence to factual truth and to experimental accuracy.

It was in this last aspect, that of rigorous experimental accuracy, that Jawaharal Nehru displayed a degree of weakness, and often of impatience. If he had had an appropriate grounding in science and scientific experiment, my guess is that he might have been a great scientist, of the type of Haldane, with a bias towards the biological sciences.

Access to the new knowledge, especially the new scientific and technological discoveries and inventions, is the key to the use of science and scientific devices in administration and management. This access is becoming increasingly easier again largely through the advance of science and technology.

Technological Systems

The body of knowledge available to man, as well as the rate of discovery of new knowledge, is increasing exponentially. It is variously estimated as having doubled every twelve years, or every ten years or so, over the last hundred years. Today children are being instructed, and are participating in a natural way in search and experimentation in area of knowledge the very concepts of which were unknown at the time of their still comparatively young parents. This is being accompanied with an increasing rate at which new scientific discoveries are translated into technological systems and devices. They include, to mention only some: semi-conductor theory and technology; lasers; micro-miniaturisation; radio communication systems of entirely new kinds such as satellites in orbit; genetic control; automation.

Even if the philosophy and purpose, and perhaps even the general direction of the decision-making process may remain the same over a length of time, the planning, the strategy, the tactic, the methodology, the resources and the agencies will certainly all change out of all recognition during the

lifetimes of the younger and middle administrators and managers; and are likely to change radically every few years, perhaps as often as five years or less. That is, if indeed man survives his own efforts towards destroying civilisation as we know it, or even destroying the whole human race.

Ignorance Encouraged

What makes existing knowledge appear mysterious to most of us is in fact our own indolence, a mental inertia which takes much sustained effort to overcome before attaining a productive momentum. Unfortunately, ignorance is all too often sustained and encouraged by those who possess the knowledge. A principal motive for this is the urge to perpetuate power where it exists, often through accident of circumstance or discovery. The mysteries guarded by a priesthood are one example. Another, related to economic power, is the withholding of trade secrets, sometimes in relation to drugs which are vital for human medication. People sent for training from the less developed to the more developed countries, to learn new systems of technology, frequently complain that they are not permitted a sufficient chance to learn to apply the new processes.

There seems to be no escape from making the effort, and a fairly determined and sustained effort, to know what is known; and this, not only in the restricted field of one's own professional knowledge, whether one be a scientist, or a technologist, or a technician, or an economist, or a lawyer, or a doctor of medicine, or a member of any of the professions related to the physical as well as the social sciences.

It is all too easy to seek and find refuge within one's own little professional hole seeing the world through a little tunnel. It is worse still to lead oneself to believe that expertise in one set of skills qualifies one to evaluate and decide everything. Occasionally in history a truly versatile genius arises; but this is rare.

The newer social sciences are beginning to import into their

methodology the more rigorous disciplines of the physical sciences. Practitioners in these professions are beginning to discard at last the loose adoption of scientific terminology to provide false substance to their propositions, and are even devising new terms with fairly rigorous definitions. Even economists are learning, perhaps not fast enough having regard to the influence they exercise in the governmental and administrative processes, the flaws and dangers in the use of statistics and mathematical symbolism, unless these are used in accordance with mathematical, deductive and inductive rigour. With the better use of quantitative measures and scientific disciplines, new laws are being discovered, or tentatively formulated. For instance, in the context of our own purpose here, as to decision-making, the concepts of permissible social and economic cost; of calculating the variables in a given situation; of the choice of the optimum variant; these and others are beginning to make some headway, with the aid of the tools of statistical analysis, and the powerful new tools of electronic computers and memory devices, operational research, systems analysis, and communication systems.

Necessity

Having all these devices and services, there will remain still the fundamental necessity of applying the human mind, and human judgment, towards the making of administrative decisions. These will concern questions of comparative social, political and other values; comparative priorities at attention, effort and resources; relationships, and changing relationships and all that these imply, such as the compulsion to compromise; the will to decide and to apply the decision, and to maintain it; and human judgment and human wisdom.

It was exactly here, in the exercise of human judgment and human wisdom taking into account more human variables than any conceivable computer could handle, that Jawaharlal Nehru stood and held his sway, and led this great nation in his life-time.

Nehru and Marxism

M. S. SHASTRI

As early as 1920, long before Nehru had any clear idea of Marx and Lenin, he had attained the status of a national leader. The Indian National Congress which was until then a small party, with its activities limited to small sections of the people, after the 1920's began to take up more and more anti-imperialist (anti-British) positions and under Gandhiji assumed the form of a big national movement. The Indian National Congress leading this movement for Independence became the most popular mass movement.

The Great October Soviet Socialist Revolution influenced tremendously our national movement. One of its greatest effects was to raise higher the consciousness of the national movement. Instead of the Dominion Status the demand for complete independence was put forward. The October Revolution dealt such a blow at the imperialist powers that the myth of their omnipotence was shattered. Nehru was greatly influenced by these events. But it was only after Nehru's visit to Europe in 1927 and later to the Soviet Union that he undertook a proper study of Marx and Lenin, of world history, of Russian and Soviet history and a profound study of India. His imprisonment soon after his return from Europe became a blessing in disguise to carry out these studies. The national movement under the influence of Nehru and as a result of the October Revolution began to advance more and more radical anti-imperialist and anti-feudal

policies. Nehru introduced the resolution for complete Independence at the Madras Congress in 1928. In 1929 speaking as the President at the All India Trade Union Congress he advised the working class of India on proper lines of advancing the struggle and building unity of the working class. In 1931 Nehru was the chief architect of the now famous Karachi Resolution of the Congress and the Resolution on Fundamental Rights. Gandhiji evolved one of the most effective and revolutionary methods of struggle against the British imperialists. Yet his knowledge of Scientific Socialism, as he himself had admitted, was meagre. No doubt this created lot of complications in the national movement and the other colleagues of Nehru like Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Acharya Kripalani, and Rajendra Prasad, who were the spokesmen of the vested interests took full advantage of Gandhiji's weak stand on Scientific Socialism and opposed Nehru and his Socialist ideas and programme.

Side by side with this there were other things that were happening. With the development of the Soviet Union into a strong State the Communist International (Comintern) became a powerful body which came under Stalin's guidance. It wrongly estimated our national movement in general and Nehru in particular and put him down as the "Left phrase-mongering spokesman of the compromising bourgeoisie." This sectarian virus infected the Communist Party of India. Fired by the ideas of patriotism and Scientific Socialism a large number of young men and women joined the Communist Party. Working in and out of the Congress, but all the time fighting against it, some-

times from within, but most of the time from without, in the course of the years the Communist Party built a fairly big movement particularly among the working classes. No historian can deny the glorious chapters contributed to this movement by the Communist Party of India. Yet, the Communist Party blinded by leftism, failed to understand the national movement properly, wrongly assessed its class-nature, wrongly assessed its leadership, wrongly assessed its sweep, with the result that most of the time the Communist Party remained a critical running commentator of the national movement. The Communist Party dubbed the Congress Party as an entirely bourgeois party which is only interested in compromises and getting concessions from the imperialists and used the national movement only to this end. But this was only half the truth. And a greater mistake on the part of the Communists was that Nehru was variously dubbed as an ambitious petty bourgeois, vacillator, compromiser a "plunger in the dark," "guilty democrat", and sometimes even "a running dog of the imperialists", both before Independence and also after it.

But undaunted by this and at the same time without any revanchist ideas against the Communists Nehru tried his best, as the national movement developed, to push the national movement and the Congress more and more to the Left. Writing somewhere in 1938-39 Nehru says, "If the Congress is looked upon from Right and Left point of view, it might be said that there is a small Rightist fringe, a Left minority, and a huge intermediate group or groups which approximate to Left Centre. The Gandhian

Contributions embodying other points of view on this interesting subject will be published in the subsequent issues of Mainstream:

group would be considered to belong to this intermediate Left Centre Group. Politically the Congress is overwhelmingly Left; socially it has Leftist leanings, but is predominantly Centre." Further, "in trying to analyse the Congress, the dominating position of Gandhiji must always be remembered. He dominates to some extent the Congress, but far more so he dominates the masses...." Again ".... He does not belong to the right wing, although they always seek his support, as only if they can get it does the right wing count in the Congress. There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi has changed the whole Congress.... He has awakened people in India to an extraordinary extent and awakened them more or less in a revolutionary direction. He has adopted revolutionary methods, but he also attaches the greatest importance to passive and non-violent methods. He obstructs anything which he fears will lead to violence, but apart from that his tendency has always been towards the Left....". "In any national struggle his full association and guidance are essential. India cannot do without him"... "The conscious and thinking Leftists in the country recognise it and, whatever their ideological or temperamental differences with him, have tried to avoid anything approaching a split. Their attempt has been to leave the Congress under its present leadership which means under Gandhiji's guidance, and at the same time to push it as far as they could move to the Left, to radicalize it, and to spread their own ideology". And Nehru was the foremost among these "conscious and thinking Leftists.". He clearly saw the Congress Party as a movement and in content as a broad National United Front with different class interests, pulling in different directions. During those days the feudal landlords, the princes and sections of the compromising bourgeoisie together with the imperialists were opposing the Congress by forming various groups and parties.

Because of certain special circumstances, peculiar to India only in the colonial world, like a

monopoly sway over the country by a single imperialist power, the two world wars and a highly intelligent and advanced people, a section of the national bourgeoisie separated itself and developed into a big bourgeoisie. Motilal writes to Jawaharlal complaining that Pandit Malaviya with the help of the Birlas' money was trying to win over people to his Nationalist Group. It was this section together with the landlords that was represented in the Congress as the Right fringe. The other important section of the national bourgeoisie is the non-monopolist section. This is a powerful force in the Indian economy. Its influence is widespread and its contradiction with the imperialists, the monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie and the landlords was fairly sharp. Representatives of this non-monopoly section of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and a large section of the intellectuals formed the large intermediate group in the Congress. These were the Gandhites and they were politically Left. Then there were the real Left forces. The workers, poor peasants, middle class employees and intellectuals. But their representatives, the conscious and ideologically Left were in a minority in the Congress.

Bourgeois Party

The Communist Party, misguided by the Communist International, though joined the Congress actively for a short period between 1935 to 1939, dislinked itself from its main current in 1942. By and large it could not energetically accept the Congress as a broad movement of the National United Front, as analysed by Nehru, but very often branded it as a bourgeois party. Both the Gandhites and the Rightists utilised this situation to carry on a vicious propaganda against the Communist Party of India, against Communism and the Soviet Union. Large sections of the Indian masses including workers and peasants, the middle classes and intellectuals fell an easy victim to this propaganda. The sectarian attitude of the Communist Party was mainly responsible for this.

Otherwise one cannot explain such a wide-spread anti-Communist propaganda taking root in a country which was fighting against imperialism.

When the Communist Party finally came out of the Congress, between 1942-1945, it could not and did not take with it the majority of the Left forces. The only outcome of this was a weakening of the "conscious thinking Left" inside the Congress and a successful campaign of anti-Communism.

Intense Fight

Nehru at this period carried on an intense political and ideological fight against anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism. But his unfortunate lot was that he had to meet the opposition both from the Right as well as from the Communist Party. Though the Communist Party went out of the Congress, yet, the Congress continued to be a national united front but now as a depleted front. Still the hold of the Congress on the masses did not diminish. Many times during this period Nehru thought of leaving the Congress, but he did not do so because he did not want the popular national movement to be left at the entire mercy of the vested interests. All of Nehru's attempts to get these progressive elements into the Congress and convert it into an organisation with a scientific socialistic outlook failed, largely because of the sectarian attitude of the Marxists themselves.

When Independence came it was not as a result of a revolution, sweeping away the old state structures, that the National Government came to power. Equally it was not a puppet and a reactionary Government that was installed by the British imperialists. It was an advance on the part of the national movement and it was a defeat and retreat of the imperialists and other reactionary forces. Politics had overtaken economics so to say. But the Marxists saw in Nehru, only a compromiser and a betrayer of the national aspirations and put up a determined opposition and attacked the Government and the Congress Party. The result was that not only the Marxists

and the Communist Party isolated themselves from Nehru and the national movement; but the big bourgeoisie which had grown into monopolies during and after the war took full advantage of the situation and invaded the Congress Party and Government. Their influence in the Congress Party and the Government grew very much from a mere "fringe". Nehru, though almost alone, fought them almost alone inside the Congress organization. He instituted far reaching progressive policies of *non-capitalist development* much against the opposition of the monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie and the feudal reactionaries, who had by now strongly entrenched themselves in the Congress Party. Whatever "Left" that was still left in the Congress no doubt supported Nehru; and the intermediate group which included the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie, gave a large measure of support to Nehru, because these policies of non-capitalist development suited them to a great extent. But they certainly did not agree with the ideology of Nehru.

Nehru introduced planning and the public sector and enunciated an industrial policy to curb the monopolies and kept the vital sectors of the national economy out of bounds for them and the foreign vested interests. He pressed for land reforms and co-operative farming.

Wide-based Democracy

Another major contribution of Nehru is that he brought about a wide-based democracy through adult franchise and government by Parliament, freedom of the press and other freedoms.

Nehru attached great importance to parliamentary democracy and Panchayat Raj. In them he saw the people exercising their rights over government affairs. It will be wrong to identify our parliamentary democracy, which has come as a result of a fight against the imperialists, with the parliamentary democracy of the West.

One feels that a proper assessment of the significance of the state sector and planning in the

existing conditions of India, with the background of the struggle against the imperialists; the fairly sharp division between the monopoly section and the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie; the fact of politics over-taking economics which has resulted in the Government not exactly corresponding to the economic structure of the society, which is still ridden with imperialist interests and feudal landlords, and more particularly in the background of adult franchise wherein the masses can exercise a great control has not yet been thoroughly done. Among the Marxists there is no clarity about the assessment and significance of the state sector and planning in India. A section of them call it State Capitalism, but they say under present conditions in India it has a progressive role and correctly justify Soviet help to our state sector. A section of the Indian Communists, the so-called "Rightists" though admit theoretically the progressive role of the state sector and justify it in their speeches and articles, yet in practice they have contributed little to the strengthening and better functioning of the state sector. But this contradiction between their theory and practice has been easily "solved" by the other Communists in India—the so-called "Leftists". According to them as the state belongs to the bourgeoisie the state sector also belongs to them and as such it has no progressive role and the Soviet Union is making a mistake in helping this bourgeois Government. In fact, they charge that the Soviet assistance is only helping this tottering regime to keep going. This attitude of theirs strengthens the Chinese argument that the Soviet Government is a revisionist bourgeois Government, that is why it helps another bourgeois Government.

Rational Outlook

But Nehru saw things in a different way and in a more correct and rational way. He saw that as long as the state sector goes along with parliamentary democracy in the present historic conditions of India, it can always be prevented from being used by the capitalists. He clearly saw its

revolutionary role in the present national and international conditions, and urged on the workers and the people that these enterprises are their own, and as such they must be vigilant and strengthen them. He understood it as a revolutionary instrument in the hands of the people to fight the reactionaries and the backwardness of our country. That is why the monopolists and the imperialists, who are the "better practical judges" of the state sector opposed Nehru and are today trying their hardest to scuttle the State Sector and planning.

Nehru's foreign policy is attacked by the Right reactionaries. But it is criticised also by the Marxists both at home and abroad. They variously estimated it at different stages as pro-imperialist then vacillating, then bargaining, then balancing, then neutrality and finally now, they have invented the word non-alignment which has now come into such common use.

Foreign Policy

Non-alignment and positive neutrality are two words that are used to describe Nehru's foreign policy. One cannot deny the fact that when the world was thought in terms of two sharply defined camps, the Marxists made sectarian mistakes in the assessment of the foreign policy of Nehru. They thought that effective struggle for peace could be waged exclusively by Communists. But as years passed events showed that Nehru's role was also one of the biggest factors in the struggle for peace. When this was realised, the Marxists began to characterise his foreign policy as non-aligned and positive neutrality. But all the time Nehru was insisting that his foreign policy was an independent policy based on the historic, political and economic conditions, existing in India, and as such it was necessarily aligned to anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, Afro-Asian solidarity, peaceful co-existence, world peace, close co-operation with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

Now are not these the policies of the National Democratic Front

which the Communist Party of India has now accepted? Nehru, the scientific visionary, visualised the lines of development of the national liberation movement and carried on an intensive campaign for Socialism for progressive policies and worked out India's development to socialism through the non-capitalist path of development. He clearly saw as far back as the 1930s that the National Democratic Front with the non-capitalist path of development was the strategic answer to India's problems. He visualised clearly the significance of the Soviet Revolution to the rest of the world. He had analysed fascism and inter-national developments very correctly and opposed fascism like no one did.

Promising Feature

Said Nehru in 1936, "I am convinced that the only key to the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interest in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States System. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilisation in the territories of the U.S.S.R. Much has happened there which has pained me greatly and with which I disagree, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age. If the future is full of hope, it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilization will spread to other lands and put an end to the wars and conflicts which capitalism feeds."

But in a letter to his daughter Indira he draws attention to the warning Lenin gives, namely, that Marxism should not be made into a dogma and that the revolutions in the different countries

would take different forms. Nehru clearly saw the revolutionary character of the mass non-violent movement started by Gandhiji and realised that is was the best suited to India. His criticisms, that many things had happened in the Soviet Union during the thirties had pained him and that he did not agree with them, were those of a friend and from a scientific angle. It took more than twenty years for the Soviet Communist Party to realise that their early assessment of Nehru was incorrect. It took more than thirty years for the Indian Communist Party to enunciate the policy of the National Democratic Front. Still there is no unanimity on the point and the Marxists are split on this issue.

The result of all this was that there was no organised link or party, imbued with Nehru's scientific socialist ideas to transmit his programme truly and properly between him and the masses of the people of India. He had to entirely depend on the bureaucracy, a very corrupt bureaucracy at that—to carry out his plans. But Nehru tried to make good this missing link by a direct personal contact with the masses. He went to the people, to every corner of India. He toured extensively from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and talked to the people on independence, socialism, peace, against imperialism and fascism. This he did both before and after independence, and during General Elections. Probably there is no other leader in this country or elsewhere who had addressed masses of people on such a gigantic scale. The people responded magnificently and it was with the help and backing of the masses that he overcame the obstacles of his unwilling colleagues in his party and outside and carried forward his programme.

Tried His Best

Much to the disgust of Nehru many things were taking place contrary to what he expected for which he is charged with vacillation and compromise. But Nehru tried his best not to compromise on questions of principles and major policies. For failures in

detail and other shortcomings he could not be blamed as he did not have the full support of a proper apparatus. The successes of Nehru are not exactly the successes of the Congress Party and the Congress Government and the failures of the Congress Party and Government are certainly not the failures of Nehru. It is wrong to equate Nehru with the whole of the Congress Party and the Congress Government and it is wrong to equate the Congress Party as a firmly crystallised party of a particular class, as we see in the more developed Western countries.

Scientific Socialist

The Congress Party and the Government are composite entities with composite policies and with different class interests pulling in different directions; a veritable battle has been going on inside the party and the Government. It is so now and it was so in the past history of the Congress. The desertion of the Socialist elements and forces from the Congress was filled in by the reactionaries and they strengthened their hold both on the Congress Party and the Government and they are trying their best to change the Congress Party and Government to conform to their class interests. Nehru headed this Party and Government not because of his bourgeois origin, not because he was the spokesman of the compromising bourgeoisie, not because he could not break his class roots, but precisely because he was a Scientific Socialist. He had no other choice than to work as he did. This may look contradictory and fantastic, but that is the fact of history. The key to understand Nehru lies in understanding this peculiar development of the Indian political scene.

It is true that the monopolies have grown bigger and have increased their influence in the Congress Party and Government. But it is also true that the monopolies' contradictions with the masses of the people as well as the non-monopolist section of the national bourgeoisie have also become sharper and so opposition to them has grown even

bigger. More important is the fact that planning and public sector have resulted in a big industrial growth which has brought into being a very large working class, and of a different quality. The general educational and cultural level of the modern worker is higher than that of the worker of the old days. Along with this the middle class employees, the teachers, the bank employees, the business employees, the insurance employees, all have grown into a big force. They no longer confine themselves to their offices. Now and again they come out in the streets to fight for their rights.

The result of all this is that the striking power of all the working masses and other people has grown into a gigantic force. Today the biggest cities in India and sometimes whole States come

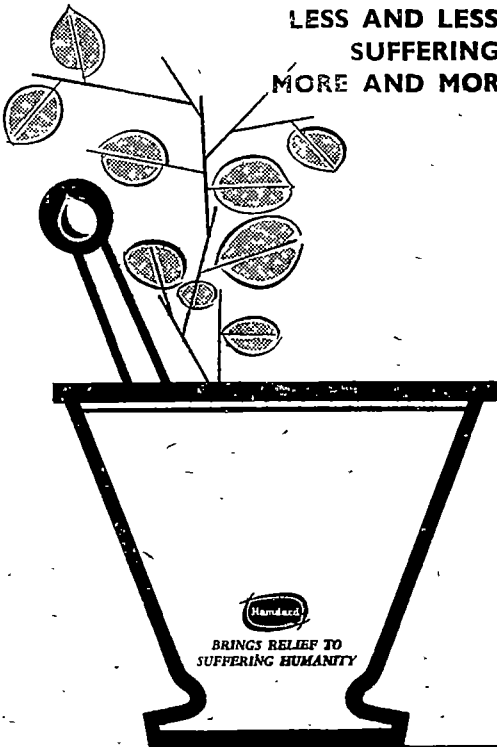
to a standstill when the working masses make up their mind to act unitedly. The Indian monopoly bourgeoisie can never under present national and international conditions hope to become giant, independent monopolies as in the Western countries, and turn the path of India's development from that laid down by Nehru. For its survival the Indian monopoly needs the protective umbrella of the imperialists. And in the third stage of the general crisis of imperialism when the Socialist forces are ever growing stronger and have become the deciding factor in world affairs and when the internal progressive forces have already developed such tremendous hitting power, independent monopoly capitalist development is doomed in India.

Whether it will be sooner or later certainly depends on all the

Left and socialist forces in the country. All sorts of opportunistic alliances for the purpose of winning seats in the elections will certainly not help the democratic movement go forward. But the realisation of the great scientific socialist role of Nehru and a vigorous pursuit of the non-capitalist path of development as laid down by Nehru, both in word and deed, by all the Left and socialist-minded forces in India will bring about the necessary political apparatus of the National Democratic Front and India will emerge into the world of socialism.

And when that happens history will record that like Lenin, Nehru has also contributed to the thought and leadership of the Marxist all over the world.

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The Nehru Paradox

GANESH PRASAD

JAWAHARLAL Nehru's advance towards socialism was like this: contacts and studies of adolescence and youth had created in him a vague, romantic, utopian appeal for socialism. The inner springs of his bourgeois humanism were awakened by the first-hand study of the life of the Partabgarh peasantry. The Derbyshire visit brought home the lesson that class justice was an inalienable phenomenon of the capitalist order regardless of territorial frontiers. Participation in the Brussels Congress taught him to regard the national struggle in India as part and parcel of the world movement of the oppressed against exploitation. The short visit to the Soviet Union established definite preference for the Soviet order over the capitalist one.

All this made him an over-zealous neophyte. A realistic assessment and stand was yet to come as a result of the happenings of the thirties. The economic crisis, the rise of fascism and militarism, the threat of war, the crisis of Western civilisation and the failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement compelled the social scientist in him to seek a rational explanation. A correct outlook on history and social phenomena was much needed.

Behind the bars of imperialist prisons the nationalist Jawaharlal Nehru discovered a telescope for his liberal eyes. That was Marxism. With it he surveyed distant lands and the distant past—the former more accurately than the latter. Also,

it helped him to discover the Land of Hope, namely, the Soviet Union, in the crisis-ridden world. Marxism also became an ideological companion in the depressing prison atmosphere and during the days when subjective and objective conditions led to dejection. It sustained his innate optimism and dynamism.

The Liberal's faith in progress and people took on a new complexion. Now social consciousness and social transformation were viewed as essential prerequisites to its realisation. The upshot was that he now began to think on new and progressive lines. Without renouncing his old moorings, he thought in terms of transforming the middle-class Congress into a mass movement with a positive programme and a progressive international affiliation.

During the short period of five months in 1933-4 when he was out of prison he gave guarded expression to his ideological progress. In 1936, when he was out of prison, he spoke without reservations of the socialistic transformation that had taken place in his basic liberalism. The Gandhian in him made Nehru frankly acknowledge his debt to Marxism and the Soviet Union during the dark days of the thirties. He trumpeted the discovery. Thereby he became the greatest non-Marxist salesman of Marxism and the Soviet system. But he remained only a salesman. He only tasted and advertised the wine — never got intoxicated by it. His mental make-up was not metamorphosed; his liberal moorings were never uprooted.

"My roots are still perhaps partly in the nineteenth century, and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely." This significant confession Jawaharlal Nehru made in

his Autobiography and after having reached almost the end of his ideological journey to socialism.

In fact, that tradition and Harrovianism always remained central to his personality. One of the essentials of that tradition was respect for individual liberty in Mill's sense. One of the lessons of Harrovian ethics was loyalty to comrades. The former would not permit him to go the whole hog in praise of the Soviet system. The latter would not allow him to put the Congress, the Right-wing comrades and Bapu on the anvil of Marxism. The trio, especially the personality of Bapu, always remained sacrosanct.

To him then Marxism was only a telescope, never a microscope. And he would not tolerate those who would use it as both. True, as a liberal rationalist he did not hesitate to criticise the trio and its elements on several occasions and issues. But he would fight shy of the attempt to subject it to Marxist analysis. One cannot miss this phenomenon while going through the pages of his Autobiography. Thus while his analysis of the international scene was near-Marxist, his assessment of the Indian scene did not go beyond progressive liberalism.

Nehruism was the meaning of the Russian Revolution to the Indian middle-class. This class was the harbinger of modernity and architect of nationalism. It was proud of its mission, sacrifice and suffering. It agreed with Macaulay in regarding itself as the natural leader to society and the nation. In the early twenties the middleclass nationalist was over-confident of the success of his tactics and strategy of struggle. Under the first flush of the Gandhian spell it thought that nothing of importance would be gained by turning over the pages of other people's struggles.

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Three major bouts against British Imperialism (1921, 1930-31, 1932-33) took place. And yet independence did not come. By the mid-thirties then nationalist India was at sea. The old confidence was shaken. The technique of struggle appeared to be inadequate to the task. Scepticism reigned supreme. The nationalist was eager to learn from other people's experiences. World events too demanded study and understanding.

Herein came Nehruism. It brought the knowledge of other lands, especially of the Soviet land, to the door of the nationalist and the common man. The kernel of Nehruism was faith in progress and faith in people. It put forth, despite its liberal language, the central thesis of Marxism and of the Soviet Union that capitalism, imperialism, fascism and militarism were decaying and organically connected phenomena and that the future belonged to the other organically connected phenomena representing the progressive forces of the world. These progressive forces included socialism, colonial nationalism and the Soviet Union. This world picture restored confidence to the nationalist camp.

Something more. To Nehru and, through him, to nationalist India, the Soviets symbolised the organised will and potentialities of the people. The story of the achievements of the Soviet people had a tremendous impact on the thinking of middle-class nationalists. Faith in the strength of their own people was strengthened. Inspired by the Soviet experiment, the child of the Russian Revolution, Nehru exhorted middle-class Congressmen to serve their own people in a new way—by organising them politically on the basis of their socio-economic problems, by injecting confidence into them and by telling them that the future was theirs. The Congressmen welcomed and followed the exhortation, at least the organisational part of it.

The lesson drawn by Nehru from the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution was not Marxian or Communist. It was

basically liberal with a Marxist colouring. Nehru had no use for the class struggle, or the role of the proletariat as the vanguard, or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. To the Nehruite way of thinking the middle-class Congress was the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle and the Gandhian elite the leader of this vanguard.

The articulate major premise always remained the Gandhian leadership and all that it implied. The Russian Revolution provided the inarticulate minor premise, namely, confidence in the organised will and might of the people. This was, in essence, Nehruism and the upshot of his painful progress towards socialism. And this was readily adopted by the middle-class Congress as its guide to thought and action.

The Congress was to be a United Front of all progressive forces nationally and internationally. Nehru devoutly worked to this end. The second part of the task posed no serious problems. With the march of time and in difficult international situations it assumed serious proportion. The World United Front stood for peace, progress, democracy and national freedom. Its ideals was a world free from all forms of exploitation. Nehru made it clear to millions of his country-men through his writings and speeches.

Self-interest made Indian nationalism appreciate the usefulness of partnership in that Front. The Front championed the cause of national struggles the world over. Nehru became the architect of that partnership and Krishna Menon its permanent representative. In that partnership Indian nationalism became a trail-blazer of progressive colonial nationalism. The Front virtually ceased to exist with the outbreak of the Second World War.

Yet Indian nationalism remained faithful to its ideology and spirit. The shifting phases of the War did not blur its vision. Nehru's Marxist studies stood him in good stead. He did not forget the central teaching of Marxism that the future belonged to the people even during 1941-42 when the Axis military machines threa-

tened to envelop the world. The conviction kept the image of Indian nationalism untarnished. British imperialists suppressed the national movement, but they failed to suppress its progressive spirit. In the annals of progressive movements such a noble role is indeed rare. In matters of international affiliations, then, Nehru's progress towards socialism proved a great asset to Indian nationalism.

The domestic front, however, presented quite a different and difficult problem. Here Nehruism represented the true self-interest of Indian nationalism. But there were some conservative bourgeois elements which got scared of Nehru's advocacy of socialism. The joint manifesto issued by twenty-one leading businessmen in Bombay on May 18, 1936, bears this out. But then three days later the younger section of Bombay merchants came out in support of his socialist programme.

Besides representing middle-class nationalism, Nehru represented middle-class thinking as well. The hall-mark of Indian middle-class thinking was eclecticism. This class lived, worked and thought in paradoxes. The United Front was a hotch-potch and a paradox. It grew from strength to strength within three years. So great was the urge for national freedom.

But it could never have a positive United Front programme. The main reason was the suspicion and social prejudices of the Right-wing leadership with which Nehru had organic bond. Nehruism could inject into it faith in the people but could not dispel its fear of the people. The result was that Nehru, like a faithful representative of the middle-class, lived in and worked for a paradox. He agitated for a positive national programme and at the same time for strengthening a United Front having no such programme. He followed United Front strategy without tactics. Childlike he fondled it even when it had virtually ceased to exist. That was natural. For, it was the supreme achievement of his progressive liberalism in the atmosphere of the thirties and forties.

Development and Planning in a Macro Perspective

PRADHAN HARISHANKAR PRASAD

THE need for departure from an era of laissez-faire arises because of the fact that the actual flow of goods and services in different sectors of the economy in a laissez-faire system is different from the desired flow. The advocacy for the existence of such a need, in the past, has usually been based explicitly or implicitly on the argument that actual flow in a laissez-faire system unjustly favoured the non-wage earners as against the wage earners. It has also been advocated due to the existence of unemployment which is attributed to the flow of resources leading to under capacity utilisation of the material means of production. The emphasis, of late, seems to have shifted from distributive and employment aspects to growth aspect, specially when we talk about under-developed economies. Attempts have often been made to prove that the distributive and growth objectives are contradictory, at least, in the initial stages of development.

Macro-Perspective

Once such a need is accepted and objective defined, the stage is set for the analysis of the economic aspect of the problem for the purposes of policy conclusions. More often the objectives themselves are the result of an economic analysis. It is needless to emphasize that one of the significant objectives before underdeveloped economies has been that of increasing the rate of growth of capital (that is, material means of production) so as to achieve an increasing per capita capital and consequently an increasing per capita real income. The pro-

blem of planning, therefore, lies in designing policies to bring about the required change. Important as the micro-perspective is, quite a number of issues in planning can be discussed in abstraction form micro-perspective, and these are the issues which, I think, should be considered first. This prompts me to discuss the problem in a macro-perspective, at least, to begin with.

Two Sectors

There exist two sectors in an economy, that is, the private sector and the government sector. The distinction is significant because while the private sector's economic decisions are the result of the maximisation of certain elements subject to certain given constraints, the government's economic decisions need not and, probably, are not the result of the maximisation of the same set of elements and, moreover, some of the constraints are also altogether different. Hence, the economic decisions of the government sector can be viewed as autonomous so far the private sector and the economic relations operating therein are concerned.¹ To take an illustration of an economy where at a point of time, there exists a certain set of prices and output

of commodities, with a government sector neither supplying nor demanding, say, steel. If, however, a part of the income of the private sector is acquired by way of additional taxation which is used to purchase steel (which is destroyed or frozen), many (may be all) prices and outputs will change. This change is brought about by exogenous factors leading to autonomous decrease in the income of the economic subjects (exclusive of government) coupled with a corresponding demand for steel by the Government.

Irrational Controversies

One of the constraints under which the private sector operates is that the ownership of material wealth and income by the economic subjects is a qualified one. A fraction of it can be acquired (with or without compensation) by the government and may be put to any use according to its desire. Taxation is one of the many methods by which such an acquisition (without compensation) is made. Government also acquires (without compensation) a part of the wealth simply by means of purchasing goods by increasing the volume of legal tender because of unlimited credit enjoyed by it within its own territorial jurisdiction. It is a historical accident that such acquisitions (that is, by way of taxation and increase in legal tender) are accepted as a part of the normal business of a government, while other ways to acquire wealth are often associated with sharp reactions and extensive ideological controversies. Are not such controversies irrational, rather meaningless, once unqualified right to tax or right to budget deficit is accepted in principle? Does there exist any ideologi-

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1. Also see Professor A.K. Das Gupta, who in his review of "Demand Theory and Economic Calculation in a Mixed Economy by H.K. Manmohan Singh" (The Economic Weekly, September 12, 1964, p 1479), says, "The State's preference in a planned economy, which is essentially a political decision, ruptures, as we have seen, the preference system of individuals by preventing them from acting in the way they would, if left free. The structure of incomes of individuals is disturbed and the frame-work of prices is altered. Yet these are only changes in data; there is no reason why consumers may not react to the new system in the manner postulated in the demand theory."

cal significance whether a tax is collected in form of money or commodity?

The liberal art of planning (that is, planning by inducement) will envisage a set of policies to achieve the end in view.

The increase in rate of growth of capital is sought to be achieved by transferring income from those whose marginal propensity to save is lower to those whose marginal propensity to save is higher by an appropriate tax and subsidy policy. However, the greatest demerit from which it suffers is that it increases the degree of inequality.

Resources Subsidy

Another measure which is recommended by the tenets of economic theory, in such a setup, is one of subsidising the transformation of resources for increasing the stock of material means of production out of the additional taxation of current consumption. This implies raising of the price of commodity for current consumption in terms of future commodity. The term commodity is being used to mean 'homogeneous commodity'. The change in price² is likely to shift the demand in favour of future commodity and, hence, an increase in net addition to the stock of the material means of production. However, the extent of the increase in net addition to the material means of production will significantly depend on the price elasticity of demand for commodity for current consumption. If this happens to be a perfectly inelastic price elasticity of demand, the incidence of taxation will be wholly on the sector which is subsidised. There, then, will not be any increase in net investment. Thus, the low price elasticity of demand for commodity for current consumption, as it exists in most of the under-developed economies, is perhaps a serious limitation so far as planning through the price mechanism is concerned.

Another weapon in the armoury of planning by inducement (for

such an end in view) is one of government's purchase of future commodity (that is, government's purchase of securities) out of tax receipts. This will result in economic subjects being poorer than before on the one hand and increase in autonomous demand for future commodity on the other. Since, the income elasticity of consumption of economic subjects is positive, consumption will decline. On the other hand, the increase in autonomous demand (that is government's demand) for future commodity will be greater than the decrease in private sector's demand for future commodity (consequent upon its being poorer than before). This will obviously lead to increase in net addition to material means of production, possibly at a higher price of commodity for current consumption (that is, a lower rate of interest) than before.³ Here the required change is induced by a policy which essentially brings about a change (exogenous) in income and demand, while the change in price (that is, the rate of interest), if any, is incidental (endogenous). However, the rate of growth of capital, in such a set up, may remain at a level less than the desired one due to low taxable capacity existing in the under-developed economies.

Planning by Socialisation

Another way to achieve the end-in view is by a system where government takes upon itself the business of transforming the resources (received by way of tax receipts) for increasing the stock of the material means of production. This, for want of a better terminology, I shall call planning by socialisation. Here, also the rate of growth of capital, in the economy, may

3. However, there may be possibilities of absence of any change in the rate of interest or, even, higher rate of interest than before due to a possible rightward shift in the labour supply curve because of decrease in the real balances of labourers consequent upon increased poverty of the economic subjects. (See Prasad, Pradhan Harishankar, *A Suggestion for Generalising the Liquidity Preference Theory*, 49th Annual Conference Number of the Indian Economic Association, 1966)

remain low due to low taxable capacity existing in under-developed economies. The limitation arising out of the low taxable capacity is, however, overcome if the resources for investment are also obtained by issuing government securities at a higher rate of interest. This obviously will imply a lower investment in private sector but a higher investment in the economy as a whole and a higher ratio of government sector investment to private sector investment than before.⁴ It is, as a matter of fact, of no consequence even if the domestic rate of interest is higher than the marginal productivity of investment. The distortion in the distribution of wealth due to high rate of interest (at the time of maturity of these loans) can always be corrected by adequate fiscal measures at that time, and in a planned economy the rate of interest on foreign credit can be decided independently of the domestic rate of interest.

Legal Tender Increasing

As already mentioned, government can also acquire resources by means of increasing the volume of legal tender. This mode of acquisition has often been used instead of resorting to additional taxation. This is because it does not evoke any resistance from those who are thus indirectly taxed (unless inflation is carried too far). But this mode of acquisition is inconsistent with planning in as much as its impact and incidence is less defined than any other mode of taxation. Another serious limitation of this mode of acquisition in the context of development is, that if it leads to a rising price level (leading to expectations that price level will continue to rise) the ratio of unproductive inventory to investment will increase which is a drag on development.

So far the discussion has been confined to the economic measures related to the achievement of the economic objective (that is, a certain rate of growth of a capital). However, there may

4. Prasad, Pradhan Harishankar, 'Rate of Interest and Economic Development', *Economic and Political Weekly* December 24, 1966.

2. Price, unless otherwise stated, is taken in the sense defined earlier, that is price of commodity for current consumption in terms of future commodity.

be non-economic measures as well for achieving an economic objective, as there may be economic measures to achieve certain non-economic objectives. In this context one such non-economic measure happens to be an administrative one, the blanket term for which, as I use, is 'planning by direction' (that is, by rationing, licensing and the use of quota system etc.). Another non-economic measure which has been widely propagated (and probably extensively used in India during the decade and a half of our planning) is that of raising the level of aspirations of the community by demonstration effects etc., which ultimately will induce it to strive for development. 'Planning by slogans' is yet another non-economic measure which has often been used in India since 1950. Population planning is a measure which is an effective one though it may take some time before its effect is felt. McClelland and his students, on the other hand, suggest that any society by appropriate child-training practices may produce *with a lag of one or two generations* such a large proportion of highly achievement-oriented persons that economic development will become a matter of course.⁵ However, as a student of economics I will neither venture to classify these non-economic measures nor attempt to evaluate the extent of their applicability and limitations. But I am tempted to observe that economic incentives are powerful in themselves (even in under-developed economies) and that a reference to non-economic dimensions of a problem does not affect the validity and fundamental acceptability of the policy conclusions arising out of the generalisation of positive economics.

Significant Question

A significant question which should be asked, at this stage, is whether there is any presumption that when two or more measures are used simultaneously, their effect necessarily will be unidirectional. If there is such a presumption, the planners face an easy task and not

much harm is done even if they indulge in the luxury of trying some remedies of doubtful validity—a luxury which an under-developed country can hardly afford. But if there is no such presumption, the choice before the planners is, indeed, a difficult one.

Neglect at Peril

A little reflection on some of the experiences of a decade and a half of our so-called planning will show that we can neglect this aspect at our own peril. A part of resources for development is mobilised by raising loans in private sector which has almost always fallen short of targets. Still the government allows some of the resources at its command to flow back (in shape of government loans on attractive terms) to the private sector for production and purchase of durable consumer goods. Quite a substantial quantity of resources were consumed by the community due to the sociological measure in the shape of community development programmes. This was a type of consumption which was rather forced on the community. Moreover, instead of developing a sense of organised self-reliance in the community in order to improve levels of living, it made people more and more dependent upon governmental efforts very far away from any sense of self-reliance. My own suspicion is that reference to the sociological dimension by vested interest, is made to avoid the consequences arising out of the materialistic analysis of the problem.

It need hardly be emphasised that a significant quantity of resources can also be mobilised for capital formation by bringing about a reduction in the government's expenditure over production of services. Services, by definition, are consumed as soon as they are produced. And obviously this is the part of consumption of the economy over which any government exercises utmost degree of control. A failure to restrict such consumption has been a significant drag on our economic development in recent years.⁶

A certain quantity of resources may flow back to the sectors from which it is drawn due to leakages. These leakages may partly arise due to erroneous policies, but mainly due to corrupt and incompetent political and administrative set up. Professor Gorakhnath Sinha's experience about such leakages with reference to our planning is that much of the hot money coming in the Works Department means a squeeze of the public funds shared between the authorities who combine to cheat the public. Many kinds of subsidies, grants and so on are looked upon as unearned payments by government. Authorities, therefore, just help themselves out of it. It also arises as the cost to the private sector of lubricating the wheels of inefficient administration as characterised by Dr. Marshall.

Transfer of Resources

Thus, the money so earned at the expense of the state results in a transfer of resources from government sector to the corrupt section of the private sector. Say if a certain quantity of resources are procured by the government by way of additional taxation the incidence of which is, say fifty per cent on consumption and the rest on investment in the private sector; and if the entire resources used for capital formation, the net capital formation will increase by fifty per cent of the tax proceeds. But if there is a considerable leakage so much so that more than fifty per cent of resources so mobilised is consumed by the corrupt section of the administrative and political set up, the net capital formation will decline consequent upon such a policy. In short, if the leakages are considerable so that the quantity of resources which flows back to the sector is greater than the

5. Hoselitz, Bert F., "Role of Incentives in Industrialisation", *The Economic Weekly*, Special Number July 1963, pp 1238-9.

6. Dharm Narain, "Failure and Possibilities", *Seminar*, March 1967. Prasad, Pradhan Harishankar, "Sectoral Growth Rates in the Indian Economy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October, 29, 1966.

quantity which is withdrawn from it, the attempt to achieve the objective will be frustrated.

Similar is the pitfall when production of some nonessential consumer goods like alcohol (which is probably socially undesirable in Indian set-up) etc., is allowed to continue because they happen to be a big source of revenue to the state. Broadly speaking there are certain commodities the consumption of which is essential for production. The blanket term for such goods is 'wage-goods'. Others are not essential in the sense that we can afford to postpone the consumption of these without affecting the productive efficiency. If 'non-wage goods' are being produced they should be taxed. But should they be produced only because they have to be taxed? If this is done more resources are allowed to flow into the consumption sector than is withdrawn by such a policy of resource mobilisation for capital formation.

If we now look back on the economic policies of a decade and a half of our planning, we find, broadly speaking, the continued deficit financing leading to rising price level, rising costs of saving drive and tax collection, rising volume of public services (a considerable increase

in consumption in the government sector due to air-conditioning and luxurious furnishing of the Government buildings, expenditure on embassies and foreign delegations, social and developmental services, television and radio stations amongst others) and development loans and subsidies to the private sector, have become the hallmark of our strategy for development—the strategy which has little basis in economic theory. "The Reserve Bank has recently found that the total foreign exchange spent on new machinery and import of raw material, parts, etc. in order to make textile products export-worthy, over the last ten years, was enormously larger than the return thereon".⁷ There have been numerous ad hoc policy decisions, probably taken in hot haste, and often, as the recent devaluation measure, not consistent with planning.⁸ Moreover, even if the strategies followed were consistent with generalisation of positive economics could we have forged much ahead with such a corrupt and inefficient political and administrative set up? "What can planning achieve if the policies that are to subserve it founder? If the experience of the last fifteen years of planning has taught us anything,

it is that not much can be done towards changing the structure of the economy unless drastic reform is made in the administrative and legal machinery through which Government policy has to be carried. Land reforms are held up in the States because the Chief Ministers are reluctant to disoblige the big land-owner. The same consideration stands in the way of taxation of agricultural income. Tax evaders are not detected, and even when some are, punishments meted out are not adequate. Anti-social activities are condoned partly on account of political resistance and partly because the legal machinery through which they are to be dealt with are too complicated. Only recently a reform measure—the Gold-Control Order, which was devised as a first step towards making gold smuggling unprofitable had to be revoked, just because protests came from a handful of jewellers".⁹

7. Gadgil, D.R., "National Economic Policy After Devaluation", *Mainstream*, October 8, 1966, p. 11

8. Prasad, Pradhan Harishankar, "Devaluation: No Remedy" *Mainstream* August 27, 1966.

9. Dasgupta, A.K., "The Fourth Five Year Plan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 24, 1966.

To Know Kerala See Kerala

The land of spices and coconuts, tea and rubber as the western trading nations first saw it;
Revealing new wonders to modern globe-trotter;
venue of Conferences and Seminars—
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Age-old temples, churches, mosques, synagogues fairs and festivals;
Land of ever-green mountains and forests, lakes and rivers,
canals and backwaters;
Hill-station health-resorts and World famous
Bathing Beach;

Star Attractions:

Periyar Wild Life Sanctuary;
Cochin Harbour with adjoining lakes and backwaters and
archaeological monuments;

Kovalam beach near the Capital City of Trivandrum.

For assistance in planning tours, please contact:—

Tourist Information Officer,
GOVERNMENT OF KERALA
Shantinagar,
Government Press Road,
TRIVANDRUM—Phone 5147.

the alibi

THERE was a coup the other day by a handful of truthful men. They just took over the radio, but since it was not listening time no one heard them say, 'Look, phonies, we aren't trying to give you good government. You don't deserve anything like that. We're trying just to give you good. Jai Hind!'

Quickly the new government decreed the rubbing off of the old motto *Satyameva Jayathe*.

'Why state the obvious?' said the new Prime Minister.

The junta proscribed all talk of socialism. Attempt to redefine socialism was put down as a capital offence, and talk of social control of banking was to be punished with five years in an airtight safe deposit vault.

'But,' said one of the new Ministers, 'they've talked away all their lives, and you sure don't expect them to live with shut traps.'

'Well, we aren't gagging them, we aren't,' assured the new Prime Minister. 'Let them talk by all means. We'll give them the Radio, we'll give them the TV. But let them talk truthfully. Not on socialism, but on lime juice, vitamins, cold baths, anything decent and honest.'

The Information Minister drew up a speech hastily, for former ministers and politicians to read over the Radio and TV.

'Dear people,' it ran, 'we're happy to tell you we were terribly phoney. We've been talking nonsense all these years, asking you to sacrifice for the sake of the motherland and all sorts of phoney things. We've quit such stuff for good. Believe us, it's been such massive relief. Now on, we'll talk of the need to take more vitamins, and so on. I suppose that's all, Jai Hind!'

Protocol was laid down for all state occasions. The retirement of important state dignitaries for instance would be accompanied by unsparing assessment of their achievements. A

sample was drawn up empirically, 'Mr. So-and-so who is retiring as such-and-such does so like the horse taken to the water. Does it shock you, and anyway why are the whole lot of you in the audience gaping like idiots at the long face he's pulled? It fills us with disgust, and we feel like plugging the whole lot of you with lead. Or we might gas you, though gassing is easy, and it would be a shame to make it soft. Well, if Mr. So-and-so expects us to say nice things about his services to the nation he's in for a rude shock right here. He was forced to quit, and got mad at us when we told him he had better pack off. And also, he spoke ponderous nonsense most of the time.'

Thus a new message sent to a neighbouring country on its national day read, 'Pigs, can't you leave us in peace? Do you have to involve us in your stinking national day? Even a plague there won't interest us, if you want to know. I was relaxing over a bit of crime fiction when the Chief of Protocol came and whined that something had to be done about your monstrous national day. Even this short note has bored us to death. So blast you.'

'Good,' said the Minister for Culture, 'this is pretty decent.'

'I expect larger and more satisfying trade,' said the Minister for Commerce, 'now that every one knows where he stands.'

'Yes,' said the Prime Minister, 'and it will be such relief.'

'Now let's think up a statement to the famine-stricken people,' said the strongman of the junta.

'Okay,' said the Minister for Flood Control, 'it's great fun.'

'Dear people of the Flood stricken areas,' read the prototype message, 'we are amused to watch you go gurggle-gurggle, because we are watching you from the air force planes. Aerial inspection of floods is just sight

seeing, and wow! what a sight! We bet the view isn't as exciting down there, though. But there will have to be two viewpoints always, and we are particular about holding on to the aerial view. We expect cholera and enteritis to finish you off, which leaves us with fewer chattel to manage after the waters ebb. Jai Hind!'

'Now let's have the draft on foreign policy,' said one of the junta.

The Foreign Minister read the draft, 'We live in literal dread of the Great Powers. We are all the time truth-truth in our pants. Our dread could be described more obscenely, but wait awhile.'

'Is that all right?'

'Beauty,' said the Prime Minister.

'Look,' said the strongman, 'there's corruption still to be dealt with. A lot of people are exercised by it.'

'They've no business to be,' said the Prime Minister. 'Just the same we'll tell them if the industrialists give us money, our sons, jobs, and our daughters, jewels, we'll take it. We'll act just normal. That should settle it.'

'That should,' agreed everybody.

'Now just one last message to the nation,' said the strongman.

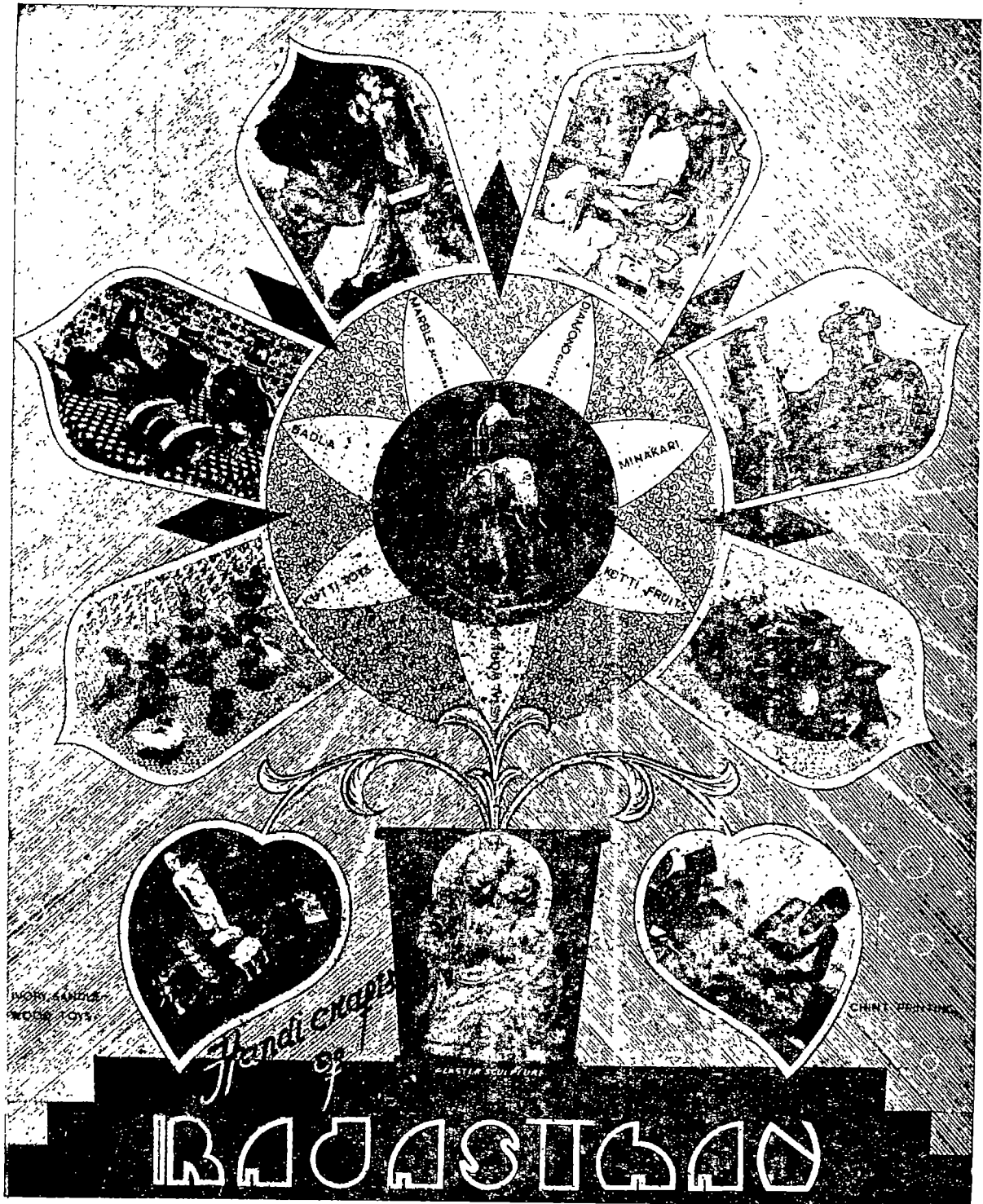
'Okay,' said the Prime Minister. Here goes: 'hideous people, we're sick of you. We're sick of the slum you've turned this country into. We hate your numberless children; our own are tucked away in foreign universities where you'll never get at them. We repeat what we said about plugging you with lead. Jai Hind, which doesn't mean victory for the country but is just a fancy catch word.'

Unfortunately the coup was not backed by the CIA and hence was declared illegal. The old government was restored within a half hour of the coup.

Back in office the old government reinscribed the state motto: *Satyameva Jayathe*.

'For,' said the old Prime Minister in a broadcast, 'no nation ought to be deprived of its alibi.'

—Charvaka



Pomp Without Purpose

RESEARCHER

THIS week three years ago Jawaharlal Nehru passed away, and the nation paying its homage to his memory welcomed the Government's decision to convert his official residence into a national museum. Three years after, it is time today to see how things are run at the Nehru Museum, whether those in authority there are worthy of the trust reposed in them.

In its present form, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library came into being in 1965 with Sri B. R. Nanda, Member of the Railway Board, as its Director. Sri Nanda's claim to the post rests solely on three slim volumes, mostly scissor-and-paste work that he could produce as his off-time essay along with his Railway Board duties. He has no special technical qualifications to head such an institution; but he managed to wangle a consolidated salary of Rs 2200—2500, which is higher than that of the Director, National Archives. Incidentally, it may be recalled that at the UNESCO seminar on Nehru last September, Sri Nanda cut a pathetically sorry figure which hardly enhanced the prestige of the Indian delegation.

Favouritism

After taking over control from Miss Grace Morley, the then Director of the National Museum (who actually organised the Nehru Museum), Sri Nanda has gone about treating the Nehru Museum as his private *jagirdari* creating posts in varied grades with all sorts of designations and nomenclatures, and distributing patronage to his favourites and friends. His recent appointment of Sri V. C. Joshi, junior-most Assistant Director at the National Archives of India is a case in point.

A few months before Sri Nanda could take over as Director (he was away in England), an Assistant Director at the National Archives was asked by the Ministry of Education on behalf of a high-powered Board (with Mr M. C. Chagla, the then Minister of Education, as Chairman) to make a survey of the Nehru Papers, (mostly packed away in boxes and trunks) and submit a report on the bulk, content and condition of the papers. After this was done, she was asked to arrange and classify the collection. Hardly had she worked for five months when on Sri Nanda's return, she was peremptorily ordered to revert to her parent office. Her post of Archivist at the Nehru Museum was held in abeyance for about two years till Sri Joshi who had been away on four years' deputation on a project under the CIA-financed Asia Foundation (Catalogue of Source-Material of Indian History) could be free. As soon as he completed his term and Asia Foundation funds—needless to say that he did not complete his project—he was transplanted into the Nehru Museum in the now upgraded post redesignated: Head, Research Division. The scale granted to him was Rs 1100-1600, while at the Archives, he had been plodding at the scale, Rs 590-1100. Incidentally, Sri Joshi seems to be the only officer of his kind who moves from deputation to deputation—there are definite Government rules against this practice—and from one big post to another, without having anything positive to his credit.

Apart from this the Nehru Museum boasts of scores of other highly paid posts like Head, Oral History (grade Rs 1100-1600); Research Officers (Rs 1000) yet to be filled (is it because no fav-

ourite is free?), four Assistant Research Officers (Rs 400-800); a Librarian (Rs. 700-1100) for just 4000 books; six Guides (Rs 220-500) not to mention a huge clerical staff.

It may be worthwhile making a comparative study of the organisational set-up of the Gandhi Samarak Sangrahalaya or Gandhi Memorial Museum to bring into focus the flagrant waste the Nehru Museum is indulging in. The Gandhi Museum has just one Secretary-cum-Curator (in the scale Rs 500-750); one Assistant Librarian (Rs 250-400); two Guides (Rs 200-350) and a couple of junior assistants (Rs 150-300) on the administration side. A dedicated set of workers, they have already collected in original or copies most of the extant papers of Gandhiji all over the world.

Absolute Badshah

And what is the mode of selection at the Nehru Museum? The Director seems to be the absolute badshah, above any rules or regulations. There are no selection committees or boards with expert members to satisfy themselves that the merit of a particular candidate is commensurate with the pay offered. No interviews or tests are ever held. It appears that if one satisfies the basic qualification of being in the good books of Messrs Joshi or Nanda (in that order) the post is assured.

What is this magnum research in modern Indian history that the Nehru Museum is specialising in? Nehru's official papers—some already in the National Archives of India and others with the respective Ministries and Cabinet Secretariat—will observe the usual 40-year rule before they become ripe for public access.

These papers can never be transferred to the Nehru Museum as they form part of regular official series. What remains is the private papers of Nehru whose rightful owner Smt Indira Gandhi, has on several occasions indicated that she will scrutinize all the papers herself before she will give thought to the question of public access and research. Thus the Nehru Research Division has no papers worth the name open to scholars. And therefore one fails to understand all the more the justification for the colossal waste of public money at this outfit.

Unnecessary Duplication

To cover up this anomalous position and to justify the sinecure posts the present incumbents are holding, the Museum is now trying to collect private papers of other nationalist leaders. It may be pointed out in this connection that the National Archives has for the past few years been collecting these valuable papers and now has a vast repertory of papers of Gandhiji, Jayakar, Tandon, Gokhale, Srinivasa Sastri, Tyabji, Dadabhai Naoroji, part of the Rajendra Prasad collection, to mention only a few. These are repaired, arranged and classified and thrown open to research only after the owner's permission has been obtained. Thus the National Archives is doing all that is possible in preserving

the national heritage intact. One wonders at the Nehru Museum's idea of duplicating effort, and even openly competing with the National Archives.

The Gandhi Museum though a separate entity (financed by the Gandhi Memorial Trust) keeps all the original papers of Gandhiji at the National Archives—they have obtained photostat enlargements from the Archives for public research at the Museum premises, as it is recognised that the National Archives has the scientific wherewithal to look after the physical up-keep of the papers. But the Nehru Museum even after taking full advantage of the various processes of preservation and photoduplication available at the Archives, has gone in for an extravagant scheme to import equipment from abroad to build a repair centre of its own. While the exigencies created by the tight foreign exchange situation are trotted out against the import of even spare parts and raw film for the National Archives, Nehru Museum appears to be almost above and beyond the pale of the Finance Ministry's reckoning.

High-powered self-publicity and gross misuse of public funds by the Nehru Museum do not end there. Apart from each big boss sporting a private secretary—what work they do is nobody's business—they go about in

official cars as if these are their private property, or make a dash by air to Bangalore, Bombay or Poona, to display a document or a photograph at one of their routine exhibitions. And whoever thought of each officer having a separate letter-head note-paper but the favoured Nehru Museum personnel! Not to be forgotten is the eternal flame—Jawahar Jyoti—for which the nation is paying at the rate of Rs. 120 a day.

The best arrangement would have been to keep only the Nehru Museum that is, his house, gardens, furniture, personal belongings, should remain as a great memorial to the great leader; but his private papers and books be transferred to the National Archives of India (which is there for that purpose) and the National Library respectively. These incidentally, according to Nehru's own Will, are the rightful custodians of his papers. This will do away with the drain on public exchequer and make the National Archives the unique centre of historical research which it already is but with the added lustre of housing Nehru papers as it does of Gandhiji.

It is time that public scrutiny should by spotlighted on this national institution, so that it may not become a centre of wastage, favouritism and incompetence.

Israel: Myth and Reality

OBSERVER

MOST Indian politicians, intellectuals and social workers who are taken to Israel come back impressed, mainly by four 'achievements'. They are the kibbutz, what is called collective farms; the Histadrut, which in Hebrew means the trade union federation; the Zionist concept of socialism; and the miracle that Israel is.

To an enthusiastic and uncritical observer these achievements are worth emulating and the developing countries are urged

to follow the Israel pattern for social, political and economic emancipation. Israeli diplomats, agronomists and technicians stationed in Asian and African countries also harp on these achievements. A well-financed and sustained propaganda is carried out to paint Israel as a modern socialist, democratic state with milk and honey flowing in its deserts. But this is one side of the coin.

The other side is exactly the opposite. The most persistent

critics of Israel are the Jews themselves. Enlightened and emancipated Jewish intellectuals in Europe and in the United States, the two bastions of international Zionism, have had a dispassionate look at the Promised Land and the deeper they dig into its mysteries the more frustrated they appear.

It is worthwhile to clear the confusion about two significant aspects pertaining to Israel. First, Judaism, is like any other religion. Most of its tenets are similar to

those of Christianity and Islam. It has nothing to do with the political ramifications of what is known as Zionism. Zionism is a social movement aimed at the continuance of the pristine Jewish race, language and culture. It is similar to what the Jews' worst enemy, Hitler, propounded some thirty years ago. He also believed in the purity of the Aryan race. The racist Whites in South Africa, who have compartmentalised society into various racial layers, are in this respect nearer to Israel.

Palestine was partitioned nineteen years ago, on May 16, 1948. There is sufficient authentic research material to prove that this partition was an imperialist conspiracy in collaboration with Zionist millionaires in Europe and the United States. These Zionists wielded enormous political and economic influence in the West.

The creation of Israel and the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany are two entirely different events. The Zionist demand for a 'national home' began much earlier than the ghastly drama in Germany under Hitler. The homeless and persecuted Jews were offered various places to settle down, including Australia, but the Zionists insisted on planting a state in the heart of the Arab World; on the fringes of Asia.

Living on Doles

Every artificial partition of a country brings untold misery in its wake. It happened in Indian sub-continent a year before Palestine was arbitrarily cut into pieces. But the tragedy of Palestine was much bigger in dimension since almost all its original and indigenous population was thrown out after bloody skirmishes between the inhabitants and the shiploads of armed Zionists who were brought to occupy the land. As a result, thousands of Palestinians became homeless and are now living on doles from the United Nations, while almost the entire population of Israel is composed of immigrants from all parts of the world.

To gloss over this grim tragedy the powerful Zionist centres of propaganda built a new myth

and a mystique around Israel. It was mainly to distract world attention from the wrongs done and to win the sympathy of developing countries in Asia and Africa.

The first was kibbutz. It was started to bring the occupied land under an agricultural system based on collective farms. It was invented basically to accommodate Jews coming from relatively backward countries of Asia and Africa since the Jewish emigrants from Europe were mostly urbanised people. Actually Kibbutzism divided the country into two distinct classes—the rustic country bumpkin, socially and politically discriminated against by his sophisticated counterpart from Europe. But now it seems the experiment in Kibbutzism has collapsed since a mere three per cent of the population is left to run them. It was double the number 18 years ago. The tendency is towards bigger and private farms and a few Kibbutz showpieces are kept intact to impress visitors. The key to kibbutz failure is that Israel's is basically a capitalist system.

The Histadrut is another cover to parade Israel as a socialist and welfare state. It forms the three-tier rung of the country's economy. The private sector, the public sector and the Histadrut. The idea was to turn Israel into a workers' paradise and gradually eliminate the two other sectors. But what has happened is just the reverse. The private sector with affluent British and American Zionists controlling it has expanded in all directions while the public sector has shrunk into insignificance and the Histadrut is in a mess. The difference between the private sector and the holdings and shares of Histadrut is over one and a half million sterling pounds.

The number of unemployed skilled labour is now well over 90,000 in a country whose total population is only about two million. The educated and professional classes have been leaving the country at an alarming rate. According to figures published in Israeli newspapers the number of people who left Israel in 1948 was 1,040. Last year it reached

10,700. The number of doctors and engineers is surprisingly large in this brain-drain. Recently a prominent Israeli doctor Manuel Glazier told *Jerusalem Post* (April 24) that he "was amazed that so many doctors still remain in Israel. The doctors here are grossly underpaid." The unemployment problem and the brain-drain have become so acute that even the millions of dollars of doles and donations which pour into the country every year from world Jewry are unable to solve it. Recently its echo was heard in London when the *Jewish Observer's* editor George Kimche had to resign on the issue. The Zionist Board of Directors of this paper would not allow him to publish articles highlighting the unemployment problem in Israel.

Beni Israelis

Out of its one and a half dozen political parties, in the Opposition as well as the Coalition Government, only two or three are non-religious. The rest owe their existence solely to religious fanaticism and a narrow social base. There is nothing socialist about them since all of them insist on keeping Israel a haven exclusively for Jews—of a particular hue. Jews of chocolate colour and Jews from Africa and Asia are looked down upon and their ancestry is challenged by the State as well as religious heads.

Indian Jews known as Beni Israelis are unable to establish a social status for themselves since purity of their Jewish blood is questioned. Two years ago the Chief Rabbi of Israel pronounced that the Beni Israelis could not marry European Jews (Ashkenazim). The Ashkenazim incidentally are the ruling elite in the country and monopolize its political and economic life.

Israel is as much a theocratic state as Pakistan or Saudi Arabia. On Saturday, Sabbath day, life comes to a standstill and people and buses moving on roads are heckled and stoned. No work, however important, can be performed on this day. The State dare not defy the Synagogue and the Rabbis' verdict on any religious or social issue is inviolable. No non-Jew can marry a Jew

without conversion to Judaism.

But the most dangerous aspect of the State of Israel is its role in the life of Jews outside the country. It has created ticklish problems for many countries with substantial Jewish population. Zionism demands dual loyalty. A Jewish citizen in the US or anywhere in the world owes loyalty to Israel. After the formation of Israel it is a sin for him to remain loyal to any other country of which he is a citizen.

This is emphasised with great vigour by all Zionist leaders including former Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion. As early as 1950 he had made it explicit in an address to the World Zionist Action Committee. "The basis of Zionism" he said, "is neither friendship or sympathy but the love of Israel, of the State of Israel... It must be an unconditional love. There must be complete solidarity with the State and the people of Israel." In another startling statement to the *New York Times* on June 4,

1961, he said: "Zionists in other countries ought to have the courage to stand up for the state (of Israel) even if their governments are against it."

If the Ben Gurion statements are taken at face value, Jews the world over become suspect. But that is not the case. Many Jews are as much opposed to the perpetuation of Israel as the Arabs. Their antagonism towards Israel is political, not religious.

So is the position of the Arabs. Anti-Semitism is a Western and not an Arab disease.

CRISIS IN SCIENCE POLICY—III

Story of A Strange Committee

P. K. NAIDU

THE dominance of the bureaucrat over the scientist, red tape over technological advance, that marks the present dispensation in the CSIR has been amply shown up recently when in the name of streamlining the organisation, the very basis of the set-up has been sought to be undermined.

This has been very clearly brought out by what has come to be known as the Ray Committee. This Committee is presided over by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, the present Director of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, who is an authority on ancient Indian history and culture, no blood relation of science and technology. Of the other two members of the Committee, one is a retired fisheries expert, while the third is a former Director of a National Laboratory. Dr Ray has been the chairman of the Executive Council of Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre (INSDOC). With due respect to the learned scholar, it might be said that he suffers from certain limitations to deal with the problems of a scientific organisation.

The Committee's terms of reference were to examine the

possibility of merger of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre (INSDOC) and the Publication Directorate, both of which are functioning under the CSIR. This question was raised earlier, and only last year, Sri Chagla, the then Education Minister and the Vice-President of the CSIR, ruled out such a merger on the ground that Documentation and Publication do not have similar functions. It is widely believed in the CSIR circles that interested parties were not happy about Sri Chagla's decision.

For any organisation to fulfil the functions set out, it should be homogeneous and optimum in size. Only when a certain organisation fulfills the responsibilities assigned to it extremely well and shows the capacity to take up additional responsibilities then alone the particular set-up could be given extra duties.

In this respect the performance of the INSDOC is distressing. It is bringing out the Indian Science Abstracts since January 1965 and its time-lag is more than one year already. The abstracts of papers from the Indian technical journals which already appeared six months back in foreign abstracting journals may not be available through the Indian Science Abstracts for another six

months. In some of their issues of 1965 and published in 1966 the articles were abstracted from journals dated 1962. This betrays not only incompetence but a totally light-hearted approach to a serious assignment. Only research scientists are aware how much one has to wait either to get a photostat copy of an article or a translation or a bibliography from this much-trumpeted national organisation. It appears that in the Executive Council meeting of the INSDOC one prominent scientist already pointed out these short-comings but the very gentleman is now keen on entrusting more jurisdiction to that organisation, presumably because of his immediate interest in humiliating somebody else.

Recently, INSDOC has taken up the additional responsibility of preparing Education Abstracts under some National Science Foundation scheme. One is not sure for whose convenience this organisation was set up and why this organisation should take up the projects of NSF while not in a position to do justice to the very purpose for which it is set up. It appears that the authorities are anxious to please the outside agencies though they pay insufficient attention to the immediate jobs of the organisation. It is also not clear why the

*The previous articles on this series appeared in **Mainstream** on April 29 and May 6, 1967.*

Educational Abstracts could not be prepared by the National Council of Educational Research & Training. The INSDOC is already bogged in multifarious activities and is not able to perform competently its existing assignments. It is unthinkable that such an organisation should have vastly increased responsibilities and thus become unwieldy and ineffective.

Before additional responsibilities are assigned to the INSDOC it might be better to avail of the services of Dr S.R. Ranganathan, a world renowned documentation scientist to suggest the improvements necessary to make the services more effective. It is unfortunate that the services of such an eminent person in the field have not yet been made use of by the project.

The Ray Committee not only went against the earlier decision, but also went into some vital areas beyond its terms of reference. It has recommended the dismemberment of Survey and Planning organization and the Industrial Liaison organization and turning out the Directorate of Scientific and Technical Personnel (including Scientists' Pool) from the CSIR. Here too the Ray Committee took the decision without any sense of seriousness. It is reported that by its own admissions it "had an occasion to look into the work" of the Directorate and by this one look, had no difficulty in recommending its transfer to the Institute of Applied Manpower under the Home Ministry. Sounds almost like a Command Performance by the Committee.

Used as Cover ?

It may be recalled that these Technical units at the CSIR headquarters were highly commended by the Mudaliar Committee (The Third Reviewing Committee of the CSIR), in which notable scientific and engineering members participated including two distinguished Fellows of the Royal Society. On the recommendation of that Reviewing Committee, the Governing Body of the CSIR raised these Technical units to the status of independent Directorates of the CSIR.

The Ray Committee finds these decisions all wrong and recommends their vivisection or liquidation. The question may be asked, why and how did the Ray Committee go beyond its jurisdiction in making such recommendations? Or, was the Ray Committee used as a cover to clean up the technical directorates so that the CSIR administrative authorities could have a free hand without having to bother with technical realities? Technical realities are already being ignored by the headquarters bosses of the CSIR.

-It is also learnt that the Nihar Ray Committee is understood to have observed that the Indian Language unit and the *Science Reporter* has no place in CSIR and should be handed over to the Ministry of Education.

No Economy

The CSIR had its reasons to start them, and the Governing Body had endorsed the initiative. An examination of the constitutional provision for the Society (CSIR) may be useful in this context. Among other functions of CSIR, one clause lays down: "The collection and dissemination of information in regard not only to research but also to industrial matters generally" The Indian Language unit (earlier called the Hindi Unit) publishes scientific and technical books, booklets and a journal (*Vigyan Pragati*)—for dissemination of science and technology in a popular style. It has published several booklets in Hindi and other Indian languages. The *Science Reporter* running in its fourth year, has received wide

popularity in India and abroad, and has already built up a strength of 5,000 paid subscribers. Shifting these two popular science publication establishments to the Education Ministry will only take away the freedom (now enjoyed under the autonomous CSIR) so necessary for dynamic journalism. There will not be any economy either, the financial commitment will only shift from one Government sector to another.

Foregone Conclusion ?

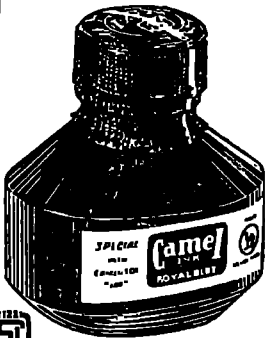
The Nihar Ray Committee's doings were kept a well-guarded secret. When some of the scientists were called upon to appear before it for giving evidence, they did not know what it was all about. Even the officers of the INSDOC and the Publication Directorate were not called before the Committee.

The Committee took its far-reaching decisions at a single sitting lasting a couple of hours. Or, was it a foregone conclusion, only to be ratified by the Committee? The decision on such matters, it may be noted, took a couple of months for the Scientific Reviewing Committee. It is worth noting that while the Committee considered notes prepared by the CSIR Secretariat, it did not care to call for similar notes from any of the Science Directors, nor did it care to examine the Mudaliar Report itself.

Whatever else, such a cavalier treatment of a problem of national importance can hardly be regarded as the correct method of solving the problems of science organisation in the country.

(To Be Continued)

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China : A Fair Study

MOHIT SEN

THE GREAT LEAP—CHINA: By Joseph Peterson: B.I. Publications, Bombay: pp. 387.

THIS is the kind of book for which one had been waiting. It is a meticulous, technical study of that extraordinary social phenomenon called the Great Leap which convulsed China in 1958-59. Its grasp of details, its insistence on statistics, its use of almost exclusive official Chinese statements and the employment of the Marxist method, puts it in a class by itself. Written with great feeling, sympathy and unabashed admiration for the tremendous Chinese revolution, its criticism is passionate but always empirically based. It is the kind of book that both the enemies of China and overworked admirers of the so-called originality of Mao's Thought, will abhor. But it is sure of a welcome by all who seek to know China and whose love for the Chinese Revolution is deeper than mere frustrated effervescence. It is a thousand pities that it is not as well known as it deserves to be either in academic or genuinely revolutionary circles.

The book begins with an examination of the economic theories behind the Great Leap idea. It correctly traces their origin to precapitalist concepts of growth which do not seem to have known the economies of scale, productivity of labour, the meaning of mechanisation, the rhythm of modern development and the intractable character of rapid industrialisation. It is all pre-Adam Smith and certainly thoroughly ignorant of Marx. It is almost as if Gandhi had suddenly turned industrial planner! The author neatly demolishes these theories and issues a salutary warning to the impatient among the leaders of the newly-liberated countries who may like the glamour of the 'mirage of growth without stamina.

Another point the book,

almost a trifle mischievously, emphasises is the more than family resemblance between these so called original Maoist Thoughts and the theories of Trotsky. Stalin is quoted with devastating effect against the proposals of Trotsky for "super-industrialisation", for economic advance by "leaps", consummated by a foreign policy of revolutionary expansion. The would-be champions of Stalin in China and elsewhere—not least in our country—would find all this very embarrassing and distasteful. But quite impossible to refute!

The aid given by the Soviet Union is quite objectively assessed. The actual plants set up apart, it seems some 30,000 complete sets of drawings and specifications of plant and equipment were handed *gratis* to China. It is on this basis that a good deal of the undoubted industrial advance in China is based, without any acknowledgement, of course.

It is significant that while China made use of Soviet materials, and technical experts, it all along refused to allow any Soviet planners to come and offer advice. Nor does there seem to have been any systematic efforts made to assimilate the enormously positive but also, partially, significantly negative experience of Soviet planning. This attitude of isolation from the experience of the international Communist movement is not confined to planning, of course. It seems to be a regular law of the development of Mao's Thought and has, surely, been a contributory factor towards producing the present catastrophic position in China.

A remarkable feature of the book is the detailed scrutiny of some of the so-called showpieces of the Great Leap. The Ming Tombs Dam is one case in point. Another is that of the barnyard

turnaces, appropriately described as a "plague of petty leeches on the body of heavy industry." A third is the Thought of Mao that big enterprises should do "a little of everything", accurately termed as going back to the pre-industrial 16th century lack of specialisation.

The stupendous failure of the Great Leap is best illustrated in the shape of simple statistics about grain production.

It was officially put out by the leadership of the CPC that from 185 million tons in 1957 grain production would rise to 375 million tons in 1958 and leap to 525 million tons in 1959. Even before that last-mentioned year was over its target had been "readjusted" to 275 million tons—almost a 50 per cent slash. Finally, it turned out that in 1960 the actual production was only about 160 million tons, that is, a drop of 25 million tons compared to the position three years ago! Drought was brought in as an explanation but a natural calamity, after all, only tests or exposes the capacity of the social system of the country it inflicts itself upon.

There are some illuminating ideas in the book on the need to move forward from the garden type of cultivation to the large scale cooperative farm, on the social implications of the change-over to the Latin script and on certain resemblances between the Great Leap communes and decentralised planning in Yugoslavia.

Of great topical interest is the author's analysis of the attractive force of the Great Leap idea. This is because it is founded on "premises that appeal so directly to the heart of the petty bourgeois rural entrepreneur, to his hopes and half-hidden ambitions. The assumptions of the Leap embody so clearly his flattering opinion of his own industrial organisational capacities, his utter distrust of the scientifically-trained technician, of the central department planner, and of the skilled tradesmen and process workers who staff modern industry, as well as his narrow national egoism and suspicious refusal to learn from other countries."

- What of the future? Here, too, the author is clear and confident, without minimising the hazards immediately ahead. He says, "China is and will certainly remain overwhelmingly a socialist country, with the State in absolute command of the dominant heights in industry and all public utilities. As experience and study cause the facts to permeate more and more strata of Chinese society, eventual establishment of a genuinely working class influence that will regenerate the Chinese Communist Party from within is inevitable."

To such regeneration, this convincing study will surely make a contribution.

COMMUNICATION

About Marxist Intellectual

I read with interest the very fine article "Wanted: Marxist Intellectuals" by Gadfly, published in *Mainstream* April 22 and 29). I do not know whether our intellectuals, particularly the "well-known ones" will take part in this discussion because "It is thought-provoking, thought is dangerous so thought must be avoided".

Karl Marx wrote to his friend F.A. Sorge on December 15, 1881 that these so-called intellectuals were "very far from having even the patience the—first condition of learning anything—studying a matter thoroughly. All those amiable middle-class writers—if not specialists—have an itching to make money or name or political capital *immediately* out of any new thoughts they may have got at by any favourable wind-fall." Talking of Hyndman, he added, "Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order to take me out and to learn in the easiest way".

Gaya

R. K. Jha

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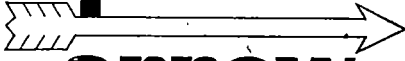
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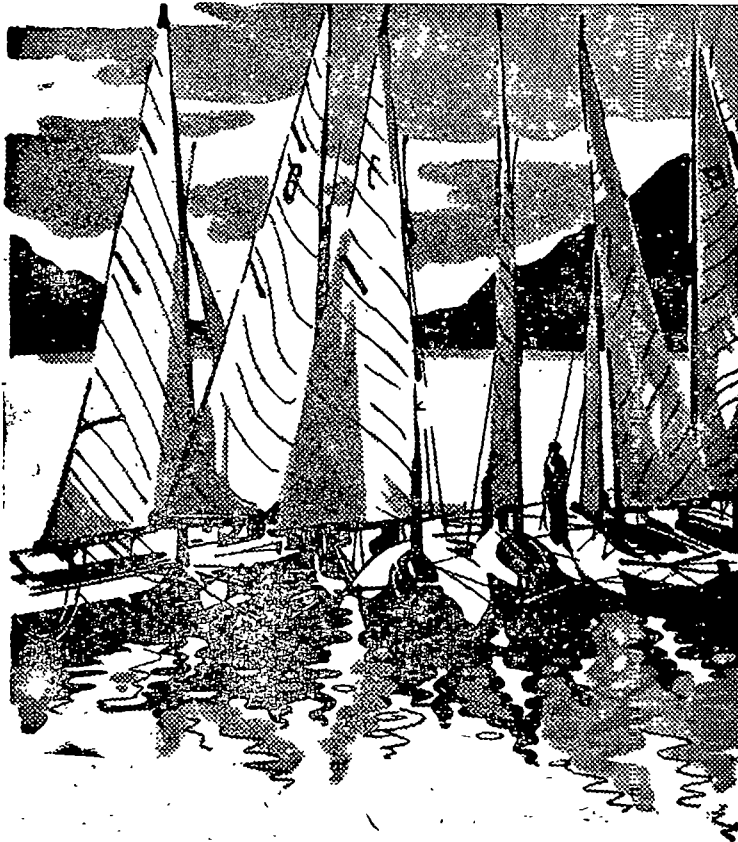
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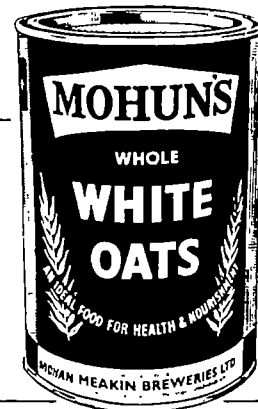
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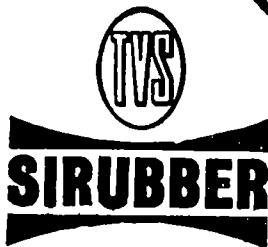
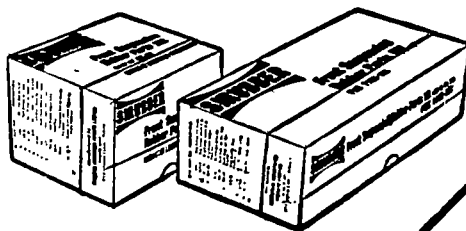
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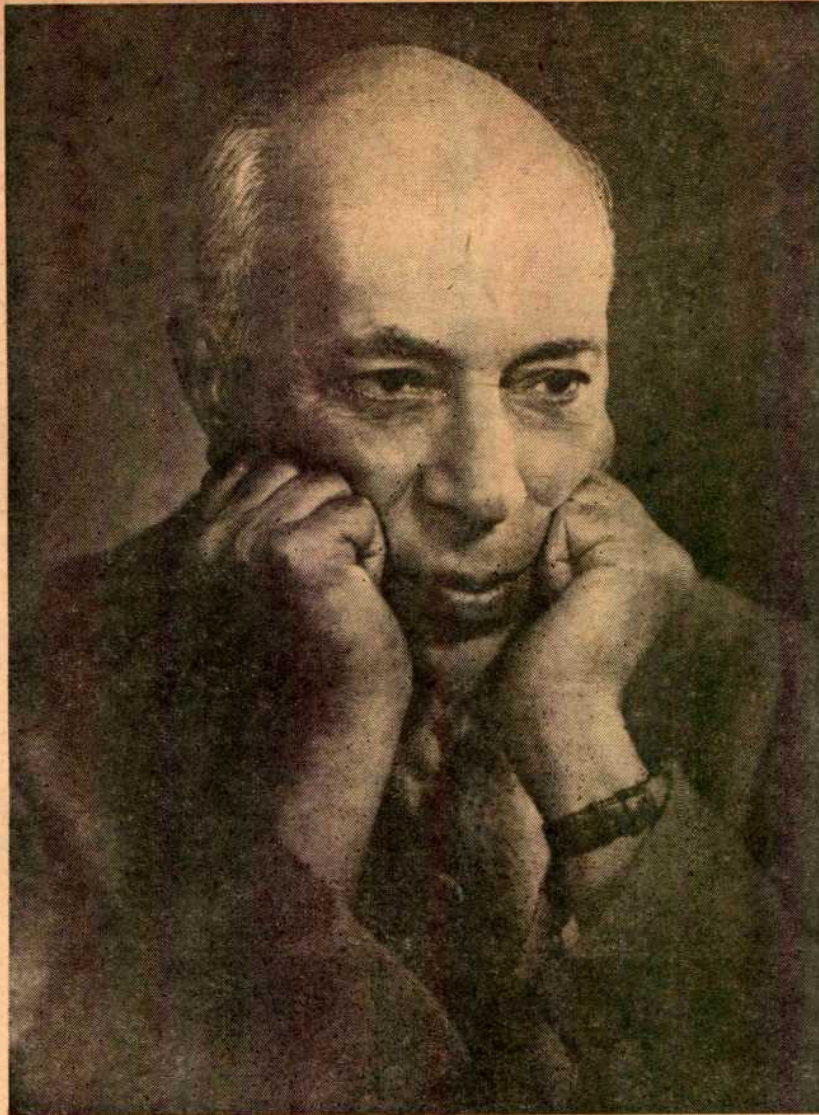
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FOOD: THE DANGER POINT

DESPITE the great deal of talk about the food problem before, during and after the conference of Chief Ministers, there is as yet no sign of serious thought having been given to working out a national food policy to ensure efficient procurement, planned production, equitable distribution and reasonable prices for both producer and consumer. Preoccupation with the pressing needs of drought-affected areas and States in difficulties for other reasons is quite understandable: but there is not much evidence that even such urgent problems are being tackled in a rational and effective manner. Bihar's complaints

have not been muted; Kerala's Chief Minister has found it necessary to point out that the claims made by the Centre regarding supply of foodgrains to his chronically deficit State are not accurate and err on the side of exaggeration. In fact, from the controversy over the figures it seems quite clear that reliable statistics are not yet available at the Union Food Ministry, though heavily staffed with a galaxy of bureaucrats; at least in this respect we have not travelled very far over the years.

The Central authorities have unfortunately got used to scanning the horizon for PL-480 shipments and scanning the skies for signs of a favourable monsoon. Although a great deal has been heard about the need for a national food policy, in concrete terms the Central authorities have done little more than periodically indicate their hopes about imports and rains. It is not as if there are not many in power who comprehend the nature of the problem and the kind of long-term and short-term solutions which can give satisfaction to the areas now starving and reliance for the nation as a whole over a period of time. What is in fact lacking is a conscious, deliberate and determined effort to take the steps seen to be necessary: in other words, putting the country on a war footing so to say, the war against hunger. Does the Centre have the will and the ability to launch such a crusade? It is much easier to depend on others to feed us.

It is not the Centre alone which is to blame for the present situation, although it must be said that the Union Government has not been able to get many of the State Governments to carry out the broad policies laid down from time to time. While the Centre has been unwilling to take a firm stand on total procurement and State trading in foodgrains,

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the surplus States have been so much under the influence of rural vested interests that they have virtually refused to undertake the drastic measures needed to make all the foodgrains produced available to the people of the whole country on an equitable basis, to end hoarding and profiteering, and to keep prices at reasonable levels. The producer has been left deliberately at the mercy of the middleman and the trader; the consumer has been similarly left exposed to exploitation by the same anti-social elements. All things considered, the procurement drives in deficit states like Madras, West Bengal and Kerala have been much better than that in the Congress-run States.

It has to be admitted that the non-Congress Governments including the Leftist ones, have yet to give satisfactory evidence of capacity for bold initiative in this sphere. The unilateral decision taken by the DMK Government in Madras, while being laudable in its own way, does not provide the most satisfactory answer, for the simple reason that such an isolated experiment may not succeed in the long run to the extent desirable. There should at least have been an effort to reduce the price of rice in all the States run by more or less like-minded governments. If, for instance, the decision on rice price had been taken simultaneously by the Governments of Madras, Orissa, Kerala, Bihar and West Bengal, the Centre would have found itself in a tight corner and would have been compelled to think in terms of a workable national solution. Again, if all the non-Congress Governments had lined up behind progressive measures, it would not have been possible for Congress States to play politics over food without seriously undermining their own positions vis-a-vis the people. It is in this context that the patent lack of coordination among the non-Congress States and even among the Left or Left-inclined States—has to be overcome.

So far as the Centre is concerned, there has been no attempt to end what has been described as ship-to-mouth existence. The Food Corporation of India could have achieved much if it had been given enough funds to procure grains and sufficient powers both for procurement and distribution, smashing through the stone wall of bureaucracy and the vested interests. The Corporation has at every stage been hamstrung by the reluctance of the Central Government to offend the Governments of the surplus states which in turn dare not go against the wishes of the rich landlord, the middleman and the trader who virtually control the administrative apparatus as well as the organisation of the ruling party concerned.

There is clearly no alternative to a clear-cut national food policy if chaos is to be averted. The danger is that if the monsoon proves satisfactory this year, smugness will once again overtake our authorities who will wake up to the grim reality only when the weather gods frown once more: but then they will find it easier to organise a begging mission to Washington than to seek the solution internally. The vicious circle, in other words, will be perpetuated indefinitely.

The answer lies in organising a large number of short-term irrigation projects on the lines suggested frequently by Sri K.D. Malaviya, the exclusion of private trade and the middlemen from dealings with the producer, strict control of distribution by the State with only the retail trade playing a well-defined and strictly circumscribed role within that framework, and fixation of fair price for the producer and reasonable price for the consumer.

These cannot be achieved by diktats from New Delhi: the State Governments have to be brought together and made to accept and implement honestly a positive programme of this kind. In this effort the Leftist Governments must take the lead, making it clear at the outset that if nothing comes of the effort, there will be no alternative to a massive nationwide popular agitation which the Left Governments and parties will fully support. The vicious circle has to be broken now; delay will be disastrous.

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BUDGET, BIRLA AND BENGAL

FROM the Morarji Budget to the Birla Empire, from West Bengal to West Asia—New Delhi's extensive gamut has brought out significant contours which indicate that the country is about to enter a new phase of political development.

The Budget has provided a fairly sound commentary on the Finance Minister's present political prospects in terms of his acceptability in the camp of Big Money and the Wall Street. After the setback to his popularity following his 1963 Budget, he had lapsed into unimportance in the eyes of the vested interests as also the US lobby. This was evident not only in 1964 when Sri Desai had to concede Prime Ministership to Shastri but also in 1966 when he could not stomach the World Bank inspired Devaluation. In March this year, in the agonising tussle for leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Sri Desai could secure the support of a good number of middle-of-the-road elements mainly because the impression persisted that he could enjoy the fullest confidence of neither the Birlas nor of the World Bank. In fact, Sri Kamaraj's recommendation for making him the Deputy Prime Minister would not have been forthcoming but for this very reason.

Back in the saddle, Sri Desai lost no time in winning back the shaken confidence of High Finance in him, both at home and abroad. His very first encounter with the press after his re-entry into the Cabinet betrayed his come-hither gesture to the dollar investor, while his special invitation to the World Bank Chief to visit New Delhi—underlined by his rather extraordinary welcome to him at the Palam airport—has almost written off the prejudices generated by his stand against Devaluation.

On the other hand, his close band of loyal lieutenants have been fighting strenuously to scuttle any follow-up action on

the Hazari Report, which has exposed the licensing racket of the Birla Empire. It is an open secret in New Delhi that while Sri Fakhruddin Ahmed's Ministry is earnest in taking up the Hazari Report seriously, Sri Morarji Desai's Ministry is equally anxious to shelve it. The protracted debate over the issue in the Congress Parliamentary Party as well as in the Cabinet has almost clearly established that Sri Desai has earned back the goodwill of the Birlas, and as its byproduct he has been noticeably receiving encomium from the press organs run by that august house.

To New Delhi observers, Sri Desai's Budget marks one more step towards a touching reunion between the Finance Minister and Big Business, and it has shed whatever illusion that certain forward-looking Congressmen seemed to have had about Sri Desai having had a change of heart during the period of his political hibernation.

The intense orthodoxy of his fiscal policy is accompanied by the complete abjuration of the line laid down by the Policy Resolution of the recent marathon session of the Congress Working Committee. Sri Desai has proved that his acceptance of that Resolution was less than formal. It is a stark irony of the present situation that perhaps more than the Left parties, Sri Morarji Desai has, by his Budget speech and proposals, shown up the Congress Working Committee stand as no more than a string of progressive platitudes, not meant as a serious guide-line for the party in government. It is in this very context that one can explain Sri Desai's rejection of the reported suggestion by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao for a drastic embargo on sumptuary meals indulged in by the business world to entertain clients and patrons.

It is not that Sri Desai's colleagues took up a very radical posture—neither the Prime Minister nor

Sri Chavan nor Sri Jagjivan Ram who had all spoken on the urgency of radical measures in the Working Committee, demurred with the Morarji Budget. Incidentally, on the question of food subsidy, the Union Food Minister of all people, is understood to have expressed himself in favour of its withdrawal. Sri Jagjivan Ram's suggestion is believed to have had the strong backing of Sri Asoka Mehta. But Sri Desai did not want to take upon himself the onus of such an unpopular step while the Prime Minister turned it down as impractical under the present circumstances.

* * *

SRI Morarji Desai's return to this traditional fold is not the only case of political realities asserting themselves defying the wishful thinking of political pundits. The storm that has broken out in Parliament over the Hazari Report is an eloquent repudiation of the strange bed-following in which the Opposition parties indulged in the Presidential contest.

The might of the Birla empire has never been in doubt. Even in the last Parliament, according to a public disclosure made by Sri Nanda in 1964, the Birlas could claim to run a lobby of over seventy members; and this figure by all accounts must have gone up in the new Parliament. Sri Satyanarayan Sinha has been able to retain his Cabinet post mainly because of the Birla benediction, while a whole host of other Ministers, both old wine and new blood, from Sri Jagjivan Ram to Sri K.C. Pant, have never deviated from their loyalty to the Birlas. Some in the Opposition parties, including a few in the Left, have strong Birla connections: in a united-front State Cabinet not far from the Capital, a Left Minister can very well be termed as a Birla nominee. The ICS bosses are not immune from the Birla radio-activity; apart from the famous

case of Sri C.C. Desai, it is commonplace in New Delhi to regard Sri L.K. Jha, the former Secretary to the Prime Minister, as a Birla man : one wonders how the Indira Government would implement—if at all—the party mandate for social control over banking by placing such a person at the head of the Reserve Bank. Indeed, it is a case of a man-eater's cub engaged to control the man-eaters!

Viewed in this background, the strong criticism of the Birlas voiced in the Congress Parliamentary Party is no doubt significant, for it demonstrates once again the strange character of India's ruling party : while the Government and the high-ups have been noticeably surrendering strategic heights to the onslaught of the vested interests, the repudiation of that very process has been sharper in the party ranks in recent months.

The real dividing line in Indian politics is provided this week by two touch-stones : the Birla Empire and the West Asian crisis. If the rift in the Opposition phalanx over these two key issues have brought bitter disappointment for Dr. Lohia, the division in the Congress ranks on these very issues must have come as a big surprise for the dogmatists in the Communist ranks who refuse to recognise any shades of difference inside the Congress camp. The polarisation over the Hazari Report, cutting across party barriers has shown that there is more in common between Sri Arjun Arora and Sri Chandrasekhar on the one hand and Sri Bhupesh Gupta and Sri Raj Narain on the other, as there is between Sri Babubhai Chinai (incidentally, Sri Patil's permanent New Delhi host) and Sri Bhuwalka on the one hand and Sri Dayabhai Patel and Sri Balraj Madhok on the other. This refreshingly new pattern of Indian politics promises to come out more clearly as basic national issues come up before Parliament.

From this standpoint, Sri Chagla's forthright statement in support of the UAR position in the crisis over Israel is regarded in the Capital as of considerable significance. New

Delhi observers point out that this is the most emphatic position in opposition to the West that New Delhi has so far taken up under Smt Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership. Although undoubtedly one of the important considerations in the evolution of New Delhi's line on this crisis is the anxiety to placate Cairo in the hope of earning rich dividends on the Kashmir question, the fact that the Indira Government has placed itself unequivocally on the side of a power that has annoyed President Johnson has come as a pleasant surprise to those who have for months past been worried at the recent collapse of Indian resistance to the US position in Vietnam. The promptitude with which Sri Parthasarathi has been instructed to move in support of the UAR in the Security Council is expected to greatly enhance New Delhi's standing in the Afro-Asian world. There are reports that Sri Dinesh Singh's lobby in the Foreign Office disfavoured a strong line of support for the UAR, but Sri Chagla seems to have won in this round.

New Delhi observers however prefer to be cautious in rushing to the conclusion that a turning-point in foreign policy has been reached, that the Government would from now on be more firm in dealing with the Americans. While Sri Chagla has been quick in exposing the US game in supplying spares for Pakistani arms, it is known that powerful pressures are at work for reopening the Kashmir issue under the aegis of Washington. The timidity with which the Government has swallowed the impertinence of the Moss-McGeé comments on India has shown up, as a well-known New Delhi daily has pointed out, the mentality of a "client state". There are however straws in the wind to suggest that even on Vietnam some rethinking may have started, judging by the perceptible consternation in US circles here.

Over this West Asian crisis resulting in a stand against US, the Government found itself in the company of the two Communist Parties, while the Socialists, both SSP and PSP, were pre-

pared to join hands with Swatantra and Jan Sangh: and in this ganging up a section of the Congress MPs would have definitely joined but for the party whip. The inability of the Socialists in taking up a definite stand on some of the issues involving the US has never been a secret in New Delhi; and Israel has always been able to mobilise Socialist support both in India and Nepal.

* * *

THE sudden decision to appoint Sri Dharam Vira as the Governor of West Bengal is interpreted in the Capital as a definite move to upgrade that State in the list of priority problems before the Centre. It is understood that high-level consultations took place on Sri Chavan's return from Calcutta after the Eastern Zonal meeting. There are indications to suggest that during the Zonal Council meeting in Calcutta, certain exchange of views on an informal basis took place between Sri L.P. Singh and the top officials in West Bengal. Although Sri Chavan denied, though rather defensively, any connection between his visit and the flare-up of police high-handedness in West Bengal—quite often bypassing the United Front Ministry—the extraordinary presentation of memorandum by the West Bengal Police Association and the wide publicity it was given in New Delhi, is regarded as ominous in informed circles in the Capital. The connivance of the police in recent communal clashes is also not ruled out.

In the last few days, the Prime Minister has received representations from some of the anti-Atulya elements in the West Bengal Congress; this faction claims the allegiance of a number of displaced Ministers, including Sri P. C. Sen. It is interesting to note that Sri Atulya Ghosh is reported to be unenthusiastic about any move to break the United Front coalition in West Bengal at this stage. The anti-Atulya faction however is pressing the High Command for a reshuffle of the Pradesh Congress leadership on an ad hoc basis so that it could take the initiative in splitting the United Front by isolating the Communists. Their main headache

however is the eminence which Sri Ajoy Mukherji personally enjoys in the eyes of the West Bengal public and they have so far little to substantiate their hope of winning him over, because Sri Mukherji is believed to be in no mood to play a Patton for the benefit of the West Bengal Congress. Without him, it is clear that even the Kabir wing of the Bangla Congress can hardly invest a reshuffled Ministry with a degree of stability and authority.

More than the impatience of the displaced Congress Ministers in West Bengal, the Centre is pressed by the powerful forces of Big Business for effective action not only against the gheraos but a more determined bid to replace the present government, or in the alternative, to curb it. It is significant that Sir Biren Mukherji together with some of the British magnates of West Bengal saw the Prime Minister this week and it may not be just an accident that the announcement of Sri Dharam Vira's appointment came soon after.

The debate that has been going on though in a muffled form in the corridors of the Central

Secretariat centres round the question whether it would be advisable to impose the President's Rule in West Bengal. According to the more orthodox school in the Home Ministry, the predestined West Bengal Ministry will reach the point of crisis with the accentuation of the food shortage by the middle of July, and the month following will see the climax of this crisis. So, if the Centre has to strike it should strike at this crucial period and for that, the necessary preparations should be made beforehand. As part of this preparation, the diehards in the Union Home Ministry are trying to exploit Sri Sundarayya's rather intemperate statement in Darjeeling recently. It has also not escaped notice in New Delhi that a senior officer of the West Bengal cadre who was transferred by the new Ministry from the key post of the Home Secretary is being brought to the Centre as a Joint Secretary in the Union Home Ministry.

Against this point of view, the Prime Minister is reported to be opposed to any precipitate action in West Bengal. She is understood to be reluctant to re-

peat her own Kerala performance, for she must have realised that it would mean the end of the Congress as a political force in West Bengal. The recent landslide victory of the United Front in the Howrah Municipality in which the Congress has been routed from the majority that it commanded before, has also been taken note of by the sober sections at the Centre. For it indicates that with all the torments let loose against it, the present United Front Ministry commands overwhelming mass support in West Bengal. To enforce the President's Rule in such a situation may very well end up in a semi-martial law regime, which will have its chain-reaction in other States.

Whether the Hawks or the Doves would win at the Centre—much will depend on Sri Chavan's political wisdom—Sri Dharam Vira with his experience of handling a motley crowd of politicians in Punjab and Haryana and having the confidence of the Prime Minister, promises to emerge as the advance base commander of Central operation in the Left-ridden State of West Bengal.

May 30

N. C.

Budget and Development

BALRAJ MEHTA

IT was perhaps inevitable in the prevailing situation that the first popular reaction to and judgement on Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai's much-awaited Budget should be in terms of its impact on prices. After all, the common man has suffered the most from price spiral and food scarcity for well over three years now.

The imposition of excise duties, in most cases quite steep, which are estimated to bring in to the Government an additional revenue of as much as Rs. 115.52 crores in a full year and which cover among other things what are regarded as items of mass consumption such as tea, coffee,

cigarettes, footwear and some classes of textiles is therefore disconcerting. When their effect was immediately felt in the upswing of prices in the market and belied the claims that their entire burden will not be passed on to the consumer, the popular reaction to the Budget has become more perceptibly hostile.

But revenue raising, though in itself important and sizeable, is hardly the most significant aspect of the conception and structure of the Morarji Budget. The imposition of additional levies of this order was essentially a concomitant to the overall consideration to balance the Budget on the basis of a level of expenditure,

inspite of every effort at pruning, from which Sri Desai just could not escape. He did go very far in displaying his earnestness to peg the expenditure at as low a level as possible. He had already proclaimed his intention of avoiding deficit financing and of keeping the size of the annual plan and the developmental expenditure strictly within the existing resources whatever the consequences. He did not deflect from this and as a measure of his earnestness even made a token cut of Rs. six crores in the sacrosanct head of Defence expenditure. And yet he had to find additional resources to satisfy the clamour, though still partially, of the State

governments for larger Central assistance for their plans and for relief measures.

In selecting the commodities for his levies too Morarji tried to be extremely careful. A sizeable portion of the revenue is proposed to be derived from such items as artificial or synthetic resins and plastic materials, rayon and synthetic fibres and yarn, aluminium and fine and superfine cotton fabrics which cannot be directly classified as of mass consumer interest. In selecting tea, coffee and cigarettes for his levies he could in justification claim the compelling needs of export promotion in addition to their being somewhat of a luxury even in the common man's budget and therefore the kind of items whose domestic consumption might be restricted or made more costly to a certain extent in the interests of augmenting revenue resources as well as foreign-exchange earnings. In any case Sri Morarji Desai unlike budgetary practices in the past several years did not throw his net over a wide field of production and consumption which would give a general upward push to the price level. In the present case the task of keeping a watch over a small number of commodities covered by his tax levies will obviously be more manageable.

Price Adjustment

The entire approach and conception of Sri Morarji Desai so far as the limited aspect of taxation in his budget is concerned will succeed or fail to the extent he is able to make good his forceful assertion that the prices of aluminium, rayon and synthetic fibres will not be allowed to be increased by their producers because in his view it should be possible for the producers to absorb the increase in excise duties in their own profit margins. Any adjustment in their prices, he has said, would be contingent on prior consultations with the Government and he has promised appropriate remedial action if on such consultation it was found that some change in prices for the consumers had become necessary.

In fact the expectation of the Finance Minister and his officers

appears to be that already a situation is in the offing in which prices might actually begin to sag on a wide front and the producers will not be in a position by the normal play of market forces itself to pass on the entire burden of excise duties to the consumer.

Different Assumption

Such an assumption is totally different from the past experience and has proved to be false on the present occasion too, considering the immediate mark up of prices of most consumer items touched by Sri Morarji's duties. But it is obviously based on the recessionary tendencies already operating in some industries, on the large-scale erosion of incomes and purchasing power of the people on account of price spiral and failure of crops in the past two years and finally on his overall budgetary policy with a clear anti-inflationary approach to the point of being deflationary so far as government expenditure specially on investments and developmental activities is concerned.

It is in this light that the tax element in the Morarji budget should be taken as the least important part of its overall structure and is of the character of a peripheral or a rounding off exercise. It presents a total contrast to what he did in his last budget prior to being Kamarajed in 1963. In that budget, the huge tax levies and other devices of mopping up the national resources, — among them the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and the Gold Control—determined its essential character and was conditioned by the objective of pushing forward with the task of national development together with meeting the greatly increased Defence expenditure, both under the leadership of the State. He was then persuaded to find adequate resources to finance the expenditure of the Government both for Defence and development and he did it with all thoroughness, though as it now appears with a certain degree of recklessness as well. But there is no gainsaying the fact that but for that Budget, the capacity of the Government to do even as much as it has done in

economic development and Defence build up (and that is not saying much) would have been curtailed and severely limited much earlier.

The wheel has turned full circle since then. Chastened by his past experience and faced by a much more difficult economic situation than in 1963 he has on this occasion chosen not to take upon himself the task of finding all the resources at all costs. He has readily agreed to sacrifice development in the public sector and to have a fresh look even at the Defence expenditure to divest himself of taking on too much burden. Left to himself he would not have liked to make even the extent of resource raising effort he has made. But he had to reckon with the political pressures from the States for additional assistance and could not just wash his hands off the already established commitments in economic development.

Difference in Situation

There is undoubtedly a vast difference in the situation four years ago and now when Sri Morarji Desai has again been called upon to head the management of Indian economy in the Government. In 1963, though visibly shaken by the NEFA debacle, the people and the country were still actuated by the grandiose but inspiring scheme of development and industrialisation and doubling the level of living of the masses in a span of 25 years—a scheme which inspite of many heart-breaks, weaknesses and set-backs had made some headway in the past half a dozen years. The leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru was still available and the development commitment was still strong though already begun to be challenged by the vested interests. Today Sri Morarji has before him the planned development in shambles and is not under any obligation to subserve its purposes through his budgetary policies.

But inspite of these vast differences in the two situations, one important plank remained common to both and that is the similarity of approach and

policy towards resource raising. The repeated proclamations by the Congress leadership about democratic socialism notwithstanding, it has remained dead set against any radical measures to bring actual resources within the economy in the possession of the State which would enable the State to exercise that strategic leadership over the process of development which is admittedly necessary in order to make a success of it. Even when in 1963, Sri Morarji Desai showed so much zeal and courage to raise large resources for the State and to that extent blocked to a certain extent the flow of the savings of the community into the private sector which was highly irksome for it, he did it by only the method of indirect and direct taxes or other similar devices.

Helplessness

Again in 1967 when development under the aegis of the State in the public sector is no longer considered a compelling charge on the resources and Sri Morarji Desai has willingly left it to the private sector to undertake this responsibility with whatever help the State is in a position to give—which for the time being at least is only marginal and not at all satisfying for the men of business—he had to, much against his inclination, resort to only the method of levying the excise duties to raise absolutely minimum resources for the State he could to meet commitments he was unable to escape. The utter helplessness of the Finance Minister can be seen from the fact that though he proclaimed as an article of faith that development itself must be slowed down if it cannot be financed by non-inflationary methods of resource raising, he had to levy excises on some of the important items of mass consumption and acquiesce in a price spurt in these and related areas.

There is, however, one notable difference between 1963 and 1967. Both the rich and poor were attempted to be tax soaked on the previous occasion as indeed on all occasions except the present one. Recourse was always

taken in the past to levy indirect taxes on commodities as well as direct taxes on personal incomes and corporations in different proportions. On this occasion, Sri Desai has relied only on indirect taxes and let off the personal incomes and the corporate sector completely, indeed has given some marginal concessions to the latter. He was clearly not expected to maintain the old proportion as between indirect and direct taxes merely out of respect for equity when he was proposing a freeze on development and economic activity of the State in the public sector and inviting the private sector to revive its activity to the maximum extent possible.

Traditional Method

It is a matter of some significance for the existing social and economic set-up that even the political intervention of the ruling party itself on grounds of its very political future could not shake the Government to depart from this traditional method of resource raising. The Congress Working Committee's latest Resolution on taking certain measures to speed up the building of what is called democratic socialism has evoked cynicism among a large section of the people. But it is undeniable that even if the Resolution may have very little relevance to the establishment of genuine socialism, it does call for speeding up the process of expansion of the public sector and does propose a departure in this respect from the leisurely method of raising tax resources to finance public sector projects in favour of outright acquisition of certain key areas such as general insurance, external and internal trade and indirectly even the banking system.

Such acquisition, not only expands the public sector in the structure of the economy but together with suitable pricing policies for public-sector products and services also places in the hands of the State large financial and monetary resources to finance other developmental activities too, both in the Central and the

State sector. This can have the merit also of obviating very considerably the need to resort to taxation on commodities to raise financial resources and taxation can in that event be taken recourse to mainly as a lever to level off personal incomes and syphon off profits of corporations and achieve other desired social objectives. In the light of such considerations, the latest Resolution of the Congress Working Committee has a positive significance and relevance to the present-day obligations and problems of economic development and need not be treated with only scepticism provided, of course, it is seriously meant and is implemented with vigour. Sri Morarji Desai's Budget not only totally ignores this Resolution but goes against its very direction and spirit.

Severe Limitations

It has been said that considering the present difficult economic situation and the pressures making for instability that have built up in its working in the past two years or so, Sri Morarji Desai had very little area for manoeuvre and innovation. If he is to remain wedded to traditional policies in resource-raising and his essential conservatism will not permit him to treat the existing social and economic system not only as given but as unalterable, he certainly had to reckon with severe limitations in budget-making.

He has certainly balanced the Budget. But that required no special merit or economic wizardry on his part. It was quite simple to arrive at the balance in revenue receipts and revenue expenditure by just drawing a line against any step up in economic development under the aegis of the State. This is precisely what he has done. In fact, he has made outright stagnation, even slide back on development by keeping the developmental outlay strictly at the level of the last year which in physical terms would be much smaller than last year and a sharp decline over the last year of the Third Plan.

If in resource-raising Sri

Morarji Desai accepted severe restraints on his area of manoeuvrability by setting his face against any innovation or by making a break with traditional policies of resource-raising, he had the field wide open on this occasion in setting his own direction to economic policy, which would have significance in terms of not just the financial year for which this budget will be valid but over a longer period.

The annual budget in a system of long-term economic planning has its importance but it has to remain subservient to the overall strategy of planned growth and the structure and objectives of a plan. That was broadly the position so long as planned development was functioning in the management of Indian economy. It came generally speaking to an end with the close of the Third Plan. With the debacle of the Planning Commission and the collapse of efforts at formulating

the Fourth Plan till now the Budget has acquired the pre-eminence it enjoys on unplanned economies. Unlike 1963 when Sri Desai had to reckon with squaring up his budget with the process of planned development, he has been free of all such restraints and obligations in 1967.

The 1967 Budget is therefore not just an exercise at balancing the revenue and expenditure side of the Government for the current financial year and is not designed merely as a step in the long-term scheme of economic development. Sri Morarji Desai on the present occasion did not have only to lay down the tactics to achieve the strategic aims of planned growth but actually influence the future course of economic policy and development itself. Indeed, this is more important and significant aspect than his taxation proposals and the balance for the current year which he has proposed in his Budget. He quite frankly

affirms that much at the very outset of his Budget speech.

His interim Budget presented in March had already accomplished the strictly budgetary tasks of estimating revenue receipts and expenditures and very marginal modifications have been made in that in the full Budget now presented. The new taxation proposals have merely taken care of balancing these modifications. He therefore said straightaway that his main "purpose" in presenting this budget was to present "a fuller picture of the Government's budgetary policies as well as the general economic policies". It is his presentation of the general economic policies, in the absence of a plan either in operation or in preparation at the present time, which should command more attention than normally the budget speech would do. They require to be fully and carefully examined.

(To be Continued)

P S P: Which Way?

C. N. CHITTA RANJAN

THE Praja Socialist Party constantly amazes political pundits by its capacity for survival. With a stagnant mass base except in a few pockets, it has nevertheless managed to retain its position in Parliament and improve it in some States. It is

This is the second of a series of articles on political parties' role in the new national context. The aim of the articles is to provoke a fruitful discussion. The first piece in the series dealt with Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's role in Left politics.—Ed.

participating in three non-Congress State Governments—UP, West Bengal and Bihar. Considering the fact that it has more leaders than followers and that it has often failed to identify itself with the progressive movement in the country as a whole, its survival must be deemed one of the imponderables in modern Indian politics.

Self-righteousness is the outstanding quality of this party which Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, with his penchant for the picturesque phrase, once described as the Paralysed Socialist Party.

Its leadership, or what is still left of it, is entirely convinced that it is the only party in India which stands genuinely for both democracy and socialism. It is now and then willing grudgingly to concede second place to the Samyukta Socialist Party, no doubt due to past associations rather than to any tangible identity of outlook or purpose. Even so, the PSP does not cease to talk as often as possible of unity among socialist and democratic parties, making it clear every time that it does not include either of the two Communist

Parties in this definition. It pathetically strives to bring about unity between itself and the SSP despite the latter's repeated rebuffs.

Soon after the elections the PSP's National Executive adopted a resolution which noted that "significant gains have been achieved on the one hand by parties of vested interests who are unequivocally against socialism and planned economic development and on the other by parties who are by definition for a totalitarian dictatorship." Having thus dismissed the Swatantra Party and the two Communist Parties at one stroke, the National Executive went on to record that it would be its endeavour "to thwart such parties in their attempts to destroy socialism and democracy in India, while earnestly striving to promote and strengthen the unity of all forces, groups and parties committed to nationalism, democracy and socialism." The party naturally preferred a "socialist bloc" in Parliament comprising itself and the SSP and including individuals considered eligible by the former's standards. Such an exclusive attitude naturally led to the PSP leaders being surprised at the SSP's move for all-out "Opposition consolidation" including in its ambit such widely disparate elements as the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh on the one hand and the CPI and the CPM on the other.

Isolated from Mainstream

On purely ideological grounds the SSP's position is certainly vulnerable. But so is the PSP's, for by sticking to its own definition of who are democratic socialists and who are not, it circumscribes the area of co-operation and rigidly excludes the Communist Parties from it. That its Brahminical attitude only isolates it more and more from the mainstream of the Leftist movement does not appear to cause concern at least to part of its leadership. Nor does its posture of ideological purity prevent it from finding itself clearly within the camp of the parties of Right reaction on many matters of

foreign policy. The basis of ideology—if it can indeed be so described—is antipathy to Communism inherited from leaders who have since deserted the party, outstanding among them being Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan and Sri Asoka Mehta.

So far internal economic policies are concerned, there is little to distinguish the PSP—at any rate on paper—from the SSP, the CPI and the CPM on the one hand, and the Congress on the other. Even in its recent Bangalore resolutions it called for nationalisation of banks, State trading in foodgrains and so on. Nevertheless it finds it impossible to cooperate with other parties with the same or similar aims. It is willing to include the Bangla Congress, which is yet to establish itself firmly as a Left party, in its scheme of democratic socialist unity, but it will not countenance similar cooperation with the two Communist Parties which, whatever their differences, are committed to the very same programmes.

Links with American Lobby

It is no secret that some of the PSP leaders, past and present, have had close connections with the American lobby in India. Their association with the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Research Service has not been quite forgotten in the country. Nevertheless it would be wrong to imagine that the whole party as such is committed to the West or its agents in India. Some of the PSP's present leaders are anti-Communist not because they are Western stooges but because they have chosen to convince themselves that the Communists are out to disrupt and destroy democracy and are not to be trusted on any account. It matters little to them that the CPI denounced the Chinese Communists for engaging in aggression on our country, or that both the CPI and the CPM have participated in the General Election just like any other political party and have undertaken the onerous responsibility of running governments in some States despite the explosive economic situation and

the attendant uncertainties in terms of fulfilling their promises to the people.

But the PSP leaders' inability to reconcile themselves to the reality of political life in relation to the Communists is not surprising in view of the fact that they are unable to work out an equation even with the SSP with many of whose leaders and members the PSP has close connections. It will be remembered that on the trade union front a split arose between these two parties because of the discovered Western influence over the Hind Mazdoor Sabha which was being actively promoted by that notorious international anti-Communist racketeer, the ICFTU. The SSP found it necessary to sever all its connections with the HMS and start the HMP solely on this account. If leaders of the SSP continue to hope for close connections—or even possible merger—between the two parties, it is chiefly because the SSP men know that some of the PSP's leaders and the bulk of its rank and file are honestly dedicated to socialism and no attempt should be spared to enlist their cooperation. Perhaps a successful merger could have been achieved leading possibly to the elimination of the pronouncedly pro-West elements in the PSP—if only Dr Ram Manohar Lohia was not in the habit of springing unpleasant surprises all the time and had not insisted, directly or indirectly, on the acceptance of his own wisdom as the ultimate in socialist thinking.

Unrealistic Posture

So the love-hate relationship between the PSP and the SSP appears destined to continue for a long time to come. Meanwhile the PSP by its wholly unrealistic posture of holiness, is bound to dwindle in size and importance. Defections are not new to the PSP: many of its adherents have joined the SSP or the Congress. And among those still left in the Party, both viewpoints are fully represented, so that further defections cannot be ruled out. It is no secret that many of the Asoka Mehta school

did not leave with him but continue to keep the party's anti-Communist line alive. The frequent moves for unity talks with the SSP would indicate equally that sympathisers of the SSP also continue to be influential in the PSP. The latter might have been successful in their repeated efforts to bring about a merger but for the forbidding presence of Dr Lohia at the top of the SSP and the misconceived militancy of some of his followers.

Strange Attitude

It must be noted that even while deciding to participate in coalition governments the PSP made its mental reservations known. The National Executive said in its relevant resolution: "The National Executive wishes to make it clear that participation in a coalition will not in any way fetter the freedom of the Party to criticize the actions of the constituent parties of the coalition." If it is dissatisfied with the functioning of any coalition government it is of course open to the PSP to quit; if, for instance, any vital part of an accepted programme is not implemented, there can be no question of not protesting and walking out. But the resolution speaks of freedom to criticise other partners in the coalition: this can only be taken to mean that the PSP wants to be free to attack the Communists and others without regard for the successful functioning of the coalition governments concerned. It is a strange attitude to adopt, to say the least. The PSP Ministers who are due to meet in Delhi in a few days will no doubt have to consider the position in the light of their brief experience in the coalition governments of three States. It is to be hoped that a realistic assessment unaffected by years of anti-Communism will emerge.

The PSP leaders must realise—and so must those of the SSP—that in the rank and file of the two parties there are many workers who feel strongly that if only the two parties had united and worked as one before the elections the combined party would have emerged much stronger, incidentally strengthening the Left

further in the country. There is disillusionment at the continuing quarrels at the top, due largely to personal equations. The SSP, in terms of legislative strength and following in the States, is in a much stronger position than the PSP. In fact, the PSP has been successful only in those States where the SSP has not yet established roots. The possibility of which the PSP leadership should take note is that if they are unable to overcome their personal predilections, get rid of anti-working class elements that have gained a foothold in the party and work earnestly towards forging genuine socialist unity, the best of their remaining cadres will either drift into the better organised and more purposeful Leftist parties or prefer to go into the wilderness. It is such a development that the pro-American elements in the party are eagerly awaiting, for then it will be easy to convert the PSP into a full-fledged American lobby group working in unison with the Swatantra Party and other parties of Right reaction. In short, it is up to the leaders of the PSP to decide whether the Party should justify its socialist nomenclature or let things drift to enable the Party to become part of the bandwagon of private capital. The answer must be clear to those in the Party who, despite their dislike of Communism based on outworn ideas of "totalitarian dictatorship" are honest in the conviction that the only valid road for India is the socialist road. The Rightists in the country are hopeful that the socialists in the PSP will be ineffective—which is why Sri S.K. Patil chose to certify after the General Election that the PSP is a "democratic" party, thus placing it in the same category as the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh, the only other parties which have the honour of having obtained similar certificates from that inveterate spokesman of vested interests.

Against Popular Struggles

The members of the PSP and those connected with the trade union organisations run by that party must seriously ponder over

the role the party and its affiliates played during momentous popular struggles in the last few years. The PSP stood alongside those forces which were opposed to bundhs and hartals in support of serious and genuine popular grievances. Its president went to the extent of describing these popular agitations as an "invitation to anarchy" without spelling out how precisely the mounting discontent of the people was to be met. The entire Left was participating in these agitations, which apart from other things paved the way for the rout of the Congress in the elections; but the PSP did not want to soil its hands although it had no objection later to taking credit for the achievement.

Need for Fresh Look

There is urgent need, then, for the members of the PSP to engage in some heartsearching. It is not enough to continue functioning on the basis of prejudices built up during 1940-42, however legitimate these might have been at that time. There is need to take a fresh look at the new situation that has unfolded itself in the country, with the Right steadily consolidating itself with the aim of capturing power at the Centre and the Left still confused, split and lacking clear direction. It is time for the PSP to decide where it stands, which road it will take. If it imagines that it can continue in its ivory tower monotonously repeating the catch-phrases bequeathed to it by Sri Asoka Mehta and company, it is in for the final disillusionment. If, on the other hand, it sheds its complexes and joins hands unreservedly with the Leftist forces, it can be proud of having made a positive contribution to Left consolidation which is bound to lead to the achievement of the democratic socialist society which it is never tired of asserting to be its goal.

The latest hopeful sign is the decision of the HMS to join hands with the rest of the trade union movement in calling for observance of Bombay Bundh on June 14. Let us hope it marks the beginning of a new, propitious chapter in the life of the PSP.

The Programme of Swadeshi

INDULAL YAJNIK

GANDHIJI never asked the British Government to stop the import of foreign cloth or other foreign goods when he launched a nation-wide Swadeshi movement in 1920-21. It would be equally useless to urge the Congress rulers either at the Centre or in the States to carry out any genuine Swadeshi programme. Today however three-fifth of the country is ruled by non-Congress Governments, which would undoubtedly help the patriotic millions in the land to carry out an effective boycott of foreign food and loans.

Foreign Goods

Let us begin with the boycott of foreign goods before taking up the more difficult task of boycotting of foreign food. Now all right-minded persons would gladly agree to the boycott of superfine varieties of cloth and clothes as well as foreign fineries and fantastic luxury articles like air-conditioners, frigidaire, television sets, hair oils, cosmetics, puff-powder and lip-stick which consume a lot of foreign exchange without doing any good to anybody. Then there are different varieties of cloth made in India from foreign yarn and fibres and other consumer goods made by Indian firms with foreign collaboration. All such cloth including nylon, terylene and tere-cotton should be firmly boycotted by all true nationalists to end the bondage of foreign capitalists.

The so-called "made in India" goods manufactured or marketed

by Indian branches or affiliates of foreign monopolies, pose an even greater danger to our freedom. Hindustan Lever Soaps and Dalda, tooth-brushes and tooth-pastes of Colgate, Binaca, Kolynos etc., Britannia bread and biscuits, medical products of Imperial Chemical Company, Coca-Cola¹ and Fanta soft-drinks, Lipton and Brook-bond teas, Bata Shoes² and engineering goods of foreign companies are some of the India-made foreign company products that beat down similar genuine swadeshi goods with their lavish advertisements and highpower salesmanship. It may be difficult but not impossible to eschew these goods which are helping the foreign monopolists dig their foundation deep in our soil. Some discomfort is a small price to pay for our economic independence.

Special mention must be made in this connection of the wide net-work of innumerable petrol pumps installed in the cities and rural areas by the three foreign oil companies, ESSO, Caltex and Burmah-Shell. Let them be content with refining oil at their refineries according to their agreement with the Government. But surely they cannot be permitted to distribute these products through their widespread petrol pumps which blazon forth their oil empire over the land. If the Central Government fails to wake up betimes the non-Congress Governments must strive to make the strictest rules for regulating the minimum distance between any oil pumps. The whole country must unite to vest all oil distribution rights in the Government or any Indian

Agencies and forbid these oil monopolists from virtually flying their imperial flags at innumerable points in India.

"Must" For Nationalists

The boycott of foreign wheat and other foodgrains should be a big "must" for every true nationalist. For every shipment of foreign foodgrain adds to the hundreds of crores in the hands of the American Embassy at Delhi. And as they do not care to buy our goods and manufacture with this money, they feel free to abuse it to interfere with and meddle in our political economic, educational and cultural life.

Now this boycott is not as difficult as it might appear at

1. The Supreme Court of USA has described Coca-Cola as an "adulterated and misbranded" drink. It did not contain any Coca and that it (caffeine) is an added ingredient in the product. Dr Mccay an American scientist has stated: "I was amazed to learn that the beverage (Coca-Cola) contained substantial quantities of phosphoric acid...we put human teeth in a Cola beverage and found they softened and started to dissolve within a short period."

2. "Bata's rubber or other shoes would be foreign though the labour employed may be all Indian and the capital also found in India. The manufacturers will be doubly foreign because the control will be in foreign hands, and the article, no matter how cheap it is, will oust the village tanner mostly and the village mochi always. Already the mochies of Bihar have begun to feel the unhealthy competition. Bata Shoes may be the saving of Europe. It will mean the death of village shoe makers and tanners"—*Cent per Cent Swadeshi* by M.K. Gandhi, page 79.

This contribution is to be regarded as a continuation of the author's article, "A Call for Swadeshi" published in Mainstream (April 15, 1967).

first sight. Of course India will get and use all the wheat etc. for which contracts have been signed. And as even the Government has promised agrarian self-sufficiency by 1971, it must naturally reduce progressively all foodgrain imports during the next few years. The nation must, however gird its loins to boycott all wheat etc. imported after the end of the present famine period for the following reasons:

Firstly, 75 million tons produced in the country last year, and the additional 15 million tons imported since from foreign countries should be more than sufficient to feed all our 500 million people. Secondly, it is quite obvious to all impartial critics that a good part of our agrarian produce is cornered by black marketeers who use their crores of black money for the purpose. Any diligent and efficient Government should get hold of these monstrous stocks and place them at the service of the people. Thirdly, an authority of the Government Food Laboratory at Bangalore is reliably reported to have stated that only 55 million tons of food-grains should be quite sufficient to feed all our 50 crores and all the acute deficit felt today was due to the human rats who rob the nation of its priceless food.

Seizing Black Market

Thus the whole problem can be solved by seizing all the stocks cornered by black marketeers at any cost. While all the Congress Governments are wobbly in the matter, we may expect non-Congress Governments to take the sternest measures to this end with the spontaneous and zealous cooperation of rural and urban masses.

Even so, the country with its vast area and national resources must increase its food production. Here again the first priority should be given to agrarian reforms. At least the non-Congress Governments must strive to see that tenants are given fixity of tenure, ceiling laws are enacted and rigorously enforced, all surplus and fallow land is quickly distributed among the backward classes and land-

less labourers. While the first priority should be given to canals, the full potential of our irrigation canals should be fully utilised by providing a network of sub-channels to irrigate every farm in the command area.

Then, electricity should be more liberally provided to farms for pumping water from wells than to new industries cropping up in the area. The digging of wells and the provision of pumping sets should be adequately subsidised by all Governments under the pressure of growing public opinion.

Artificial Manure

For securing better food production, the Government has concentrated all its attention on the import of chemical fertilisers and on setting up big plants for their production. But serious consideration should be paid to the unfavourable opinions of agricultural scientists on the ill-effects of such manure. For instance Sir Albert Howard, a British scientist states; "Artificial manures lead inevitably to artificial nutrition, artificial food, artificial animals and finally artificial men and women." Sir Albert on the other hand strongly recommends the use of organic manure-compost made of human and animal, vegetable and plant waste, for increasing the real fertility of the soil. The noted scientist Dr Selman A. Waksman one of the discoverers of streptomycin, writes: "Plant deficiency diseases are usually less severe in the soil well supplied with organic matter—because of antagonistic effects of the various soil micro-organisms which become more active in the presence of an abundance of organic matter." The key to soil fertility does not lie in fertilisers, but in returning to the earth what is of the earth, that is enriching the soil by organic manuring. The intensive use of chemical fertilisers has in recent years sapped the fertility of vast areas in USA with the result that nearly 66 percent of American soil has been converted into a dust bowl. No wonder the US Agriculture Secretary, said recently that five years ago

his country had a surplus of a billion and a half bushels of wheat (40.5 million tons) but today it had only 500 million bushels, (13.5 million tons)."³

With these weighty opinions and facts before them the Government and the people need not make a precipitate dash for chemical fertilisers. And though we may not go all the way to boycott these fertilisers, we should concentrate our attention first and foremost on collecting and returning to the land all the many crores worth organic manure that is wasted in our vast rural areas. Compost manure is collected by many local bodies and used by farmers. But it represents an infinitesimal part of the total organic manure that is traditionally left to be swept away by the winds or to pollute the village air. So the non-Congress Governments and people alike must gird their loins to see that every particle of organic matter is carefully collected in pits and used by farmers in their adjacent farms.

Responsibility of the Awakened

When Gandhiji proclaimed the boycott of foreign cloth he asked the rich and poor alike and specially the millions of unemployed to take to the spinning wheel and the hand-loom to produce sufficient cloth for the nation. Similarly the boycott of foreign food can be successfully carried out by a national movement of mass collection of all organic manure available in the countryside. The village people and their Panchayats undoubtedly take a lead in the movement. But age-old superstitions and the spectre of untouchability have prevented them from using the golden manure that lies at their doorstep, and that has been used for centuries by Japan, China and many other countries of South East Asia. The more awakened people of the towns and cities must therefore march to the villages to help them with the

3. For fuller understanding of the question readers are referred to a booklet on "Fertilisers Bring Famine, Not Food" published by Rashtrahit Prakashan, New Delhi.

national job on Sundays and holidays, if they are determined to end the slavery of foreign foodgrains. Incidentally the urban and the rural folk working shoulder to shoulder in this national movement will be so united in spirit and comradeship that they will march together in serried ranks, when necessary, in any political demonstrations or for guarding the frontiers of the motherland.

Turning to the Himalayan mountain of foreign debts, it is first necessary to examine closely the benefit derived from these loans. According to one authority⁴ the American monopolists put an average of some 300 million dollars a year in the economy of developing countries like ours and take away from them annually from 1500 to 2000 million dollars in profits and dividends. Annual payment by these countries on the loans advanced to them amount to 2000 million dollars a year. When to this is added unfavourable balance of trade and the loss due to the excess of profits taken out of the country over the influx of new capital, the total sum will amount to approximately 6000 million dollars that is, a sum equal to the entire volume of credit and subsidies granted by all the capitalist countries.

According to another author about 1000 million dollars are loaned to D (developing) countries for improving the standard of life of their inhabitants. But the crucial fact is often concealed: that these countries from their own currency earnings repay the rich countries about 3000 million dollars in interest and instalments on foreign loans. The classic shylock would not—perhaps the modern world—pretend that this was aid.⁵

Needless to state ours is one of the unfortunate developing countries that is literally bled white by the modern shylocks whose loans and investments are pushing us deeper every day into the quagmire of bankruptcy. The Americans are the worst shylocks whose loans are mostly used for boosting the private sector of American, Indian or mixed industries.

What is worse the USA Government, not content with exploiting our resources to the utmost makes no secret of changing the entire pattern of our economy in favour of private enterprise. It was no accident that the recent visit of the President of the World Bank to this country coincided with the decontrol of steel and delicensing of important sectors of industry. The American capitalists after keeping us in tenterhooks for long, on assistance to the Bokaro plant, finally turned it down as it was to be set up wholly in the public sector. The American pressure for twisting and turning our economy in their direction is mounting every day.

No self-respecting Indian can tolerate the addition of a single dollar to the foreign loans which are designed to push us down the inclined plane to bankruptcy. All tempting loans should be rigorously trimmed down. Offers of machinery and other imports can be accepted only on condition that their value would be recovered from the import of our goods and machines. All strategic materials required for running some of our industries will be imported from socialist countries or will be replaced by similar indigenous materials.

How to deal with our commitments on the past accumulated loans? We should boldly proclaim a moratorium on the payment of all interest and instalment charges in foreign currency, as we would not care for any more loans from them for any future

plans. Our shylocks might fret and fume for a while before they sit down to negotiate the best methods of securing their dues by the new methods suggested by us.

Unfortunately there is no chance of our Central Government adopting any such determined policy: It will therefore be the bounden duty of the non-Congress Governments and the patriotic masses of India to raise their strident voice against the influx of enslaving foreign capital into their areas. *Swadeshi Sabhas* self-reliance bodies or anti-imperialist organisations should be formed to cooperate with all patriotic parties to issue leaflets and pamphlets to bring home to the people the ravages of the unashamed loot carried on by the foreign imperialists in the name of aid and loans. The press and the platform should ring with nationalist appeals to break the strangle hold of foreign capital and foodgrains which already threaten our dearly-brought freedom.

We shouted the slogan *Quit India* in the ears of the Britishers in 1942. It is now time that we gave all imperialists, and above all the American tycoons, a notice to quit India in this year of grace, 1967—exactly one hundred and ten years after the first shots were fired in the Indian War of Independence in 1857.

4. See *Two Policies*, Soviet News and Views.

5. See "In Twenty years" by Gunnar Andresson, pages 197-198.

F A M I N E !

Three and half crores of our brothers and sisters are in the grip of hunger and thirst in the fair land of Bihar.

Save Them From the Jaws of Death

Send All You Can

to

Secretary, Bihar Famine Relief Fund, Department
of Revenue, Government of Bihar, Secretariat,
Patna

or to

Bihar Relief Committee,
Sadaqat Ashram, Patna-10

Financial Resources for the Fourth Plan

P. C. VERMA

THE purpose of this article is to analyse the implications of provisions regarding mobilisation of financial resources for the Fourth Plan as envisaged in the Draft Outline.

Resource Mobilisation by Whole Economy

The Draft Outline proposes mobilisation of Rs. 23,750 crores which amounts to Rs. 21,780 crores at the pre-devaluation exchange value of rupee. This implies stepping up financial resources in the Fourth Plan by 71.1% over that in the Third Plan. Moreover, the stepping up of financial resources of the Fourth Plan over the Third exceeds that of the Third Plan over the Second Plan by 7.4 percentage points.

Of the total financial resources for the Fourth Plan, the Draft outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 16,000 crores by the public sector and Rs. 7,750 crores by the private sector, which amount to Rs. 14,280 crores and Rs. 7,500 crores respectively at pre-devaluation exchange value of rupee. This implies stepping up of financial resources in the Fourth Plan over the Third by 65.4% through the public sector and by 82.9% through the private sector. Thus the stepping up of mobilisation by the private sector is envisaged to be greater than that by the public sector by 17.5 percentage points. In comparison to this, in the case of the Third Plan, the stepping up of resources by the public sector was larger by 52.5 percentage points. Further, stepping up of mobilisation by public sector in the Fourth Plan

is envisaged to be smaller than that in the Third Plan by 19.3 percentage points. But in the case of the private sector, it is envisaged to be higher by 50.7 percentage points.

The public sector bears a larger responsibility than the private sector in mobilisation of financial resources for the Plans. The Draft Outline envisages a contribution of 65.6% by the public sector and of 34.4% by the private sector, so that the contribution of the public sector exceeds that of the private sector by 31.2 percentage points. However, in comparison to the share in mobilisation of financial resources in the Third Plan, provision of the Draft Plan imply reduction in the share of the public sector but increment in the share of the private sector by 2.2 percentage points in the Fourth Plan. Consequently, the excess share of the public sector over the private sector in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to decline by 4.4 percentage points in comparison to the excess share in the Third Plan. Share of the public sector was greater than that of the private sector by 35.6 percentage points in the Third Plan.

Further, the public sector bears a larger responsibility than the private sector in contribution to the increase of financial resources in Plans. The Draft Outline envisages contribution of 62.4% by the public sector and 37.6% by the private sector to the increase of financial resources in the Fourth Plan over the Third. Share of the public sector is envisaged to be greater than that of the private sector by 24.8 percentage points. However, the share of the public sector in contribution to increase of financial

resources in the Fourth Plan is proposed to decline, while that of the private sector is proposed to increase in comparison to their respective shares in increase of financial resources in the Third Plan by 17.4 percentage points. Consequently, excess of share of the public sector in increase of financial resources is envisaged to decline by 34.8 percentage points in the Fourth Plan in comparison to that in the Third Plan. Share of the public sector in the increase of financial resources was greater than that of the private sector in the Third Plan by 59.6 percentage points.

Resource Mobilisation by Public Sector

Financial resources of the public sector comprise domestic financial resources, deficit finance and external assistance.

(i) *Domestic Financial Resources:* Domestic sources have been assigned a major task in the mobilisation of resources in the Fourth Plan in the Draft Outline. The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 11,300 crores through domestic sources. This implies a stepping up of domestic financial resources in the Fourth Plan by 124.8%. This stepping up is proposed to be greater than that in the Third Plan by 36.6 percentage points. The Draft Outline envisages a contribution of 79.1% to the financial resources of the public sector through domestic sources in the Fourth Plan. Contribution by domestic sources in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to be greater than that in the Third Plan by 20.9 percentage points. Moreover, the Draft Outline envisages greater increase in domestic financial resources of the public sector

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than that of the total financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan. Consequently, more than 100% of increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan is contributed by domestic sources. Compared to this, the domestic sources contributed 59.5% to increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Third Plan.

(ii) *Deficit Finance:* Deficit financing has been an important source of finance of the public sector in the Plans. The Draft Outline altogether avoids deficit financing in the Fourth Plan. In the Third Plan, deficit financing contributed 13.3% of the total financial resources of the public sector. Further, of the total increase in financial resources of the public sector in the Third Plan, deficit finance contributed 5%.

Draft Outline

(iii) *External Assistance:* The Draft Outline envisages a contribution of Rs. 4,700 crores through external assistance in the Fourth Plan which amounts to Rs. 2,980 crores at the pre-devaluation exchange rate. This implies a stepping up of external assistance by 21.3% in the Fourth Plan over the Third. Moreover, the stepping up of external assistance in the Fourth Plan is proposed to be smaller than that in the Third Plan by 112.7 percentage points. Share of external assistance in mobilisation of resources in the Plans has been considerable. The Draft Outline, however, envisages a decline in the share of external assistance in the Fourth Plan in mobilisation of the financial resources. External assistance is proposed to contribute 20.9% to the financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan which is smaller than that in the Third by 7.5 percentage points. External assistance has also been contributing significantly to the increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Plans. But the Draft Outline envisages considerable decline in contribution by external assistance to increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan. It will be 9.2%—which is

lower by 26.3 percentage points than its contribution in the Third Plan.

(iv) *Financial Resources Excluding External Assistance:* These measure magnitude of self-reliance in mobilisation of resources. In the case of the Fourth Plan, it amounts to domestic financial resources only, as deficit financing has been avoided altogether. Financial resources excluding external assistance of the public sector in the Fourth Plan are envisaged to be stepped up by 83.0% over that in the Third Plan. This is greater than that in Third Plan by 12.6 percentage points. Contribution through this source is proposed to be 79.1% to the total financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan which is greater than that in the Third Plan by 7.5 percentage points. Self-reliance in increasing financial resources if the public sector is envisaged to be more in the Fourth Plan. The contribution by financial resources excluding external assistance to the increase in the total financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to be 90.8%, which is greater than its corresponding share in case of the Third Plan by 26.3 percentage points.

Domestic Financial Resources of Public Sector

Domestic financial resources comprise resources from current revenue and resources from capital receipts.

The Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan envisages mobilisation of Rs. 7,420 crores through current revenue and Rs. 3,880 crores through capital receipts. In comparison to the Third Plan, it implies assignment of bolder tasks both for current revenue and capital receipts. Resources from current revenue are envisaged to be stepped up by 157.1% and from capital receipts by 81.3% respectively in the Fourth Plan. Evidently, in the case of current revenue, assignment of tasks is bolder than that in the case of capital receipt. Stepping up of resources from current revenue is greater than that from capital receipts by 75.8 percentage points. Moreover, in case of resources from both current revenue and capital receipts

stepping up of financial resources in the Fourth Plan is proposed to be greater than that in the Third Plan. In the case of resources from current revenue, it is proposed to be greater by 22.6% and in case of resources from capital receipts by 32.6%. The additional stepping up of resources from capital receipts in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to be more than that from current revenue by 10.0 percentage points.

Considerable Responsibility

Both resources from current revenue and capital receipts share considerable responsibility in mobilisation of resources; but the latter shares a larger responsibility than the former. Contribution of resources from current revenue is envisaged to be 51.9% and that of capital receipts 27.2% to total resources of the public sector, implying a relatively larger contribution of the former by 24.7 percentage points. As compared to relative shares of these sources in the Third Plan, the provisions of the Draft Outline imply increase in relative share of both these sources in the Fourth Plan; but increase in the case of current revenue is proposed to be more than that in the case of capital receipts. Share of resources from current revenues in the Fourth Plan will be greater by 18.5 percentage points and that of capital receipts by 2.4 percentage points over the Third Plan figures. Consequently, the excess of the share of current revenue is envisaged to further increase by 16.1 percentage points in the Fourth Plan.

Both current revenue and capital receipts share considerable responsibility in contribution to increase of the financial resources of the public sector. The Draft Outline envisages contribution of 80.3% by current revenue and 30.8% by capital receipts to the increase of financial resources of the public sector. Contribution of resources from current revenue to this increase however exceeds that of capital receipts by 49.5 percentage points. Further, in stepping up of financial resources of the public sector the Draft Outline proposals imply greater responsibility for the two sources

in the case of Fourth Plan as compared to that in the Third and more so in the case of resources from current revenue. Contribution to the increase in financial resources of the public sector is envisaged to increase by 38.5 percentage points in the case of resources from current revenue and by 13.1% in case of resources from capital receipts as compared to the Third Plan. Increase in contribution of resources from current revenue to increase of resources in the Fourth Plan over its contribution to increase in resources in the Third Plan exceeds that of capital receipts by 25.4 percentage points.

"Domestic Sources"

Efforts for resource mobilisation can be evaluated by relating it to national income. The Draft Outline provisions imply mobilisation of 8.50% of national income through 'domestic sources'. In comparison to the effect in the Third Plan, the Draft Outline proposal implies large effort in the Fourth Plan. Mobilisation of national income through 'domestic sources' by the public sector is envisaged to be greater than that in the Third Plan by 2.75 percentage points. The Draft Outline envisages larger mobilisation of national income through resources from current revenue than through capital receipts. It envisages mobilisation of 5.58% of national income through 'resources from current revenue' and 2.92% through 'resources from capital receipts,' the former exceeding the latter by 2.66 percentage points. Mopping up of national income in the Fourth Plan through 'resources from current revenue' is proposed to be higher by 2.28 percentage points and through capital receipts by 0.47 percentage points in comparison to mopping up of national income in the Third Plan. The additional mopping up of national income in the Fourth Plan through 'resources from current revenue' exceeds that through capital receipts by 1.81 percentage points.

Growth of national income provides the dynamic source for mobilisation of financial resources. The Draft Outline envisage mobilisation of 13.78% of the

increase in the national income through domestic sources of the public sector. In comparison to the effort made in the Third Plan, the Outline envisages larger effort in the Fourth Plan. Mobilisation of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan through domestic sources of the public sector is envisaged to be more than the mobilisation of increase of national income in the Third Plan by 4.37 percentage points. The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of increase of national income by 9.96% through resources from current revenue and by 3.62% through capital receipts.

Further, in comparison to efforts made in mobilisation of increase of national income in the Third Plan, larger efforts are proposed to be made in the Fourth Plan both through resources from current revenue and capital receipts. The Draft Outline proposes an additional mobilisation of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan, compared to the mobilisation of increase in national income in the Third Plan, by 3.35 percentage points through current revenue and by 1.02 percentage points through capital receipts. Additional mobilisation of increase of national income through current revenue exceeds that through capital receipts by 2.33 percentage points.

Resources from Current Revenue

Resources from current revenue can be considered as a sum of (a) resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates and (b) additional resources from current revenue.

Resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates: The Draft Outline envisages considerable stepping up of resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates. It proposes mobilisation of Rs. 4,690 crores through current revenue at pre-Plan rates in the Fourth Plan. In comparison to this, in the Third Plan resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates contributed Rs. 5 crores only. Further, while a significant stepping up of resources from current revenue is envisaged at pre-Plan rates in the Fourth

Plan, there was decline of 97.2% in the Third Plan as compared to the Second Plan. The Draft Outline also envisages considerable sharing of responsibility through current revenue at pre-Plan rates in mobilisation of resources. It proposes a contribution of 32.8% to financial resources of the public sector. In comparison to this, there was negligible sharing of responsibilities through current revenue at pre-Plan rates in the Third Plan. It contributed only 0.1% to the total financial resources of the public sector. As regards increase of the financial resources of the public sector, the Draft Outline envisages considerable sharing of responsibility through current revenue at pre-Plan rates. It envisages a contribution of 82.9% to increase of financial resources in the Fourth Plan over the Third through current revenue at pre-Plan rates. In comparison, current revenue at pre-Plan rates did not contribute to the increase of financial resources of the Third Plan over the Second. As regards mobilisation of national income, the Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of 3.53% through current revenue at pre-Plan rates. Compared to this, there was negligible mobilisation in the Third Plan—it was 0.01%. The Draft Outline proposes mobilisation of 10.29% of increase of national income through this source. In comparison this source contributed nothing to the mobilisation of increase in the Third Plan over the Second.

Resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates represent the sum of resources from two sources: (1) surplus from current revenue at pre-Plan rates, and (2) net contribution of public enterprises at pre-Plan rates. Implication of provisions regarding mobilisation of financial resources through these sources are considered below:

(1) Surplus from current revenue at pre-Plan rates:

The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 3,345 crores through surplus from current revenue at pre-Plan rates. In comparison to the Third Plan, the task of the Fourth is very

bold. In the Third, surplus from current revenue at pre-Plan rates gave a deficit of Rs. 470 crores. Considerable sharing of responsibility through this source has been envisaged in the Fourth Plan. The Outline envisages a contribution of 23.4% through this source to the financial resources of the Public sector. In the Third Plan this source did not share any responsibility. Further, the Outline envisages considerable sharing of responsibility by this source in contribution to increase of financial resources of the public sector—67.5%. This source did not share any responsibility in increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Third Plan over the Second. Further, the Outline proposes mobilisation of 2.52% of national income through this source in the Fourth Plan; this source did not share in mobilisation of income in the Third Plan. Whereas the Draft Outline envisages a contribution of 8.38% to mobilisation of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan by this source. In the Third Plan, this source did not share any responsibility. This reliance on surplus from current revenue in the Fourth Plan, in view of its failure in the Third Plan, may be the main weakness of the Draft Outline.

(2) Net contribution of public enterprises:

The Draft Outline envisages considerable stepping up of 'net contribution of public enterprises' in the Fourth Plan over the Third. It proposes mobilisation of Rs. 1,345 crores, implying a step-up of 18.3% over that in the Third Plan. In comparison to the stepping up in the Third Plan over the Second, stepping up in the Fourth Plan over the Third of the net contribution of public enterprises is envisaged to be smaller by 1.3 percentage points. The 'net contribution of public enterprises' in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to constitute 9.4% of the total financial resources of the public sector which implies an increase of 3.9 percentage points over the Third Plan. The Outline envi-

sages an increase in the effort of this source to the growth of resources in the Fourth Plan as compared to its effort in the Third. 'Net contribution of public enterprises' is proposed to share 15.4% of increase of financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan—higher than in the Third Plan by 7.6 percentage points. As regards mobilisation of national income, net contribution of public enterprises is envisaged to mobilise a greater proportion of national income in the Fourth Plan than in the Third. The Outline proposes mobilisation of 1.01% of national income in the Fourth Plan which exceeds that in the Third Plan by 0.47 percentage points. The Outline also envisages an increase in responsibility of this source in mobilisation of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan in comparison to its share in mobilisation of increase of national income in the Third Plan. Net contribution of Public enterprises is proposed to mobilise 1.91% of the increase in the Fourth Plan—higher than in the Third by 0.68 percentage points.

(3) Additional resources from current revenue :

The Outline envisages a contribution of Rs. 2,730 crores through 'additional resources from current revenue' (including additional resources through other sources) in the Fourth Plan. There is a smaller emphasis in the Fourth Plan than in the Third Plan on 'additional resources from current revenue'. Contribution in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to be smaller than that in the Third by 5.3%. Further, the Outline envisages a decline in the share of 'additional resources from current revenue'—it envisages a contribution of 19.1% to total financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan which is lower than the Third by 14.2 percentage points. As regards share in the increase of financial resources, the Draft Outline does not envisage any effort of this source in the Fourth Plan. In the Third Plan, this source contributed 46.1% to the increase. The Draft Outline envisages a

smaller mobilisation of national income in the Fourth Plan in comparison to the Third. 'Additional resource from current revenue' is envisaged to mobilise 2.05% of national income—lower than that in the Third Plan by 1.24 percentage points. 'Additional resources from current revenue' are not envisaged to mobilise any increase of national income in the Fourth Plan. But in the case of increase of national income in the Third Plan, this source made a mobilisation of 7.30% of the increase. Although 'additional resources from current revenue' are not envisaged to mobilise increase of national income in the Fourth Plan, but these may flow out of increase of income.

Resources from Capital Receipts

Resources from capital receipts can be considered as the sum of (a) government draft on private savings, and (b) miscellaneous capital receipts.

Government draft on private savings : This comprises loans from public (net), small savings, unfunded debt, compulsory deposits and annuity deposits. The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 3,215 crores through government draft on private savings in the Fourth Plan. This implies a step-up of 64.4% in the Fourth Plan over the Third. This step-up is proposed to be greater than of the Third Plan by 20.0 percentage points. However, as regards relative share in mobilisation of resources by the public sector, the Draft Outline proposal implies a slight decline in the Fourth Plan in comparison to the Third. In the Fourth Plan, government-draft on private savings is proposed to contribute 22.5% to financial resource of the public sector smaller than that in the Third Plan by 0.2 percentage points. But as regards share in the increase of financial resources of the public sector, contribution of Government draft on private savings is proposed to be more in the Fourth Plan than in the Third—i.e., 22.3% which is greater than in the Third Plan by 7.1 percentage points. As regards mobilisation of national income, the

Outline proposes slightly larger mobilisation through government draft in private savings—2.42% of national income, which exceeds that in the Third Plan by 0.18 percentage points. The draft proposes slightly larger mobilisation of increase in national income in the Fourth Plan than in the Third—2.77%, or 0.37 percentage points more than in the Third.

Public Loans

The Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 1,500 crores through public loans (net), implying a step-up of 63.9% over that in the Third Plan. Additional effort in the Fourth Plan is envisaged to be much greater than in the third—the difference being 45.4 percentage points. Share in contribution to financial resources of the public sector of public loans is envisaged to be almost the same in Fourth Plan as in the Third. The Outline envisages a contribution of 10.5% by public loans to financial resources of public sector in the Fourth Plan—lower than that in the Third Plan by 0.1 percentage points only. However, the Draft Outline envisages contribution of public loans to increase of financial resources of the public sector by 10.4% in the Fourth Plan which exceeds that in the Third by 6.8 percentage points. It also envisages mobilisation through public loans of 1.13% of national income in the Fourth Plan which exceeds that in the Third Plan by 0.08 percentage points. The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of 1.29% of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan which is smaller by 0.72 percentage points than that in the Third Plan, through public loans.

Other Than Public Loans

This item comprises small savings, provident funds, and annuity deposits. The Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 1,715 crores in the Fourth Plan through Government draft on private savings other than public loans. In comparison to mobilisation in the Third Plan, this implies a step up of 64.9%. But the step-up is proposed to be smaller than that in the Third Plan by

14.1 percentage points. Further, the share of Government draft on private savings other than public loans in the total financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan is proposed to be almost the same as in the Third Plan. The Government draft on private savings is proposed to contribute 12.0% to the financial resources of the public sector in the Fourth Plan—lower than in the Third Plan by 0.1 percentage points only. However, the share of Government draft on private savings other than public loans in the increase of financial resources of the public sector is envisaged to rise slightly in the Third mobilisation of national income through this source is envisaged to slightly increase in the Fourth Plan—1.29%, making an increase of 0.10 percentage points over the Third Plan. However, in case of mobilisation of increase of national income too, the Draft Outline proposes Government draft on private savings to make smaller mobilisation in the Fourth Plan than in the Third Government draft on private savings other than public loans is proposed to mobilise 1.48% of increase of national income in the Fourth Plan which is smaller than that in the Third by 0.35 percentage points.

Miscellaneous Capital Receipts

The Draft Outline envisages mobilisation of Rs. 665 crores through miscellaneous capital receipts in the Fourth Plan, implying an increase of 259.4% over that in the Third. In comparison to step-up of miscellaneous capital receipts in the Third Plan step-up in the Fourth exceeds by 144.3 percentage points. Of total financial resources of the public sector, miscellaneous capital receipts in the Fourth Plan are envisaged to contribute 4.7% which exceeds that in the Third Plan by 2.6 percentage points. Further, of the total increase in financial resources of the public sector miscellaneous capital receipts are to make a contribution of 8.5% which is greater than that in case of the Third Plan by 6.0 percentage points. As regards mobilisation of national income, the

Draft Outline proposes 0.50% in case of the Fourth Plan through miscellaneous capital receipts which exceeds that in case of the Third by 0.29 percentage points. As regards mobilisation of increase of national income through miscellaneous capital receipts, the Outline proposes mobilisation of 1.05% in case of the Fourth Plan—greater than in the Third by 0.65 percentage points.

Overall Implications

The above survey reveals some overall implications of the provisions of the Draft Outline regarding mobilisation of financial resources. It envisages a considerable stepping-up of financial resources in the Fourth Plan. Greater stepping-up of resources is envisaged in the case of the private sector than in that of the public sector. The Draft Plan envisages greater dependence on the public sector than on the private sector. However, in comparison to the dependence in the Third Plan, dependence on the public sector is envisaged to decline and that on the private sector to increase in the Fourth Plan.

The Outline envisages considerable stepping-up of domestic financial resources. Dependence on domestic sources in mobilisation of financial resources is envisaged to be greater in the Fourth Plan than in the Third. As regards deficit financing, the Outline proposes to avoid it altogether in the Fourth Plan. In case of external assistance, the Outline does not envisage any significant stepping up. Dependence on external assistance is envisaged to decline in the Fourth Plan. Self-reliance in mobilisation of resources is envisaged to increase. Greater mobilisation of national income through domestic sources of public sector is envisaged.

The Outline envisages considerable stepping-up of resources from current revenue. In comparison to the Third Plan, dependence on resources from current revenue is envisaged to be significantly high. Of the two components of resources from current revenue—resources from

TABLE 1

PLAN FINANCIAL RESOURCES : IV PLAN AND III PLAN

Sectors	Financial Resources (Rupees Crores)		Percentage increase of financial resources over prev. plan		Percentage distribu- tion of financial resources over sectors		Percentage distribu- tion of increase in financial resources over sectors	
	IV*	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III
Whole Economy	21,780 ^a	12,730	71.1	63.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public Sector	14,280 ^b	8,630	65.4	84.7	65.6	67.8	62.4	79.8
Private Sector	7,500 ^c	4,100	82.9	32.2	34.4	32.2	37.6	20.2

SOURCES : Planning Commission, Government of India : 1. Fourth Five Year Plan, a draft outline. 2. Selected plan statistics.

NOTES : 1. Computations based on data given in the sources.

*IV Plan figures are at pre-devaluation exchange value of rupees, for comparability with that of III Plan.

Post Devaluation figures : (a) 23,750; (b) 16,000; (c) 7,750.

TABLE 2

FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF PUBLIC SECTOR : IV PLAN AND III PLAN

Sources	Financial Resources (Rupees crores)		Percentage distribution of financial resources over sources		Percentage increase in financial resources over prev. plan		Percentage distribution of increase in financial resources over sources	
	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III
Financial Resources total	*14,280 ^a	8,630	100.0	100.0	65.4	84.7	100.0	100.0
Domestic Sources	11,300	5,025	79.1	58.2	124.8	88.2	111.1	59.5
Deficit Financing	—	1,150	—	13.3	—	20.5	—20.3	5.0
External Assistance	*2,980 ^b	2,455	20.9	28.4	21.3	134.0	9.2	35.5
F.R. excluding E.A.	11,300	6,175	79.1	71.6	83.0	70.4	90.8	64.5

NOTES : *Figures at pre-devaluation exchange value of rupees.

At post-devaluation exchange value of rupee : (a) 16,000 ; (b) 4,700.

TABLE 3

DOMESTIC FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF PUBLIC SECTOR : IV PLAN & III PLAN

Sources	Financial resources (Rupees crores)		Percentage distribution of financial resources over sources		Percentage increase in financial resources over prev. Plan		Increase in financial resources of sources as % of total increase in financial resources of public sector		Financial Resources as percentage of National Income		Increase in financial resources of sources as percentage of increase in National Income	
	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III
1. Domestic Financial Resources	11,300	5,025	79.1	58.2	124.8	88.2	111.1	59.5	8.50	5.75	13.78	9.41
2. Resources from Current Revenue	7,420	2,885	51.9	33.4	157.1	134.5	80.3	41.8	5.58	3.30	9.96	6.61
(a) R.C.R. at pre-Plan rates	4,690	5	32.8	0.1	93,800	—72.2	82.9	—4.3	3.53	0.01	10.29	—0.69
(i) Surplus from Current Revenue	3,345	—470	23.4	—5.4	a	a	67.5	—12.1	2.52	—0.53	8.38	—1.92
(ii) Net contribution of Pub. Entp.	1,345	475	9.4	5.5	183.1	184.4	15.4	7.8	1.01	0.54	1.91	1.23
(b) Additional measures	2,730	2,880	19.1	33.3	—5.3	173.7	—2.6	46.1	2.05	3.29	—0.33	7.30
3. Capital Receipts	3,880	2,140	27.2	24.8	81.3	48.7	30.8	17.7	2.92	2.45	3.82	2.80
(a) Govt. Draft on Private Savings	3,215	1,955	22.5	22.7	64.4	44.4	22.3	15.2	2.42	2.24	2.77	2.40
(i) Public Loans	1,500	915	10.5	10.6	63.9	18.5	10.4	3.6	1.13	1.05	1.29	0.57
(ii) Other than Public Loans	1,715	1,040	12.0	12.1	64.9	79.0	11.9	11.6	1.29	1.19	1.48	1.83
(b) Capital Receipts	655	185	4.7	2.1	259.4	115.1	8.5	2.5	0.50	0.21	1.05	0.40

(a) not comparable; as Third Plan figure is negative.

current revenue at pre-Plan rates, and additional resources— increase of dependence on the former is the cause of significant increase in dependence on resources from current revenue in the Fourth Plan. In the latter case, the Outline envisages considerable decline in dependence on it in the Fourth Plan. Within the resources from current revenue at pre-Plan rates some dependence is envisaged to increase on net contribution of public undertakings. It is in case of surplus from current revenue at pre-Plan rates that the Outline envisages great

increase in dependence mobilisation of financial resources. But this may be the main weakness of the Draft Outline, for in the Third Plan, this source did not contribute any resource.

Resources from capital receipts are envisaged to be stepped up in the Fourth Plan: but the stepping up is envisaged to be smaller than in the case of current revenue. The Outline envisages a slight increase in dependence on resources from capital receipts in the Fourth Plan. Dependence on capital receipts is smaller than on resources from current revenue.

In the Fourth Plan disparity between the two is further envisaged to increase. Government draft on private savings is envisaged to rise. But dependence on Government draft on private savings in mobilisation of resources is envisaged to be almost the same in the Fourth Plan as in the Third. However, the Outline envisages smaller stepping-up of Government draft on private savings other than public loans in the Fourth Plan in comparison to the Third. Additional effort in this case is thus envisaged to be smaller than in the Third Plan.

Islam In Modern India

MOIN SHAKIR

THE scientific attitude of the modern mind and the character of modern industrial civilization is a serious challenge to the religion. Under the pressure of modernization leaders of religious thought are obliged to interpret and restate religious principles and reconcile faith with reason. Islam is no exception. "The history of Islam in 19th and 20th Century is a history of revival and efforts at readjustment" with the spirit of the times¹.

In India, the significance of the challenge of modernism is decidedly greater. The Muslims in India are surrounded by an overwhelming non-Muslim majority. This factor has been complicating the problems of both religion and politics.

Way to Modernity

India today is on the way to modernity. The process of modernization necessarily stands for the abolition of the pre-modern feudal order, and the progress of industrialization and scientific and technological development. Here a distinction between modernization and modernity is essential. Both necessarily do not go hand in hand. "Scientific metaphysics" in some advanced Western countries is an example in point. Modernity basically is a scientific attitude of mind which does not take anything for granted and renounces the aid of prejudice and superstition.

After the advent of the British Raj, the leaders of Islamic thought in India attributed the general decline of the Muslims to their un-Islamic outlook and un-Islamic practices. They believed that the defects were in the attitude of the Muslims themselves. There was nothing wrong

in Islam; Islam they held, was already perfect. This attitude was responsible for a plethora of literature on Islam which is apologetic and defensive.

One will readily realize that this was not sufficient. This attitude could hardly solve any problem. Although some of the social practices and customs were subjected to criticism, what was really needed was an assessment of the historical traditions of Islam on the one hand and an appraisal of the various phases of the Muslim society after the Prophet, on the other.

A brief survey of certain tendencies after the death of the Prophet will make a study of Indian Islam more meaningful. Moreover, the Islamic legacy constituted the basis of Indian Muslim thought and culture to an appreciable extent. It is also helpful in determining the significance of the various aspects of the development of Islam in India.

It is necessary to understand at the outset of the importance of the Prophet's Mission and the circumstances which gave birth to Islam. Ubaidullah Sindhi has pointed out that whenever the Muslim historians wrote about the Prophet, they did not take into consideration the collective life in Mecca, the national administration of Quresh and the causes of the organization and expansion of this particular tribe, which deeply influenced the Prophet and his Mission². One also wonders how without the study of the social organization and the political structure of the tribes where the individual did not enjoy any rights and one tribe exercised economic domination over the other, the significance of the Prophet's mission can be determined.

Secondly, the Muslims and the Muslim historians have generally been obsessed with the continuity of the so-called "ideal order" established by the Prophet. This obsession has been an obstacle to the correct understanding of the vital problems of the Muslim Society. Caliphs Abu Baker and Omer were undoubtedly great builders of the Muslim nation. Būt Caliph Osman, "Possessed neither the shrewdness of Abu Baker nor the intellectual vigour or the moral fibre of Omer. His amiability and easy good nature made him a pliable tool in the hands of his kinsfolk".

Dissensions

True, Islam does not recognize racial and colour distinction. But the acceptance of Islam by the Omayyads should not necessarily be regarded as genuine and sincere. The heathen practices, says Von Kremer, disapproved by the Prophet were adopted by Osman and his kinsfolk when he came to power.⁴ The Khilafat of the Fourth Caliph was characterised by internal dissensions and civil war. The rule which followed the Rashidin Caliphs was that of monarchy, unlimited and absolute. Dynastic wars, maintenance of

¹ H.A.R. Gibb : *Mohammedanism, New American Library, Second Edition 1958. page : 127.*

² Ubaidullah Sinhi : *Shah Waliullah Aur Unka Falsafa. Singh Sagar Academy, page 64.*

³ Ameer Ali : *Spirit of Islam, Christophers London: 1955. page 294.*

⁴ Khuda Bukhash : *Politics in Islam, Md. Ashraf Lahore, II Edition 1948. page 29-31.*

slavery, use of alcoholic drinks, restrictions on the freedom of women, were repugnant to the spirit of Islam but were the facts of Muslim society. The spirit of Ijtihad withered away. No innovation was permitted. The silence of the Quran regarding some problems and the ambiguities resulting from conflicting and diverse interpretations and the doubtful authenticity of much of the Hadith literature prevented the Muslims from grasping the real meaning of the emergence of classes on the basis of economic interests, the institution of private property, the accumulation of immense wealth even by the Sahaba (companions) of the Prophet, the monarchical centralisation and the totalitarian regimentation. In this context a detailed study of personalities like Abu Zar Ghaffari, Ibn Huzm, Ismailies and the rise of various Muslim sects would have been useful, but this has not yet been made with an open mind by the Muslim writers.

Against this background the character of Indian Islam should be examined. Here the Muslims came as conquerors and empire-builders. Without questioning whether it is in consonance with Islam or not, the institution of monarchy was established and accepted. An orthodox historian like Barni justified it by the needs of the age and thought without it the social order would perish. According to Abul Fazal, the king is the origin of stability and "possession". Organized public opinion was out of question, because of the appalling illiteracy among the people, the attitude of the kings towards the common man and his education, terror of military force, weak position of the office of the Sadar-us-Sudur and divided and disorganized nobles.

Secondly the Indians who professed Islam were amenable to un-Islamic exclusiveness. Here one is reminded of Renan's remark which is equally applicable to Indians, that by accident of history Islam became the property of races given over to fanaticism such as the Spainard, the Berber, the Persian and the Turk. As a result Islam became

rigid and exclusive. dogmatism. The Indians continued with their heathen practices. Theirs idea of divinity of the sovereign ran counter to the essence of Islam. Moreover, the Ulema—the "Gang of Hypocrites"—as Amir Khusro calls them—were orthodox and bigoted. The representation of the Ulema for either conversion or the execution of the non-Muslims during the reign of Altamush, the assassination of the Brahmin who said that both Islam and Hinduism are true, the famous dialogues between Kazi Mughisuddin and Allaiddin Khilji, the emergence of Mahdism, anti-Akbar revivalist movement of Shaikh Ahamed Sirhindi and Wahabism throw sufficient light on the attitude of the Ulema towards the religion.

After the death of Aurangzeb the political importance of the Muslims declined considerably. Shah Waliullah for the first time in the history of Indian Islam realised that every injunction of the Sharia and every law of Islam required to be presented in a rational way. His revolutionary utterances about social and religious matters should have given a stimulus to independent thinking and re-interpretation of Islam under the challenge of the modern age. Shah Waliullah's teachings inspired Shah Ismail and Syed Ahamed Bareilvi, who became the leaders of the Wahabi movement. Shah Ismail was also a vehement critic of the false religious beliefs prevailing among Muslims. But the reactionary political aspect of the Wahabi movement hindered the process of rationalization of Islam as desired by Shah Waliullah.

It is also to be noted that the Wahabis were unaware of the technological and scientific and intellectual developments outside India. They could not look forward but urged to go back to original Islam. They could not even understand the cause of the British supremacy in war and civilization. The anti-British agitation which they started, had its own merits and demerits. Revivalism became their ideal. They lacked a sense of history and therefore were destined to failure.

Sir Syed is also a great figure of Modern Islam in India. Those who believed that modernity does not mean abandonment of religion or arriving at the state of benevolent indifference in which religious beliefs would become inoffensive would find in Sir Syed a great guide and inspirer. Sir Syed borrowed considerably from Al-Ghazali, Imam Razi and Shah Waliullah. But his interpretations of certain verses of the Quran regarding the complete abolition of slavery in Islam and the crucifixion of Christ are certainly original.⁵ Sir Syed's view, on Jihad, mysticism, Wahi or inspiration, Gabriel, Miracles, Meraj (Ascension), Paradise and Hell are astonishingly liberal, rational and progressive. Sir Syed made the first concerted effort to reconcile Islam with Western science. He drew the lines on which modern interpretations of Islam can be made. But unfortunately this could not become a popular movement. However, this legacy was carried forward by Chirag Ali and Ameer Ali.

In the second half of the 19th Century and in the beginning of the 20th Century various schools of thought in Islam arose. Some of them claimed of forming a different religion. Some of them boasted of Medhism. Some emphasised the importance only of Quran vis-a-vis Hadith. Some attempted to prove that there is no antagonism between Islam and the modern discoveries of science. We can broadly classify these movements into two categories.

In the first category will be included those writers whose understanding and interpretation of Islam has been feudal and reactionary. The writers in the other category can be termed as liberals. Shah Ismail, Maulana Mohammed Qasim Nanotwi, Mirza Ghulam Ahamed Qadiani, Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, Ashraf Ali, Thanwi, Manazir Ashsan Gillani, Dr. Hamidullah and others are the champions of "Feudal Islam".

⁵ Sk. Mohammed Ikram : *Mauje Kausar, Feroze and Sons, II edition 1958, page 166-67.*

The Liberal interpretation finds expression in the writings of Sir Syed, Ameer Ali, Chiragh Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Iqbal, Ubeidullah Sindhi, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, Prof. Ajmal Khan, A.A.A. Fayazee and others.

It should be borne in mind that in each category the writers have differences on many issues. But the present classification is made on the basis of their concept of Islam and approach towards modernity.

Deobandis

The writers in the first category believe in the finality of Islam. They do not deny the fact of decline of the Muslims all over the world, but hope that if Muslims follow true Islam all their problems will be solved. All of them, mostly, are revivalist. It is strange that except the leaders of the Deoband school, all have been pro-British. The Deobandis were anti-British because those who upheld the cause of separate Muslim nationhood were not considered "Good" Muslims.

Secondly, their reactionary view of the developments of Post-Mughal Indian history convinced them that partition of the country was no solution⁶. Its role in Indian politics should not be exaggerated. It was undoubtedly a "temporary" ally of progressive forces but had been "essentially reactionary and feudal."⁷

All these leaders lacked broader social outlook. They always opposed reforms in Muslim personal law. They never made a distinction between social and religious matters. To them theology is supreme and everything is subordinate to it. Politics, philosophy and economics were not assigned an independent position. Sir Syed thought that such writers consider the books of the jurists as "incorporating infallible truth and so sufficient for their guidance of their affairs."⁸

They are not prepared to appreciate the changes in personal and religious law even in Muslim countries. The essence of these changes is more in keeping with

the spirit of Islam. Egypt, the Sudan, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Morocco and Tunisia are all moving towards modernisation of the Law.⁹ They have neither any programme of abolishing the class structure of the society nor want to align with those forces aiming at its abolition. In short the feudal school is fighting a losing battle against reason and modern science.

The liberals made genuine contribution to the development of Islamic thought in India. Unlike the feudal school, they do not denounce the achievements of the West and its industrial civilization. It is regarded as the fulfilment of Islamic ideas and ideals.

Subservience

They hold that Islam is able to keep pace with science. Islam, like science, believes in progress. The principles of subservience of nature to man was promulgated by Quran.¹⁰ Not only this, science has also rendered a lasting service to the cause of religion. Science led "step by step to believe in law, Monism design, intelligence, and evolution as the chief indications of the working hand, whose owner has appeared to possess complete knowledge of things with absolute power to rule over them and bend them to His Will."¹¹ Even Sir Syed's naturalism did not lead him to atheism.

The liberals also believe that there is not much difference between rationalism and Islam. Khawja Nazir Ahamed says that Islam is rational in its teachings. It does not betray human intelligence. It does not recommend mediation but self-exertion. Islam and rationalism both believe in "the high capabilities of man" and accept matter as the "mother of the morals and spiritualities which in common parlance pass as the human Soul."¹²

The liberals have been supporters of progressive legislation. They denied that the religion of Islam is directly related to all worldly matters and that therefore nothing can be done without obtaining religious sanction.¹³ They stood for the replacement of the Fiqh by "better laws." Sir Syed

on the basis of Hadith, says that Islam is not very much concerned with worldly affairs. "If I order you to do something on the basis of my opinion, well I am just a human being, you know better in matters concerning your worldly affairs," said the Prophet. Sir Syed also advocated a separation of a religion from politics. He held that true religion prescribes certain principles which are more ethical than religious. The Ulema, Sir Syed asserted, wrongly thought some of the action of the Prophet as part and parcel of Islam. As a matter of fact they had nothing to do with religion.¹⁴ Chiragh Ali also subscribed to Sir Syed; "Islam as a religion", writes Chiragh Ali, "is quite apart from inculcating a social system. The Mohammedan Polity and social system have nothing to do with religion."¹⁵

Defended

One will observe that all the liberals were through and through the admirers of Islam. But this did more harm than good to the cause of liberalism. Each and every aspect of religion is defended. It therefore suffers from

⁶ Manazir Ahasan Gillani : *Tazkira Hazrat Shah Waliullah, Nafees Academi, Hyderabad. 1946, page 44-48.*

⁷ W.C. Smith : *Modern Islam in India. Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. 1943, page 321.*

⁸ B.A. Dar : *Religious Ideas of Sayyid Ahamed Khan. Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. 1957, page 120.*

⁹ Rom Landau : *Arabs and Islam, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1958, page 139.*

¹⁰ Khawaja Kamaluddin : *Islam and Civilization and the working Muslim Mission, 1931, page : 1957.*

¹¹ Ibid : -do- page 19.

¹² Quoted in Khawaja Kamaluddin : *Islam and Civilization Appendix I, page : 139-40.*

¹³ Quoted in Religious Ideas of Sayyid Ahamed Khan : page 120

¹⁴ *Miqalate-Sir Syed : Majlise Taragei Adab, Lahore. Vol. V. page 4.*

¹⁵ W.C. Smith : *Modern Islam in India, page 24, 65*

ethical poverty; it makes no demands upon the Muslims, it is beautiful but inspires no actuality.¹⁶

Islam is a revealed religion and its history proves its hostility to positive science and non-conformist Philosophy. The treatment meted to Averroes is only an example. It is truly said that "But for Al-Ashari and Al-Ghazzali, the Arabs might have been a nation of Gallileos, Kapers and Newtons."¹⁷ Unfortunately the influence of Al-Ashari and Al-Ghazzali has been predominant over the Muslim mind throughout history. What the liberals boast of as science is nothing but "the scientific metaphysics" of the West. It is not science but scientific scepticism, "which may lead in the end to the collapse of scientific era."¹⁸

Absurd

The liberals also claim rationalism, but believed that the most vital function of religion is the creation of faith. As against religiosity, rationalism has faith in the systematic pursuit of knowledge. Islam to-day is professed by those who are described by Ammer Ali as ignorant bigots and intriguing self-seekers, is more inimical to science and rationalism than any other time.

It will also be noted that the liberals lacked balanced outlook. Sir Syed and Chiragh Ali found everything good in the new culture while Iqbal displayed profound distrust and hatred. The liberals appeared to be rational in their approach, but this rationalism was not taken to its logical end. Quran and Prophet-hood were never subject to rational criticism.

The glorification of the Islamic past is also one of the limitations of the thought of the liberals. This created a false sense of superiority. It prevented people from thinking boldly and trying to understand the new forces and ideals which were changing the world. They were oppressed by the weight of ancient habit and tradition.¹⁹

A word about the future of Islam in India. I. H. Qureshi says that Indian Muslims will cease to exist within a century.

It is absurd, as genocide is alien to our age; W. C. Smith on the other hand points out that Indian Islam will be more creative than that of other countries. This appears to be a pious hope. The present conditions do not hold out any promise. Firstly, the Muslims are surrounded by an overwhelming non-Muslim majority. They have some genuine and also some false fears of the aggressive posture of Hindu nationalism. It breeds suspicion and hatred. It makes the Muslims stick to their old habits and customs. The insistence on not changing the personal law is nothing but the expression of this fear, resulting in reactionary conservatism and fanaticism.

Secondly, the people are very much under the sway of orthodox and fanatical Ulema. Even liberalism is too revolutionary for them to accept. Most of the liberals have been considered as free thinkers and deviationists. The unpopularity of Sir Syed's religious ideas indicates the attitude of the people towards the liberal's religion.

Unacceptable

Thirdly, the liberals appear to lack moral courage. They have been writing either for the Western readers or highly educated Muslims. It is significant that Sir Syed was not on the committee which was to frame the syllabus of theology in his own College. Ameer Ali wrote in English. His ideas never became popular among the common people. The contradictions in Iqbal's English prose and

poetry speak for themselves. Abul Kalam's nationalist politics made his religious ideas unacceptable.

Survival

The most important problem of the Muslims as it is understood by the leaders of the community is the survival of their culture as a distinct entity. This has been creating complication in facing the problems of national integration. The Muslims need and demand what is described as "cultural autonomy." It seems to have been granted. They need to be assured of the preservation and the full development of the healthy aspects of Muslim culture and thought. But it should be in consonance with the essence of Indian—not Hindu—nationalism. The problem is to strike a reasonable and workable balance between the autonomy of Muslim culture (if not necessarily Islamic) and the essential unity of the nation. The problem is essentially one of co-existence of a cultural federalism within the framework of a political federation, without injuring either, and yet continuously cementing the elements and forces of national integration.

¹⁶ W.C. Smith : *Modern Islam in India*, page 65.

¹⁷ Quoted in Ameer Ali : *Spirit of Islam*, Appendix III. page 486.

¹⁸ B. Bussel : *The scientific outlook*, page 98.

¹⁹ Nehru : *India's Quest*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, page 217.

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Abolition of Land Revenue

JAGANNATH MISHRA

THE non-Congress Government in Bihar has accepted in principle the abolition of land revenue in its 33-point programme and has already stopped the collection of land revenue for the current year. Other non-Congress Governments in other States have also announced its abolition.

The first move for the abolition of land revenue was made before the General Election by the Tamilnad Congress which had adopted the abolition of land revenue in its manifesto. The Madras Government has accepted the abolition in principle. The SSP too had put the abolition of land revenue in its Election manifesto. Before the General Election, other Pradesh Congress bodies also followed the Tamilnad Congress and announced the acceptance of the abolition of land revenue. The Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee also issued a special manifesto and declared the abolition of land revenue. All these declarations before the election was a mere vote catching device.

Now the election is over. All the Governments have started their work. The abolition of land revenue is not only a political issue, its economic implications cannot be ignored particularly because the move is bound to have a snowball effect in the rest of the country. Neither the Tamilnad Congress nor the non-Congress government in Bihar seem to have given the Planning Commission's views in the chapter dealing with financial resources for the Fourth Plan, the attention they deserve: "In view of the high priority accorded to agriculture in the Plan the price support policy which has been adopted and the price increases in respect of

agricultural commodities which have already occurred, it is reasonable to expect a considerable increase in agricultural income during the Fourth Plan period." The draft outline of the Fourth Plan is categorical:

"As regards the revenue, it will be necessary to revise the rates, both for securing additional resources and for introducing an element of progression in their incidence on holdings of different sizes."

With the progress of the Plan the need for modernising and stepping up agricultural taxation has been increasingly evident. And during these years, many intelligent discussions have taken place and umpteen papers written on the need to rationalise agricultural taxation to bring in more revenues and to make it more equitable. The existing structure of agricultural taxation is not such as would enable any significant part of this increase to flow into financing of development expenditure, nor are the financial institutions in rural areas sufficiently developed to facilitate the accumulation of private savings out of the additional incomes in a convenient form. There is, therefore, need for adjustment in the tax and institutional structures which could promote larger reinvestment of the gains that accrue to agriculturists.

In the last year or so some States imposed additional agricultural taxation by way of surcharges on land revenue, higher irrigation charges, surcharges on commercial crops and so forth. Taking all these types of measures together it is imperative to add to the efforts which has been initiated in a modest way. Either through revisions in land revenue rates or through adjustment in irrigation charges or by levy of special surcharges on commercial crops substantial resources can

be mobilized. Surely, all this does not constitute a green signal for land revenue abolition. Indeed people cannot help wondering how the party in power can build up mass enthusiasm for the Plan when some of its guiding principles are so defied and ridiculed.

Alternatives

Different expert bodies which have had occasion to study land revenue system in India have pointed out some of its glaring limitations. For instance the pattern of land revenue itself is based on historical considerations with the result that as an instrument of taxation, it has been excessively rigid, and has proved altogether inelastic. As far back as 1954 the Taxation Enquiry Commission examined the problems of land revenue in India. Several proposals were made before the Commission. There were proposals for the replacement of land revenue by an alternative system of taxation. There were also suggestions for a modification of the present system to ensure a lower burden on the payer of revenue in the event of prices going down and larger revenue to government in event of prices going up. There were also measures taken in the form of surcharges on land revenue. Both the devices of sliding scales and surcharges aimed at a larger contribution from the higher agricultural incomes made possible by higher agricultural prices.

None of the alternatives suggested for the replacement of land revenue could be effective substitutes from the point of view of the finances of a State Government though some of them would be extremely appropriate as features supplementary to land revenue itself. Land reform policies had the effect of further reducing the number of large holdings and of large incomes from agriculture. Agricultural income tax was undoubtedly significant as making for greater equity of land taxation as a whole, inclusive of land revenue. It obviously could not replace land revenue in the sense of constituting a source of income for State Governments. Therefore the Taxation Enquiry Commission

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had recommended reassessments to be undertaken by all the State Governments to impart a measure of effectiveness, equity and flexibility to land revenue as a means of taxation. But for reasons best known to themselves the States have all through these years of planned development shirked this responsibility. Again for some strange reason the State Governments now seem to be eager to mend the system rather than mend it.

The proposal to abolish land revenue is open to the objection that the State Governments cannot afford the consequential loss in revenue. If all the States decide to abolish the land revenue the annual loss to the revenue of the State Governments might be around Rupees 120 crores which would not only make the task of revenue raising far more difficult for the States but also raise far stronger fears with respect to the likely inflationary consequences. As regards its impact on the distribution of inter-sectoral tax burden, the complete abolition of land revenue will only aggravate the relative under-taxation of the agricultural sector.

While there might be room for doubt with respect to the tax differential enjoyed by the lower income group in the agricultural sector, there is complete unanimity on the existence of gross differential in favour of the upper income group in the agricultural sector. Some people subscribe to the view that even larger holdings will produce less when the land revenue is abolished. To the extent this is true, the extension of exemption from land revenue to large holdings accounting for the bulk of the farm land would affect agricultural production considerably. Also if the loss in revenue is reclaimed through an agricultural income tax, it will have to be at a highly progressive scale which might cause a large scale sub-division of holdings with consequential further harmful impact on agricultural production.

Even if the land revenue is abolished only on small holdings say on ownership holdings of below five acres, the loss in revenue might be Rupees 20

crores a year. Thus over the Fourth Plan period the State Governments must raise another Rupees 80 crores to meet their collective targets for additional taxation. If however only holdings below 2.5 acres were exempted the loss in revenue might be just Rupees 7.5 crores a year and the States should then raise a further Rupees 30 crores by way of additional taxation over and above the targets already set for them in the Fourth Plan.

It is widely agreed that the agricultural sector as a whole is under-taxed relative to non-agricultural sector in India. Any reduction of tax burden on the agricultural sector will, it might therefore be argued, only aggravate this inequity in the distribution of tax burden. In fact, the proponents of this argument go further and argue that since the differential in relative tax burden is enjoyed not by just one income group but by all income groups in the agricultural sector even the exemption of small holding will make the distribution of tax burden more iniquitous.

The weight of these objections becomes heavier against the proposal to abolish land revenue on all holdings. The decline in revenue for all States put together would account for 18 per cent of their total current tax revenues. As a proportion of the combined revenues of the Centre and the State the decline will be as large as of 4.5 per cent. Naturally therefore the inflationary impact of the tax reduction on the total demand will be correspondingly much greater than of a mere exemption of small holdings from land revenue. It is relevant to remember in this connection that the propensity to consume of big farmers even in India is found to be higher than their income counterparts in the urban sector. But probably the most weighty objection against the abolition of land revenue is that it will increase the existing inequity in the distribution of tax burden.

While the proposal to exempt small holdings has in the opinion of some at least strong basis on the grounds of social justice, this certainly cannot be said of

the proposal to abolish land revenue altogether. Further even if the abolition of land revenue were combined with an appropriate extension of the agricultural income tax it is extremely doubtful if from the point of view of either effective revenue raising or its impact on incentives to develop land and raise agricultural produce this would be the right course to adopt.

Land revenue rates will of course have to be resettled. They have not been revised for the last 30 or 40 years; so today they bear no relation to present yields and agricultural incomes. The tax completely fails to mop up any part of the surplus in directly reinforcing thereby the tendency on the part of larger cultivators-cum-traders to hold that crops and profiteers. The purpose is not to burden small farmer or the poor peasant. Indeed the regressive character of the tax can be corrected by exempting the subsistence farmer and co-relating the rates of the tax with the size of the holdings and the lucrativeness of the crop. There is a strong case, in fact an inconvertible one, for the retention of land revenue and preferring it to an agricultural income tax among a rural population in which illiteracy is high accounts are seldom maintained and where evasion of an income tax is too easy. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that returns from such an income tax have been poor in few States which have imposed the tax.

Political courage and firm determination will be needed to re-organise the land revenue in the various States—determination which will have to be compounded with much tact and manoeuvring. The task should be clear over the next five years and this will be to build up a structure of agricultural taxation in which land revenue, agricultural income tax, irrigation rates on capitalised values of greater yields from irrigation and betterment levies will complement one another to tap the new savings in agriculture and channel them into the development effort that has to continue in the sector.

The Pay Roll

Mr. Arjun Arora maintained that certain members of the Council of Ministers were on the pay roll of the House of Birlas. He said he had tangible evidence.

—News

Mr. Babubhai Chinai said the country had made great progress under the Birlas. What it needed was not one but a hundred Birlas.

—News

IT got to be a pretty situation. Almost like when the *New York Times* printed off Allan Dulles's secret speech on the CIA. All over the country there arose a need to wear one's innocence where it showed.

Mr. Birla himself was jumpy about the hundred Birlas in the Chinai formula.

He looked into the palm of his hand and asked his Moving Finger, 'MF, what's that?'

Said Moving Finger, 'We can't afford to disperse enterprise over a hundred Birlas, which is what the Hazari Report would have. At best we might have three Birlas, one for Home Affairs, another for External Affairs and the third for Minting all the Money. That would be accepting

the Chandrasekhar formula, in a sense, of stopping with the third Birla.'

And after that Moving Finger went into a cramp.

'No,' said old Ghanshyam Das, to himself 'I'd rather stick to just one. I'm a one-Birla Birla.'

He winked sensuously, and made it look like he was talking about monogamy.

Chinai was in tears that he had caused this misunderstanding and hurt.

'I believe in nonalignment and socialism and in the Nehru Death Anniversary,' he sobbed, overcome by emotion. 'I renew my pledge to follow Ghanshyam Dasji along the road to socialism.'

Things got further confused with a Birch Society man in Arizona saying that Birla wasn't any more to be trusted as a democratic institution since he was on the pay roll of Left Communists.

'Old Ghanshyam Das,' said the Bircher, 'has become a credibility gap.'

Nambudiripad reacted sharply. I don't understand this talk of pay rolls, he said. 'I remember a couple of bread rolls at a certain breakfast.'

In New Delhi a columnist suggested that not all Ministers were in pay of the House of Birla. The Tatas had some.

The Prime Minister scotched the suggestion.

'There is no split whatever,' said she, 'in the Cabinet.'

Meanwhile, another reputed personality, Lakshmi Narayan, also expressed himself strongly in favour of one Birla.

'I'm a monotheist,' said old

Lakshmi Narayan, talking to a correspondent in his queer looking Mandir Marg flat in New Delhi, and fiddling with a tattered copy of the *Gita* all the time he talked.

'Which one?' asked the correspondent.

'Of course Ghanshyam Das,' said Lakshmi Narayan.

'I appreciate the fact,' said the correspondent, 'But do I take it that otherwise you act as a free agent?'

'I resent the innuendo,' said Lakshmi Narayan, and went back to the *Gita*.

'I'm sorry,' said the correspondent. 'But I only meant to ask you, if you had put in a snatch of, say, the *Internationale*, into the *Gita*, would that have been okay by Ghanshyam Das?'

'I didn't write the *Gita*,' said Lakshmi Narayan 'I chanted it out extempore. It's outrageous to suggest that Ghanshyam Dasji was breathing down my neck all the time and prompting me.'

'There's a ring of the ultimate in all that you say,' said the correspondent. 'You almost sound like one of his editors.'

'Yes,' said Lakshmi Narayan sombrely. 'We're all free people.'

The correspondent struck home.

'Come off it, Lax,' he said. 'Quit being omnipotent. Don't tell me GD would have let you back the Hazari Report.'

Lakshmi Narayan blanched. His lips puckered. Within minutes he was in a spasm of sobbing.

'Don't grill me,' he moaned. 'I'm a poor lonely god in the manger. Don't let us talk of the Hazari Report. GD will sack me.'

It certainly was more rewarding to see the distress of a god than that of a government.

—Charvaka

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Ramgarh on Rampage

CHOTANAGPURI

THE helicopter, before Dr. Chandrasekhar thought of using it as a contraceptive device, was used by a feudal princeling to carry democracy to aboriginal scrublanders. This princeling is the suave and abstemious Kamakhya Narayan Singh, Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh who looped in and out of the Bihar Congress in the recent past, and then, on the crest of the wave of anti-Congressism of recent months, wormed his way up into the Kranti Dal and through it into the present government in Bihar. The crude, low drama of feudal charisma still holds its audience; and it is well worth remembering this depressing fact while we survey the triumphs of the anti-Congress upsurge. And in a jumble of innocents like the Kranti Dal, it is these sharp, and edgy things that try to make hay while the sun shines. But Raja Bahadur is a versatile operator: he has not totally snapped his links with the the Congress high-ups. He is close to another Raja Saheb in New Delhi—Sri Dinesh Singh, with whom he maintains intimate political contact.

The spectacle here covers a three mile sprawl, on the highway as you motor down from Hazaribagh towards National Park. This is a walled-in territory called Padma where the palace of the Raja Bahadur is tucked away. It is a forty-minute walk to the palace, past a number of overbearing gates that give you the queer feeling that they might close behind you any moment, and cut you away from the thin liberal freedoms of the world outside. For that is what it is: a fortress.

Padma is in a sense the capital of Ramgarh, and the Raja Bahadur who lives there is titled *Padma Nares*. Kamakhya was not a ruler, but only a big zamindar. The silent "socialist" revolution which waddled along the country abolishing Zamindari, has left this man this four square-mile homestead, not to speak of fabulous riches, which Kamakhya swung into politics with devastating power. The boundary wall was recently repaired and whitewashed at great cost.

Raja Kamakhya has a stake in this wall. Section 5 of the Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950 permits a zamindar to retain his homestead free of rent. By this wall, Ramgarh has saved four square miles of his zamindari from rent.

The Coal Story

The coal trade is in the grip of contradictions of distribution. Coal is not to be had in many places, while collieries are not able to move their piling stocks into the markets. Ramgarh and Kuru areas of Hazaribagh are coal-rich, and among a number of collieries operating in this region, Kamakhya owns the bigger rigs. The Dhori Coal Mines are his, and in the Dhori disaster some time ago nearly two hundred and fifty miners perished.

In Kedala, Hazaribagh, stocks were accumulating in Kamakhya's collieries due to paucity of local demand. When the non-Congress ministry came into office, Kamakhya managed to get a very personal portfolio: Mines and Minerals. A checkpost was now set up at Mandu, not covering the Kedala Collieries

incidentally, and realising commercial taxes and mineral cess from truck operators freighting coal outside the coalfields. There is an old gag which says, 'more there is of mine the less there is of yours.' All of a sudden, for some curious reason, the coal from Kamakhya's mines were selling famously, while it lay stacked in every other colliery. Now the price of coal began spiralling. It doubled in Hazaribagh, and leapt up by many times in Patna and other places. Public outcry led to the Mandu checkpost being removed to Demotand. And here at Demotand it keeps its sullen watch over whatever it was watching over at Mandu. Kamakhya's coal, to strain the metaphor, is selling like hot cakes, and his Dhori coalfields carries on with no check post to interfere with it.

Another Mineral

Kamakhya has been getting menacingly mineral. On December 29, 1947, the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh had leased out for mining 3026 villages in Hazaribagh District to Messrs Mineral Development Ltd. On the basis of this lease a Mica Miner's Licence (No. 26IH) was granted to the Company on January 3, 1951. The lease was for 999 years. But the Kamakhya millennium came to an end abruptly in 1955, when the lease was cancelled by the Congress Government of the State for adequate reasons. Then the Company moved the Supreme Court under Article 31 of the Constitution, and in the interests of the abstractions of personal freedom and enterprise, the Government's order

was set aside.

The Company then sent seven hundred and fifty rupees to the Government as fee for renewing its mining licence for 1956-60. The Government directed the Company to produce a 'Certificate of Approval, a necessary pre-requisite for renewal. On May 1, 1961, the Company having failed to file in the Certificate, its request for renewal of licence was turned down. The Mica Controller could not accept the seven hundred and fifty rupees in the circumstances, and it was deposited under the head, Revenue Deposit.

This was the position when the people chose to reject the doddering Congress and its graft-ridden bureaucracy.

Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narayan Singh was now the Kranti Dal's master of mines. Officers of the Department were called up: Kamakhya told them that he was satisfied with the bona fides of the Company, and certainly he ought to know. In his view, the genuineness of the lease had been effectively accepted by the Government when a Mica Minerals Licence was granted in 1951 and the cancellation of the Licence had been set aside by the Supreme Court. Hence there was no need for a fresh Certificate of

Approval. On the 20th of this May the former Government's actions were reversed. The Mineral Development Ltd. was slapped back into life.

Three days before Kamakhya's orders went out of the Secretariat, the Mica Controller, Sri Mahendra Taneja, pointed out to the Minister the snags in such reversal.

The Mica Act, the officer submitted, made the Minister's action constitutionally impermissible. The Company had failed to pay the renewal fees for the years 1962-67 in time, and hence it could only be granted a fresh licence if the Minister was dying to be helpful. In the years after the lease had been terminated, the Government had farmed out the mica lands to sixteen other mining concerns. Should the old company return, the Government was sure to be involved in endless litigation. Mineral Development Ltd itself was suing the Government for two crores of rupees in damages for having called the lease off. The Minister's action would amount to owning up guilt, and the Government would in effect be conceding the damages. Despite all these serious objections, the Raja Bahadur asserted his minis-

terial prerogative and issued the lease to his favourite Company.

Kranti has not been sweeping the lower depths alone, it is picking and striking on the surface with an uncanny sense of detail. The top cop of Giridih has been shunted off to Tripura. It was this police officer who had filed two cases, Bermo Police Station cases No. 4 and 5, on April 4, 1967 against Kamakhya's Dhori Cola Mines, under the Essential Commodities Act. There were three more cases against Dhori. Investigations are on the rocks now, and the officer who handled it has been transferred. To the policeman who takes his fear-or-favour gag too seriously the lessons are evident.

After this densely murky report, what better relief than tie on this tailpiece a brace of bells, wedding bells. Kamakhya's Kranti and our own democratic socialism have been tied together with tender love. Raja Kamakhya Narayan Singh's son is married (and that was why all that monstrous length of wall was whitewashed) to the daughter of Dinesh Singh of Kalakankar, Raja of Commerce in New Delhi.

West Asia : Dialogue of the Deaf

RUPA JANSEN

WITH the Israeli and seven Arab armies moving towards the frontiers, one is compelled to ask with Robert Louis Stevenson :

"Burning embers tell me true,
Where are those armies marching to.....?"

The crisis in West Asia has its roots in the twenty-year old unresolved problem: the restoration of the rights of Palestinians versus the State of Israel.

Peace in any sense of the term has never really existed in this area : despite the Armistice

agreements the Arabs have repeatedly said that they are in a state of war with Israel. And the curious aspect of the West Asian scene is that just as man with his infinite resilience can get inured to deprivations of all kinds, so also the world seemed to take in its stride the Arab-Israeli pattern of gnarling at each other and occasionally hitting out.

Against this brief background (and without going into the rights and wrongs of the case from 1948 to date) to answer who is responsible for the *current* flare-up in

West Asia is to decide which came first, the chicken or the egg ? The Israel reprisals and more serious threats or the Arab guerrilla activities and the permanent threat to exterminate Israel ? Or an imperialist plot to plant a client state in the midst of Arabs to serve Western interests ?

Be that as it may, the UAR seems to have had information that Israel was massing troops for use against Syria. True, Israel had openly threatened Syria with massive retaliation as per her policy of reprisals on countries

from where guerrilla activities originate. They also held an independence day parade in Jerusalem. So far, this Israeli policy has paid off with a lull in the storm, that is till the next time.

True or not, Arab strategy or hallucinations, the crisis has served to unite the Arab countries on the one common issue on which they seemed of late to be falling apart. But the seriousness of the situation demands that one must cut through this miasma of solidarity and evaluate this unity. Can the Arabs go to war with Israel on the strength of this unity or would they be fighting at cross purposes?

It will be recalled that one of the joint Arab decisions was the breathing of life into the Palestine 'entity' by recognising the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and supporting the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) financially, and permitting recruitment of Palestinians into the PLA. Jordan with two-thirds of its population Palestinian and pro-Nasser saw in the PLO and PLA a state within a state and an army within an army and fell afoul of the agreement and the West Asian air transmitted foul sound waves.

Because Arab summits became platforms for disabusing the very fundamental Arab concept of unity of purpose, President Nasser refused to summon any more summits to expose weak links in the 13 Arab states and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia refused consequently to give financial support to any joint Arab projects.

Last year's mutual security pact between the UAR and Syria lay in abeyance because that meant having UAR bases in Syria as the range of the UAR fighters is not sufficient for them to fight over Syria.

Although solidarity has been declared and the gulf between the nationalists and traditionalists has been temporarily bridged, the joint defence council of the Arab League has not been taken into confidence over Nasser's plan of action to deal with the present crisis. Tactically wise but politically it is a vote of no confidence.

This is not to denigrate the

welcome expressions of unity in a divided world but merely to point up that when one screens a few more inter-Arab factors, the inescapable conclusion is that there is no joint master plan to take West Asia into a total war against Israel.

But the determination, at least on President Nasser's part to speak the same language, to follow it up with similar actions, to give Israel as good as they get, is undeniably there.

And, in this President Nasser's freedom of action would have been hampered with the UNEF acting as a buffer. With his decks cleared will the provocation from Israel come?

With the Red Sea closed to Israeli shipping the ball is in Israel's court. Israel's booty of the 1956 war was the passage of its ships from the southern port of Eilat through the gulf of Aqaba into the straits of Tiran and out into the Red Sea for trade with East Africa and Asia. And this became possible because of the presence of UNEF. Although Israel's withdrawal from positions of occupation was unconditional what she handed over to the UN custody, without the UAR giving any guarantees, is now back under the UAR control. This sore point is the core of the ticklish debate on the speedy UNEF withdrawal.

The ironic angle to this is that Israel perhaps in 1956 wary and suspicious of the UN did not permit the UNEF to be stationed on her side of the border but enjoyed the benefits of the UN umbrella.

Just as the UN then respected Israeli sovereignty by not forcing on her a UN presence, by the same token U Thant had to respect the UAR sovereignty and had no option but to withdraw the UNEF when the host country no longer wished it. Now that their protective wings have been clipped by President Nasser the Israelis and the Western Powers want continued presence of the UN in the interests of peace which is a euphemism for protecting Israel.

Peace in the area for the time being hinges on the use or non-use by Israel of the Gulf of Aqaba

to which the UAR has extended the Arab policy of Boycott of Israel.

That Israel is not yet defying the UAR blockade and instead the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr. Abba Eban rushed to the USA to find out what America plans to do to make the UAR end the blockade, makes clear that Israel too does not want to take any precipitate action without support from its friends.

A 1950 Middle East Tripartite declaration says: the USA, Britain and France, consistent with their obligations as members of the United Nations should immediately take action both within and outside the United Nations to prevent a conflict between Israel and the Arab states, should they find that any of these states were preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines (and the lines have been violated before).

France has advised Israel not to send any test ships through the Straits of Tiran.

A five-point USA stand was presented by the American Ambassador to the UAR informing the UAR that any restrictions on the freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba would in the USA opinion be an aggression.

President Nasser's reiteration of his position is that entry of Israeli ships into the UAR territorial waters will be an act of aggression requiring to take all measures to safeguard their territorial waters.

The USSR has asked Britain and the USA to restrain Israel which is responsible for the crisis.

U Thant's reading after the talks with President Nasser is that the situation is one of touch and go.

From all accounts the assurance is that President Nasser will not initiate aggression. So perhaps what is left is to ask the International Court to define the word aggression, which seems to hinge on the status of the UAR territorial waters which by virtue of their location serve as international channels, the four users in this case being Saudi Arabia in the east, the UAR in the west and Jordan and Israel in the cul-de-sac in the north.

In the breathing spell till this definition can be spelt into action by Israel's friends, it is well to remember that President Nasser is a soldier-politician who learnt statecraft the hard way. His right arm is strategy, his left arm tactics (he has allowed foreign ships to pass uninspected). But his blue-print is sealed inside the brain which learned long before the 1952 Revolution in Faruk's Egypt to keep his own counsel. Several of his past acts have been daring. He has got away with a little bit of luck and lot more of determination.

Whether the UAR has decided to make a last ditch stand with or without other Arab states is anybody's guess. The longer the Arabs wait to strike at Israel that much more will Israel be prepared to meet them and that much longer will she have had a place as a state in the history of nations.

The grim picture that West Asia presents is of each one having happily added his own favourite ingredient into the simmering cauldron and the resulting brew is a frightening mess.

Just look at the prospects of an independent South Arabia; the unresolved war in a divided Yemen; otherwise pro-West Saudi Arabia and Jordan, both anti-Nasser, now swung over to the UAR front. When it really comes to the push who is dependable?

On the UN front, because the 15-member Security Council gets hamstrung by the use of veto by any one of the Five, getting resolutions passed through the General Assembly become equally meaningless without the power of sanctions.

If Israel cannot marshal outside support—as seems less and less likely (with the USA interests in the Arab world and also its being tied up in Vietnam and Britain having enough headaches in Aden)—will she go it alone and take on the Arabs? This is the kind of eventuality that President Nasser is perhaps preparing and hoping for and it is the kind of risk that Israel cannot afford to take. The 1956 venture would not have taken place without France and Britain entering into

the conspiracy. With each passing day the Israeli horizon must get gloomier. Perhaps that is why from Israel there are no more aggressive sounds but mummings on legalities, assurances and pledges.

It isn't as if Israel is not militarily equipped to enter battle alone. On the contrary, the military analysts have said Israel has rather better lines of communications, a highly centralised command and well-trained forces with morale.

What is often forgotten is that victory against Israel is not a matter so much of military superiority, which the Arabs have in numbers and hardware, as of a very precious commodity: the spirit that is prepared to lay down life without question with the whole country acting as one man. This is Israel's superior weapon: a weapon the Arabs have not been able to manufacture.

Yet the odds are that Gaza under the UAR Administration is only a few minutes' flying time from Tel Aviv in one of UAR's jet fighter bombers. What has taken 20 years to build in Israel (to say nothing of the years that went into selling the idea of a "home") can within less than the same number of hours be flattened to the ground (the UAR has ground-to-ground missiles). This fact alone could be behind the cautious mood in Israel.

Last week, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Levi Eshkol, suggested "a reciprocal liquidation of existing troops concentrations on the Egyptian-Israeli frontier, a concerted international effort to outlaw sabotage and terrorism against a State of the UN, and continuation of the quiet which prevailed for the last ten years on the frontier between Israel and Egypt. This belated wisdom should be treated with neither mockery nor irony: one can shoot holes in every word spoken. But all Israel is saying and said through reprisals in the past is: let me alone. And that is anathema to the Arab ears.

On the other hand President Nasser has said peace does not mean that we give up or ignore

the rights of the Palestine people simply because a long time has elapsed. And it doesn't look as if President Nasser is bluffing this time though he may yet take his own time about it.

(Other contributions on aspects of West Asian crisis will appear in coming issues of Mainstream.)

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Case for a Strong Centre

VRAJENDRA RAJ MEHTA

THE recent political events in India have once again brought to the fore the question whether we should have a decentralized federation or a federation with a strong unitary bias, or whether we should completely replace the concept of federation with a unitary government.

The authors of the Constitution, living in the midst of the gory events of the partition, when the entire law and order situation was in a state of turmoil however, opted for a federation with a unitary bias. They envisaged a federation with a strong centre, which would be able to weld the various states and erstwhile princely states together and which would at the same time be consonant with the principle of provincial autonomy. Parliament has a right to legislate on the state list in the national interest on a resolution of the Council of States or on the request of two or more states or in order to carry out an international obligation. The state governments are partly manned by the Union personnel, who can be an effective mechanism of the Central control. The Governors act as representatives of the Centre, and if the past is any reliable guide, they have played an effective role in enforcing the authority of the Centre in the states.

Moreover, unlike America, our Constitution has provided for a single, unified, Central judicial system throughout the country with the Supreme Court at the apex. The High Courts are bound by the decision of the Supreme Court. All the judges

are appointed by the Centre. There are uniform basic laws, and codes throughout the country. A considerable progress in such a codification has already been made.

Another striking feature of our federation is that it functions almost as a unitary state in times of emergency. Our Constitution guarantees the financial autonomy of states; but almost all the elastic sources of revenue are controlled by the Centre. In times of financial emergency, the Centre can give administrative directions to the states.

Besides the above factors, till recently the Congress party was in the saddle in almost all the States of the Union. Therefore the presence of the monolithic party, also helped to emphasise the relative importance of the Centre as against the states. The planning also helped in increasing the powers of the Centre. The experience of the last fifteen years is a sufficient testimony of the fact of dependence of the States on the Union for their financial viability.

The sixty to seventy percent of the planned expenditure is given by the Centre. In the name of socio-economic planning, one of the concurrent subjects, the Centre was able to encroach upon almost every development programme launched by the states.

But now the emergence of so many Opposition governments in the various states is making it increasingly difficult for our federal scheme to work harmoniously and in the best interest of the country. Already there is a clamour of more and more autonomy for the states. In fact, the creation of linguistic states, on the suggestion of the

States Re-organisation Commission long ago, had already started this tendency. But it was not so effective because the Congress Party was in the saddle in almost all the states. In spite of this under the garb of the administrative efficiency and the provincial autonomy, various fissiparous tendencies, regional and provincial loyalties have been masquerading ever since. The inter-state boundary disputes, river disputes and the disputes over the share in the taxes are glaring examples of these deep seated feelings of regionalism and provincialism cutting right across our conception of Indian Nationalism.

In constitutional matters, nothing can be regarded as sacrosanct. Prof. Livingston, in his book, *Federalism and the Social Change*, has very eloquently argued that the 'States evolve the forms of the government which suits their particular problems and purposes rather than which are capable of neatly being labelled.' Every country has evolved a federation to suit its peculiar conditions. In deciding this question with regard to India, we must keep in mind two facts in particular.

First, in India the centrifugal forces have always been strong. Whenever the Centre was weak, the unity of India was endangered by the rise of small kingdoms. Let us not do anything which will accentuate regionalism and provincialism.

Second, economic conditions in India require a strong, centrally oriented planning, control and supervision. Federation, it has been argued is the only method to prevent rise of despotic power. But the sovereign power is not limited and res-

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trained by dividing it among the local governments. What is necessary for the liberty of the people as well as for the efficiency of the Government is the limitation of power and not its division. The division of power leads to too many complications, involves double expenditure and works against the notion of planning, so necessary for the rapid development of the nation's economy. The liberty of the people can be secured through a bill of rights, which can stand as a constant shield protecting us against unnecessary encroachments of the Government.

Today almost all the federations of the world are showing strong unifying tendencies and more particularly the federations in the so-called under-developed world. These countries have learnt by experience that the federations far from helping the economic growth of a country, act as an obstruction in the process. It involves a duplication of the services. It is an expensive form of government in which the whole problem of organisation is enormously complicated. It sets a premium on what Prof. Laski said, 'The irrational'. Even original federations like that of the USA, Canada and Switzerland have vastly changed in their character. There has been a strong shift of power to White House in the USA and the federal government in Switzerland.

If we are to cope up with our economic problems, we need centralized planning. Even, Prof. Paul Appleby brought up and trained in the federal atmosphere of the West, lamented that the centre in India had no adequate authority and argued that the most fundamental administrative 'Problem of India is its lack of organic unity.' Today the political complexion of India has changed. The talk of provincial autonomy is very much in the air. Moreover, there is a growing opposition to the dominant rule of the Congress at the Centre. Therefore, in these circumstances, the Centre will be dependent to an extraordinary degree on the states for the implementation of its various policies. It is very likely that the

policies of the states might run contrary to those of the Centre. Such a tendency at the present moment will inevitably put an end to our entire planning, thus ultimately jeopardizing the survival of democracy itself in India. What we need to-day is a strong central government, armed with sufficient powers needed to solve modern economic and political problems on the one hand and to curb the strong sentiments of regionalism found throughout the land on the other.

In this context, the Constitution should be suitably amended in order to make Centre more effective in handling the problems of food, language, interstate boun-

dary and river disputes and above all, it should be able to co-ordinate the economic policies of the various State governments in the light of the overall needs of the country.

We need not make a fetish of the concept of provincial autonomy and democratic rule in the states. The Central Parliament represents the people of India no less than the various state legislatures. Our federal scheme must be based on the principle of co-operation, in which both the Central and the State governments co-operate with each other in every field and at all levels, Centre retaining the overriding authority in the case of a conflict.



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The Sands of Alamein

R. N.

MONTGOMERY'S mission to Egypt is like an epilogue to a Middle Age saga. There are no more scores to settle and the story-teller as well as the listener grows weary of the narration and wants to sigh—and sleep. Monty's tale began with the war which ended happily for him if not for his country. There was the phoney peace and the cold war, and the old warrior occasionally strutted on the stage in his fading uniform. In the beginning there was much applause but the audience was thinning. The new generation was too blasé to cheer and Monty must have felt that the times were out of joint for men like him. His dash to Revolutionary China and tete-a-tete with Mao and his colleagues were desperate gestures to draw attention. The Chinese leaders were polite while the rest of the world were mildly amused.

Now there are not many miles to go for Montgomery. The desert has called him back and he is on a search for his last resting place in its nothingness. Egypt has not forgotten Suez but the memories of El Alamein mute the bitterness of recent years. President Nasser's Government has rolled out the red carpet for the old hero to make what must be his last bow to the country where he won fame. There is a grace in their gesture which sets off the pettiness of the Eden days. Cynics find in their hospitality to the British General a gimmick to boost the country's tourist industry. Whatever it is, Lord Montgomery has taken to his part with Churchillian gusto.

As wars go, the desert war was a picnic. The stakes of the conflict and the strength of the combatants were ridiculously small when compared to the titanic struggles on the Russian front and the massive operations after the Normandy landings in the west. The soldiers spent more time in killing flies than the

enemy. The battles were fought with professional finesse on both sides and each respected the other's skill. Germany's famed Afrika Korps functioned more like an expeditionary force of Frederick the Great's army than a detachment of the brutal Nazi war machine. Many of the young Germans were contemptuous of the thugs enthroned in Berlin. They fought well, none the less, with the pride of Prussian men-at-arms. So what the war in the desert lacked in carnage was more than made up in flamboyance and high drama.

The most celebrated character was of course Rommel, perhaps the finest General of the whole world war. The Monty legend is a superimposition on the Rommel legend. When he took over the command of the battered Eighth Army, the German General appeared unbeatable. The Tommies made no secret of their admiration for the Desert Fox as they nicknamed Rommel. Monty knew what he was up against—the sheer romance of war. And with methodical efficiency, he set about making a counter-legend—about himself. The man was not half as brilliant as his rival, but his quaintness and mannerisms lent themselves admirably to the kind of stories that a demoralised people lapped up. He was as stagy as a strutting cock and when he talked, the tomfoolery of it gripped. He had an odd way of repeating to make his point. "Now we know where the enemy stands. When he moves next, we will hit him for six, hit him for six..." As has been said, Monty is something more than a successful General. He is corny, gloriously corny. Winston Churchill called him "invincible in defeat, insufferable in victory."

Montgomery never got on well with the Americans. General (hell-for-leather) Patton openly sneered at his copybook style of

conducting operations. They had probably an inferiority complex in dealing with him as most of them were Colonels when he was a full-fledged General. Monty on his part was smarting under a sense of humiliation in working under Eisenhower who had been inferior to him in rank. His heart warmed only to one soldier—his enemy Rommel. War correspondents who visited his dug-out in the desert saw the room plastered with his pictures. (The ascetic General's idea of a piñon-up.) What did Rommel think of his rival commander? Unfortunately Hitler did not give him a chance to write his memoirs after the war. It would have been the best seller of all war books. Rommel was involved in the plot against Hitler and he was asked to take poison or walk into the waiting arms of the Gestapo. He preferred poison. Earlier he was severely injured when an Allied dive-bomber shot up his staff car. Liddel Hart says in his "Other side of the Hill" that the attack took place in a French village called Montgomery! Was there a hoodoo in the name?

Rommel's tragic end has perhaps saved him from the debunking that has been the lot of other war heroes including Churchill and Stalin. Liddel Hart rates him as one of the great captains of history. There is an element of exaggeration in this as Rommel unlike the others was never called upon to prove his prowess in the larger areas of war, where the hazards of a miscalculation were much more. The struggle for North Africa for all its strategic importance was a side show to the gigantic clash in Europe and the Pacific. Still Rommel endures as the adolescent's hero image. One of his aides in the campaign recalls a scene at the siege of Tobruk. (Heinz Werner Schmidt: *With Rommel in the Desert*) The British artillery was blasting two of his attacking panzers, and exploding shells raised a sand storm around Rommel as he looked impassively at the enemy fortifications. The aides were anxious. Any moment a shell might land there. Would he take cover? Suddenly Rommel took off his

(Continued on page 38)

A Commendable Venture

RECOVERY OF FAITH by S. Radhakrishnan; Pages 107, Price Rs 2.50.

A GODDESS NAMED GOLD, by Bhabani Bhattacharya; Pages 306; Price Rs 4.00

LAWLEY ROAD by R.K. Narayan; Pages 159; Price Rs 2.50

INDIRA GANDHI—Return of the Red Rose by K.A. Abbas; Pages 175; Price Rs. 2.50

All published by Hind Pocket Books Private Limited, Shahdara, Delhi, 1967.

THIS indeed will look a strange assortment of books for a review. But there is reason for listing these four together. They are from the first lot of a series of pocket books to be published by the Hind Pocket Books under the title of Orient Paperbacks.

The name of Hind Pocket Books is not a strange one to the Hindi and Urdu literary world. For some years now, this publishing concern has been bringing out cheaper paperback editions of wellknown books in both these languages. But the series under the Orient Paperbacks is the first peep of this publishing company into the world of English book publishing.

The publishers claim that the series will comprise the best literature by Indian and foreign writers, particularly Asian and African writers. The first set does not have any from the Afro-Asian countries (barring Indian, of course), but it is to be expected that the next lot would have at least some from our neighbouring countries.

It is planned to bring out paperbacks not only of English works. The publishers aim to give the English reading public glimpses of the literature of various Indian languages. The first lot itself has two translations: Agyeya's Hindi novel *APNE APNE AJNABI* and Rajinder Singh Bedi's Urdu novel *EK CHADAR MAILI SI*.

This is a commendable effort. But there are drawbacks too. As the four titles listed above would suggest, Orient Paperbacks will cover a vast though indiscriminate field. While most of the selections are fiction of exemplary

merit, some trash also creeps in. In the first lot itself we have a wide collection from Mikhail Sholokov's *AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON* and Edgar Allan Poe's *TALES OF MYSTERY AND IMAGINATION* down to *FAMOUS TRIALS FOR LOVE AND MURDER* by K. L. Gauba and *SUCCESS IN 30 DAYS* by A. P. Pereira.

But the emphasis is on providing the reader with quality reading material at reasonable cost. Out of the ten in the first lot, only two can be termed as dispensable. That perhaps is a pardonable extravaganza when we consider the quality of the other eight.

It will be out of place to make individual reviews of these books, considering that these are only pocket editions of wellknown and wellread works of eminent authors. Nonetheless, the candid expression of faith in god and the necessity for a religious belief by Dr Radhakrishnan, the vivid description of the colourful life in an Indian village in all its modern complexity by Bhabani Bhattacharya and the wit, humour and irony splashed in his stories by R.K. Narayan have a freshness of their own.

The stories are to be read and enjoyed; they do not seek to impose a moral on the readers.

Abbas's book is in a different category altogether. It is supposed to be a political biography, albeit unconventional, of India's Prime Minister. More than the abiding values of a historian's critical evaluation of a personality, the *Return of the Red Rose* is an adulatory epistle about how

Indira Gandhi's elevation to Prime Ministership restores the pristine glory of Jawaharlal Nehru to the Indian political scene.

Perhaps Abbas himself might like to revise many of his hasty conclusions now. After all, such fleeting impressions and superficial comments cannot have everlasting validity.

High thinking and low living is a timeworn cliché. But in a surprisingly large measure it is an accurate description of the life of the Indian intellectuals. For them the compulsions of life make the reading of a good book mostly a forbidden luxury unless it is by standing in queue and borrowing one from a library. This certainly has given rise to a growing market for low cost books.

As yet the paperbacks business has not developed in this country to meet this growing demand.

In taking to publication of English paperbacks, therefore, the Hind Pocket Books is doing yeoman service to the cause of literature.

One could only wish that the publishers would have a long-term plan to publish all the classics in the Indian languages in Orient Paperbacks. There should also be some discriminating choice when picking on books to be published. All success to the new venture.

P.V.P.

SANDS OF ALAMEIN

(Contd. from page 37)

field glasses with a grin. "See the English. They are badly trained for war but they fight like hell."

* * *

The desert sadly has no hero except perhaps the camel. It has seen the Centurions of Caesar and the Imperial Guard of Napoleon thundering by. They all ended up in its blood and sands. The war of the Forties was exciting while it lasted; there is hardly any trace of it now but for the rusting hulk of a tank near a sand dune. The futility of it all! And there amidst the bleached bones and earth an old soldier is searching for a grave. Peace be on him.



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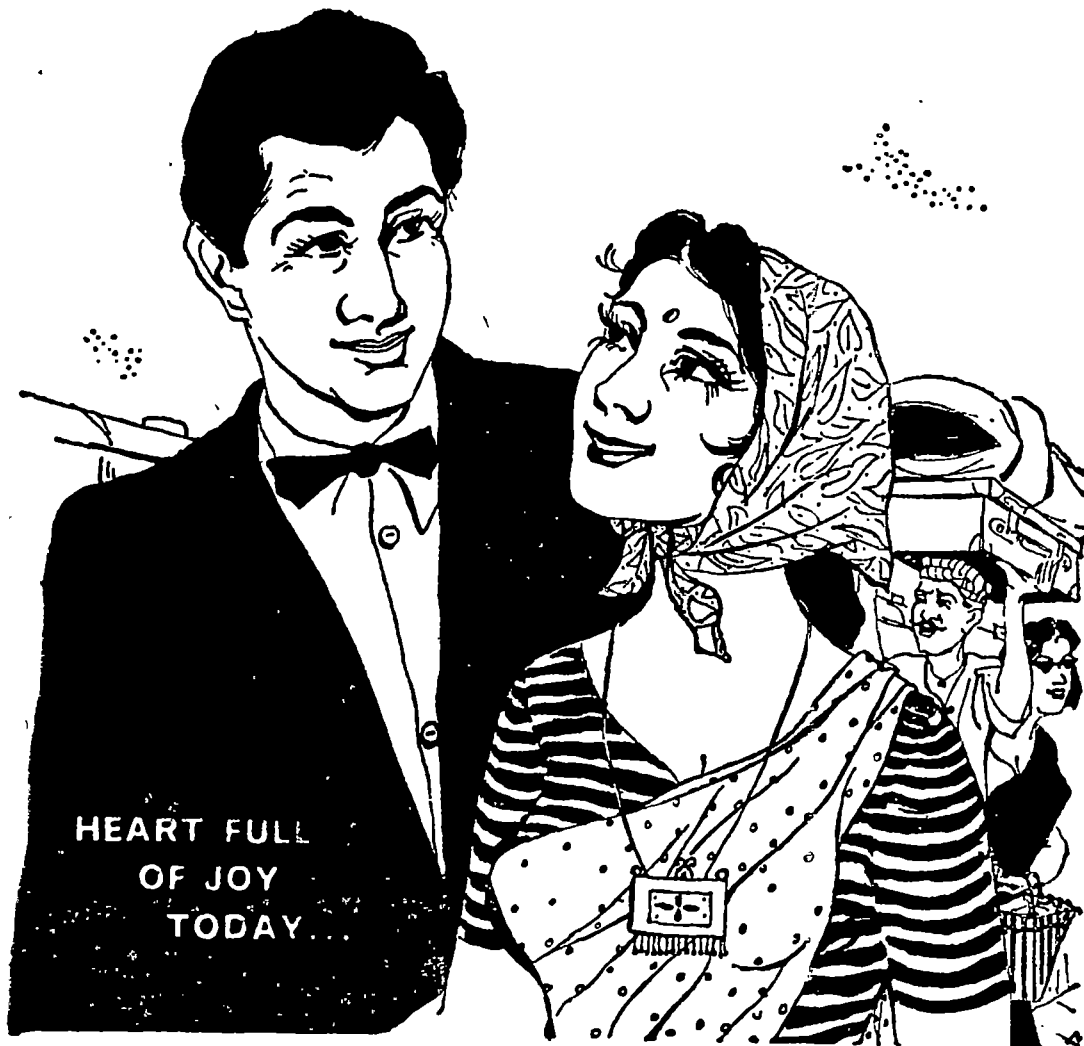
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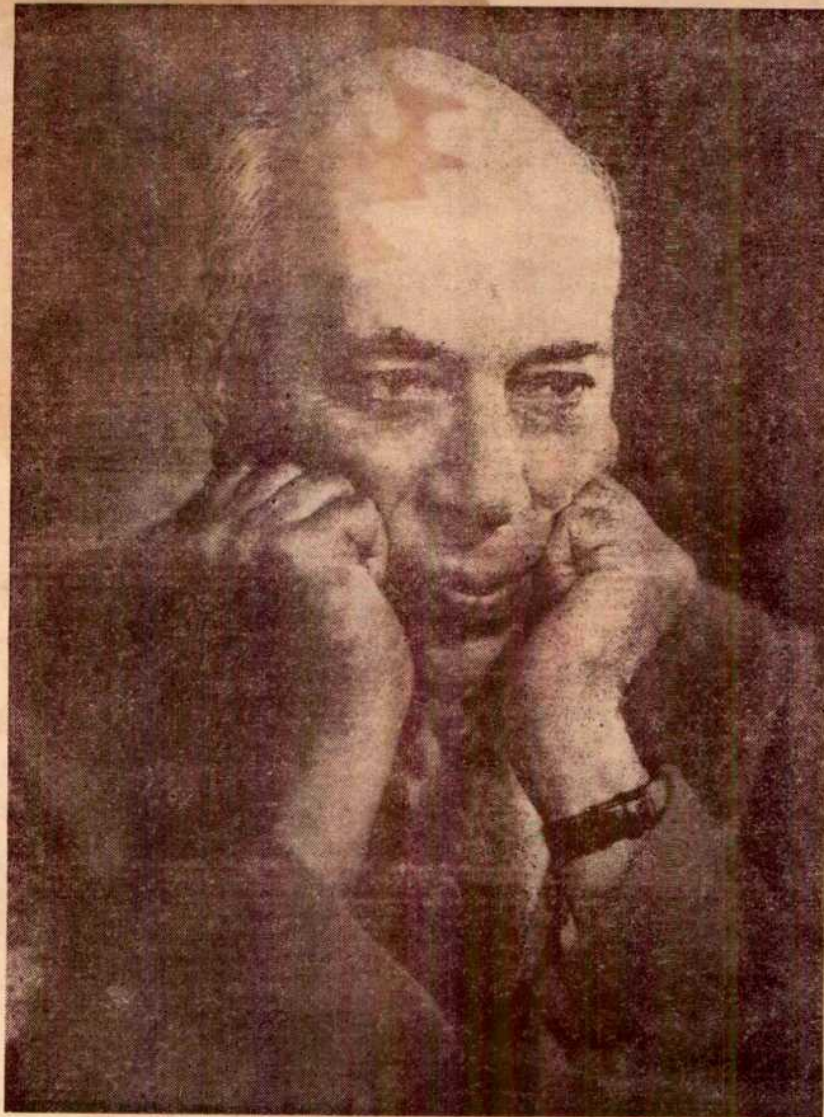
Mainstream

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1967

35 P.

Nasser Fights West INDIA'S STAKES

BIHAR Battle Against Hunger



OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love, ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

Jawaharlal Nehru

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THE COMMON STRUGGLE

THE war in West Asia, triggered by Israeli aggression on UAR territory, is a grim reminder to the freedom-loving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that the unholy alliance of imperialism and neo-colonialism continues to threaten the liberty and national sovereignty of the newly-independent countries.

It is a historical fact that the imperialist powers nineteen years ago carved out the state of Israel in a strategic part of the Arab homeland in order to provide for themselves a firm foothold in West Asia and have a "dependable" ally against the rising tide of Arab nationalism. To achieve this they did not hesitate to uproot millions of Palestinians who to this day are compelled to live on charity and have little hope of regaining their homes or living the life of a free people. Meant to serve as an arsenal and a springboard for attack on the Arab countries, Israel was deliberately peopled by influx from Europe, America and elsewhere.

From the time it came into being Israel has been pursuing a militantly anti-Arab policy, strengthening itself militarily with the help of the imperialist powers, mainly the United States and Britain. The first major proof of the purpose of the creation of Israel came in 1956 when that country, backed by the Western Powers, mounted aggression on Egypt. The Suez crisis provided concrete evidence of the extent to which the imperialist powers were prepared to go to hang on to their illegitimate interests in the region. Thanks to the courage and determination of the UAR under the leadership of President Nasser, and the massive support of all freedom-loving peoples of the world, imperialist designs were thwarted then, although the Western Powers did little to further the peace-keeping efforts of the UN which followed. The UAR readily allowed the UN Emergency Force to be stationed in its territory bordering Israel, while

the latter, arrogant because of the powerful backing of the imperialist powers, refused to accommodate units of the force on its territory.

The present crisis began when Israel threatened to attack Syria in so-called retaliation for displaced and frustrated Palestinians seeking to focus attention on their continuing misery. Sensing the nature of the new menace to freedom in West Asia, President Nasser rightly decided to demand the withdrawal of the UN Force from UAR territory, so that in case of aggression by Israel and resistance to it developed the UN might not get involved in it. The UN Secretary-General accepted the logic of the situation and ordered withdrawal of the UNEF.

While the Arab nations were only getting ready to face any eventuality, Israel last Monday suddenly launched an attack, first on the Indian contingent in Gaza and then on UAR cities around the Suez Canal. Regular war was thus forced on the Arab countries which, in face of imperialist-backed aggression, united as never before.

As in 1956, India promptly recognized the justice of the Arab position and gave it unreserved support. In fact, after a few years of doubt and misgivings, Indian leadership has once again acted in the true Nehru tradition as a truly nonaligned country which will judge every situation on merits and pronounce its views without fear or favour.

The developments in West Asia are of particular significance to the people of India, for the Western game there is not different in nature from their activities in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. They are using Israel against the Arab world in the very same manner in which they have been using Pakistan to embarrass and humiliate India at every stage. The West has been unable to stage a second Vietnam in West Asia only because of the constant assertion of Arab nationalism under the leadership of President Nasser.

Whether the present war continues or a cease fire of sorts is effected, the danger of Western-inspired aggression continues in West Asia. The people of India who share the cause of preserving the national freedom and independence of all peoples are solidly behind the Arab nations in their historic struggle against imperialist designs. Whether it is in Vietnam or in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent or in West Asia, the people of India stand shoulder to shoulder with all forces fighting inroads into national freedom and sovereignty and people's rights.

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WEST BENGAL: PLAYING WITH FIRE

IT is becoming increasingly evident that a sinister conspiracy is afoot to make it impossible for the United Left Government in West Bengal to function, to discredit it and force it out of office.

Those behind this conspiracy are not merely the Big Business houses and their known stooges but certain Congress leaders at the Centre and in the States who see in the popularity and progressive policies of the State Government a potential threat to their political power and influence not only at the State level but also on the national level. Also behind the concerted move to subvert democracy in West Bengal is the powerful Western lobby which finds in the new and strident expression of the people's views and aspirations in the State the biggest challenge to their masters' plans.

That the Birlas' biggest newspaper should have been the first to raise in a big way the bogey of a "Red plan for revolution" is no accident (and this write-up is believed to be based on a Home Ministry working paper.) Apart from the fact that a major part of the Birla Empire is concentrated in the critical border State, the Birlas have close connections with the West as well as with a number of power-wielders at the Centre and in some of the Congress-ruled States. The Birla press broadside is an indication that the anti-people forces have worked out their tactics and have more or less launched the campaign to force a change of Government in West Bengal as the prelude to an all-out attack not only on all the progressive forces in the country but on the whole structure of democracy.

It is no accident either that the gherao, a spontaneous form of expression of working class discontent so far as West Bengal is concerned, should have been made the focal point of the campaign to discredit the popular Government in the State. In the past, whatever steps labour took to air its genuine grievances, including resort to spontaneous gherao in certain cases, the pro-employer regimes in power let loose police repression against the workers in a big way. So long as the police force was available to the employers to put down the workers and deny them their minimum dues, gheraos did not matter in the least. But the moment a Government is in power which decides to play fair as between the workers and the employers, and refuses to place the police force totally at the disposal of the employers as in the past, a hue and cry is raised. And the vociferous presence of extremists among Left Communists in the State comes in handy for a slander campaign, quite ignoring the fact that the United Front Government is not composed of these but of responsible, progressive elements genuinely interested in making a success of parliamentary democracy. (and these include

Left Communist Ministers as well.)

It is quite ominous that the Union Home Minister, who should either have left the situation to be handled by the State Government in its own way or at best tried to help informally to resolve differences between labour and capital leading to the situation, went out of his way not only to publicly criticise the State Government in Calcutta as well as in Parliament but virtually to encourage officials and others to defy the State authorities. It is highly presumptuous of Sri Chavan to imagine that he is more interested in the maintenance of law and order than the elected representatives of the people who are running the administration in the State with a high sense of responsibility. In any case law and order is a subject fully within the jurisdiction of the State Government, and his attempt to interfere and embarrass the United Front Government was altogether unwarranted. The only conclusion to be drawn from his conduct is that he is throwing his weight on the side of those forces which seek to put an end to democracy in West Bengal.

According to available information, the Prime Minister has so far been able to resist the move for a forced takeover of West Bengal. But how long she can hold out when the bulk of her advisers and the more powerful of her Cabinet colleagues gang up against progressive State Governments can only be a matter for conjecture. It is to be hoped that she has learnt the lessons of 1959 when on her initiative and with the connivance of the Western lobby the popular State Government of Kerala was ousted. The people of Kerala have shown that they will not tolerate such brazen interference with democracy, and it is foolish to hope that the people of West Bengal will not react similarly.

So far as Sri Chavan is concerned, he has failed in the very test of statesmanship he has had to face: the Prime Minister and her colleagues will be doing irreparable harm to the country and to its democratic structure if they allow themselves to be influenced by Sri Chavan's perverted approach. All the fine talk about the Union Government's anxiety to maintain cordial Centre-State relations will amount to nothing if behind this barrage of sweet words attempts to poison the springs of democracy are permitted to go on unhindered.

If by these manoeuvres a crisis is created in West Bengal and the Centre takes false steps, the only gainers will be Big Business and their American patrons, not the people. And even their gains will be short-lived for in the process they will destroy the people's faith in democratic functioning. Those who are clamouring for "action" against West Bengal are indeed playing with fire.

C.

FIGHT FOR FOREIGN POLICY

THE West Asian crisis has provided a significant insight into the relative strength and style of operation of political forces in the country. While the Government has come out with positive support for UAR—and refreshingly, with promptitude—the powerful pro-West lobby has gone into action in a very big way. In fact, the issue has shown up the serious erosion of the nation's anti-imperialist traditions that is being sought to be made by the powerful operators of the American lobby. It is important to note that their shrewd line of approach is to subtly play up Israel as the innocent little Red Riding Hood threatened by the Big Bad Wolf. The organs of Big Business press have unashamedly picked up the cue from pro-West lobby which wants to denounce UAR; and it is amazing that there is very little of material coming directly from UAR sources which is appearing in the Indian press. More interesting has been the phenomenon that the whole chorus of editors who in season and out of season wave the flag of free press are writing like dutiful scribes of the Western agencies. The discerning section of New Delhi observers are amazed at the enormity of this pro-West propaganda drive.

This is all the more surprising after the disclosure that have taken place in the West about the role that Israel had played as the springboard of Western imperialism in the 1956 crisis. But if any single event has shown up the corroding influence of Western propaganda over the agencies of mass communication in this country, it is this enormous effort at misleading public opinion on a clear-cut anti-imperialist issue.

The fact that the Government has taken a basically correct stand

leaving little scope for ambiguity has naturally come as a surprise to the whole host of people from Mr. Chester Bowles to Sri Balraj Madhok. For them the general expectation was that the most that the Indira Government would be doing would be to take a wishy-washy stand, something in line with our policy of political insipidity as demonstrated in the case of the Vietnam War. But the decent stand that the Government has taken has almost instantaneously brought us the massive goodwill of the entire Arab world—an asset which will undoubtedly stand us in good stead in any future crisis directly involving this country.

This policy-stand could be brought about by several factors. For one thing, unlike the case of South East Asia, West Asia as a bastion of anti-imperialist politics has always had a long historical association with this country. From the solidarity with the Khilafat Movement to Nehru's rapport with Nahas Pasha in the common struggle against imperialism, there has always been a live interest in the developments in the Middle East particularly in Egypt. President Nasser has contributed to strengthening this bond further by being one of the architects, along with Nehru, of the edifice of the nonaligned Third World. His stand at the Colombo Conference at the time of the Chinese aggression in 1962 definitely helped India, a fact which is being surreptitiously misrepresented today by the pro-Western circles in New Delhi. During the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965, it was Nasser's intervention at Casablanca which prevented Pakistan running away with the entire Arab world. The strong trade links that India has with

West Asia has also partly contributed to the immediate realisation of the danger of any conflict breaking out in the strategic zone that commands this country's line of communication with vital centres of world market.

Another factor which has contributed in maintaining certain clarity of the anti-imperialist perspective is the absence of China as a significant element in the present dispute: because of the persistence of the India-China animosity, any issue in which China figures is conveniently twisted by the pro-West quarters to deflect attention from the role of US imperialism in a particular dispute. This could be seen in the case of Vietnam where despite the most barbarous role played by the Johnson Administration, the pro-US lobby in this country could, to a large measure, paralyse forthright action by bringing in the bogey of China. Fortunately the spectre of Mao Tse-tung does not hover over the Gulf of Aqaba.

Lastly, the clear and forthright stand taken by Nehru and Krishna Menon in the Suez crisis eleven years ago had left a precedence which even the diehards in the Foreign Office would find it difficult to ignore totally. The only difference between 1956 and 1967 is that Britain's malignant mantle has this time been taken over by US. (It is precisely on this point there is certain reticence on the part of the Government to criticise America's provocative role in this crisis.)

Despite these advantages, it is surprising how the Government has neglected the building up of a massive public opinion drive in support of its own stand. There has been no effort at the highest level, at explaining the Government stand to the newspapers. Even the little that Shastri did

before going to the Tashkent Conference in taking the press into confidence has not been done this time either by the Foreign Minister or the Prime Minister.

In fact the Government has left its critics to have a field day, never even caring to lift the issue at least to the level of a national debate, not to speak of mobilising public opinion in its support. An ostrich-like policy is noticeable in New Delhi that after giving out the official statement on the crisis it has practically confined its entire operation to the lobbies of the United Nations, hardly making any effort to combat the American lobby in New Delhi.

This could be seen not only in the absence of any serious dialogue with the Opposition leaders right from the outset of the crisis but in the lack of political elucidation by the leadership even to its own party ranks. The case for America in the garb of friendship for Israel has been voiced very strongly inside the Congress Parliamentary Party. Most surprising is the revelation that has perhaps shocked Sri Chagla when he met the Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers in a briefing session: except for three among them, most of the other participants were found to have criticisms and reservations about the Government policy in the West Asian crisis.

Apart from the mischievous tirade that Cairo had not been a consistent friend-in-need for New Delhi in the two major crises of 1962 and 1965, the other argument which is spread mainly at the behest of the U.S. Embassy is that a firm stand in support of UAR would annoy President Johnson and this might hold back the promised shipments of food-grains during the critical weeks ahead. Parenthetically, this argument shows up the hypocrisy behind shedding tears for Israel, that the real parties in the present crisis are the US with its Sixth Fleet on the one side, and the resurgent anti-imperialist resistance of Arab nationalism on the other.

In this context it is important to note the rather thoughtless manner in which some of the leading lights of the External Affairs Ministry have tried at the begin-

ning to explain the basic issue involved in the present crisis. New Delhi observers are quite surprised to find that a clear trend in the Foreign Office is to depict the present crisis as a tussle between Arab nationalism and Jewish nationalism. If one has to accept this premise, then there is hardly any justification left for the present Indian stand in clear support of Arab nationalism. It is the pro-West influence in Foreign Office that sometimes proves to be a stumbling block for the Government taking a robust anti-imperialist stand.

* * *

WITH the actual outbreak of hostilities in the morning of June 5, the situation in New Delhi changed significantly. The pro-US circles were put on the defensive because of Israel's initiative in committing aggression and also by the fact that it was the Israeli armed attack on UNEF convoy that had led to the killing of several Indian soldiers.

But the massive pressure against the Government's stand continued. In the Congress Parliamentary Party, the attack against Sri Chagla's original statement was led mainly by Sri Morarji Desai's supporters; while they found it difficult to frontally attack the Government position, they now tried to find fault with it on the ground that a partisan support of UAR would spoil India's chances of playing the mediator. They forgot recent history which shows that Sri Krishna Menon could undertake effective diplomacy from Indo-China to the Suez crisis only after asserting forthright India's support for the anti-imperialist cause every time.

In the Opposition the Socialists, both SSP and PSP, trailed behind Swatantra and Jan Sangh in criticising the Government for lending support to the Arab cause. Sri Masani suddenly woke up to defend non-alignment—of course his own brand of it, that wanted this country to be neutral in the struggle between colonialism and anti-colonialism, the very thing which Nehru had repudiated over and over again.

The Indian stand which had

crystallised in the brief to Sri Parthasarathy to call for cease fire *plus* withdrawal of forces of both sides to their positions as on June 4 was finalised after almost non-stop consultations spreading beyond midnight of Monday; it got official approval at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet in the morning of June 6—but only after it had crossed several hurdles. The most formidable of these was understood to have been put up by Sri Morarji Desai who was reluctant to come out in support of UAR and to brand Israel for escalating the war. Sri Asoka Mehta figured among the Cabinet ministers who were afraid of President Johnson's annoyance.

Contrary to earlier reports, Sri Dinesh Singh has been in favour of definite support for the UAR and criticism of Israel.

By the time the Prime Minister made the important statement in Lok Sabha of Tuesday afternoon embodying the Government's stand, one of the major battles in defence of India's time-honoured foreign policy as evolved under Nehru, had been silently fought.

This is regarded as all the more significant since Smt Gandhi carried it through in a precarious manner, without the mobilisation of latent mass support for it. Nor did the Opposition quarters, including the Communists, go in for any mass mobilisation against the very dangerous and provocative presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet encouraging Israeli aggression—an act which would have demonstrated to a large measure the strength behind a positive national stand in support of UAR.

The entire episode brought out the multi-pronged pressure of the pro-West lobby in New Delhi as against the rather flabby and lackadaisical functioning of the forces that stand for solidarity against imperialism. It is almost a miracle that a positive official stand on the West Asia crisis could evolve under such inhospitable circumstances.

June 6

N.C.

The Palestine of Biblical Conception is not the geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if Jews must look to Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of British guns—nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.

—Mahatma Gandhi
November 26, 1938.

An Anti-Imperialist Struggle

MOHAMMED WAHBY

THERE is a tendency among a section of intellectuals and politicians in some Afro-Asian countries to assume that the conflict that is currently raging in West Asia is basically a struggle between Arab and Jewish nationalism. This attitude has been deliberately and persistently fostered by the mighty Zionist-imperialist propaganda machinery. In fact, some time ago, the attempt was vigorously made to paint Jewish nationalism as a progressive and dynamic force which is grappling with tradition-bound and faction-ridden Arab nationalism.

But now that facts have been totally uncovered concerning the myth of Arab backwardness and Israeli progress and the majority of the Afro-Asian opinion is convinced of the genuineness of Arab dynamism and the basic egalitarian character of the Arab nationalism—in contrast to the parasitic, racist and colonial character of the so-called Jewish nationalism—the powerful propaganda machinery of the West is geared to deceive and trap Afro-Asian public opinion into a position of, at least, neutrality in an imagined conflict between two nationalisms.

The plain truth is that there is no such thing as Jewish nationalism. This is not a matter of polemics but of recent and current history. A tiny group of Jews, the Zionists, have vainly attempted so far to seek the solution of a

basically ethno-religious problem by identifying, and therefore, confusing, religion with nationalism. The fundamental doctrine of the Zionists on which their entire political ideology rests, is that all world non-Jewish communities that is, the Gentiles, are irremediably anti-semitic. Thus inherent anti-semitism, according to the irrational Zionist ideology, is termed by Chaim Weizmann, one of the chief architects of Zionism, as a “bacillus” which every Gentile carries within him.

The only solution to this Jewish problem, according to Zionist logic is that world Jewry should be “ingathered” into the “historic Land of Israel”. This, however, was impossible of realisation without fostering a feeling of artificial nationalism in the different Jewish communities of the world. Hence the attempt to create a nationalism out of the Jewish religion, or as it has come to be known, the Zionist movement.

Retrogressive and irrational as such movement is what is relevant to the two-nationalism argument is whether the Zionists have succeeded in converting all world Jewry into one national group. The truth of the matter is that the predominant majority of Jewish communities have opted to remain where they are in their countries of origin. With all the enticement, intimidation and pressures which the Zionist machinery has been able to exert on Jewish communities less than two million of them have migrated to Israel. The rest have chosen to submit to the current of history

and to realize that their salvation lies not in exclusivism, but in fully identifying themselves with their nation-states. They realised that it was in fact Jewish exclusivism which was, in essence, the cause of their persecution. Further, these Jews have recognised the fact that the tide of history is against any exclusiveness whether based on race or on religion, or much worse, on combination of both of them as it is the case with Zionism.

All that the giant Zionist machinery, massively backed as it is by imperialist interests, have been able to do concerning these “recalcitrant” Jews, is to entice part of them and intimidate another part to give material help to the Zionist experiment of creating a nation on racial and religious foundations. But they have decidedly refused to get directly and personally involved in this experiment the futility of which has been proved in the last nineteen years.

The two-nation argument, therefore, has no basis in reality. A Jewish nation is just not in existence as there is no such thing as a Christian, Hindu or Muslim nation.

The question, may be asked: If the invalidity and futility of Zionism have been so conclusive how is it then that it has been able to create Israel and to sustain it despite all its inner contradictions and economic non-viability? This brings us face to face with the real nature of the Zionist movement and its end-product, Israel.

The author is the Acting Chief Representative, League of Arab States Mission in India.

History tells us that at the time when European armies started their march to the East to occupy it the Zionists started their race-supremacist settler movement in Palestine not only to occupy it but to usurp it for good. Thus while Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism used to speak publicly of Arabs living happily in a Jewish State in Palestine, he wrote in his secret diary about a scheme to "spirit the penniless population across the frontier by denying it employment."

Any such scheme, however, was out of bounds to the Zionists without the full-cooperation and support of the colonialist powers which — though less ambitious as they did not aim at displacing other peoples and thereafter possessing their countries—were equally ruthless and unmindful of any human consideration. This, however, was an easy task for the Zionists to accomplish.

In as much as Zionism needed the indispensable coercive machinery of a strong colonialist power the latter, in this particular

case it was inevitable to be Britain, enthusiastically welcomed the Zionist venture as it would guarantee to the empire a permanent base in the best possible strategic area. Further, Britain's sponsorship of the Zionist venture would mobilise the influential Jewish communities on its side. This was especially needed during the first World War. Hence the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which forged a Catholic marriage between imperialism and Zionism.

(To be Continued Next Week)

Bihar's Battle Against Hunger

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE famine in Bihar has been feeding the statisticians and the coiners of truisms and the propaganda hacks tediously building up the picture of a state that has given up the struggle and the will to survive. But then, this is the hunger calculus; behind it emerges the picture of a people slowly rallying, and pausing in their hunger to make a relentless judgment. Those being judged are the arrogant woman who thought the Bihar Government's famine figures blown up, and the bureaucrat who claimed there would be no famine if only the backward Biharis ate sweet potatoes.

This famine is the second during the century, but measures up in its severity to the famine of 1867-70, when lakhs of people panicked and perished. The loss this time, accounted in money, would be over 3,500 crores of rupees, and it is not going to be made good anyway. The fact of this loss is augmented by a screamingly alarmist and mischievous propaganda. But Bihar villages and towns have girdled themselves for a battle of quiet resistance. Between October and February there was a good deal of panic, and despair

was on the faces of men and women. The villages were getting deserted, and the exodus moved on towards the frustration that awaited them in the towns of Bihar and West Bengal. From Palamau district in normal times there is a certain regular migratory movement of labour to the cities. This is about twenty thousand, but in three months of famine while their cattle stampeded away to die, nearly fifty thousand left Palamau. People were selling whatever they could sell, selling to people who were too weary to buy. Clothes, utensils and at times things held dearly precious; with the pall of hunger gathering thicker the trading became a mere motion of giving and taking with all its human association taken away. Trains steamed away choc-full with fleeing villagers, and platforms were crowded with eager crowds waiting for the next ferry. It looked like Bihar was getting ready for a vast opera of death, like the Bengal tragedy of 1943.

March this year was the turning point, in a sense. Famine still walked the land, the cattle stampeded into the drying wilderness, and the children cried out in hunger. But the people had

the first taste of change, of confidence in themselves and in their new leadership. Panic gave way to reasoning and patience. The new Government's relief measures were already making big headway. The result was a pullback of the exodus, and even a trickle of people from Uttar Pradesh's Mirzapur and Madhya Pradesh's Sarguja into Bihar.

Out of the State's 571 blocs, 186 have been declared famine stricken. The declaration of famine has created a trauma in New Delhi, where the response to this stupendous national tragedy has differed from the curious to the obscene. There was an attempt to wish the famine away, then an attempt at a ponderous statistical rebuttal of death, and finally alarmism, with its implied condemnation of the new popular State Government. It is a measure of the inanity of the Central leadership that they should have found not the fact but the technicality of famine irritating. The 186 blocs where the distress signal has gone up cover a population of about 14 million. Another 20 million lie along a lesser, penumbral region of scarcity. The condition of the remaining 20 mil-

lion is only marginally different from the others. Bihar produced only 30 lakh tonnes of foodgrains during 1966-67 as against its normal output of 73 lakh tonnes, a shortfall of 43 lakh tonnes. This along with the wanted deficit of 13 lakh tonnes totals up to a 56 lakh tonne gap. Or in the innocent language of averages, there is only food enough for one Bi-hari out of every three.

Callousness

Supplies have been coming, however, with the callousness and spasmodicity the Union Government have gained a reputation for. The result has been the transference of this sporadicity to the points of consumption, the ration and fairprice shops. According to the Bihar Famine and Flood Relief Code, an adult should be given at least 12 ounces of foodgrains a day. Instead the State Government is making do with 10 ounces in rural areas and 8 to 6 ounces in the urban. The assumption is that in towns one could buy food in the open market, however high the price. This has proved to be an unhappy assumption, for the urban worker, specially the one who has migrated from the village and whose dependent family back home lives precariously on his wage surplus, is crippled by this. He has to eat to be able to do the gross hard labour expected of him, and after he has bought this precious fuel in the open market, he is left with nothing to send home. Every now and then one runs into a worker who complains of fatigue, a complaint which has a dismal and final meaning, for whoever fatigues and cannot lift the load moves then on along a lonely and obscure path to death.

The Union Government, whose Jhas have forgotten to chew and only know of the slavery of food, found the Declaration indecorous. They were concerned with big things like changing the tapestry at Palam, and getting Cardin over to design mini-skirts for the Revolution. To their pathologically banqueting ministers the starving and the dying seemed so much crudity. An officer of the Central Food

Ministry said Bihar could live on Sweet potatoes, so why bother about them? A vocal and impetuous Congress woman MP from Bihar termed the State Government's demands inflated and statistics not so vital. The Centre was sending enough, she said. The lady must have sat pretty through her arithmetic lessons at school, or else she could never be so fuzzy with her numbers. Bihar's Revenue Minister Indradeep Sinha made the figures easy for her, talking to the press at Hazaribagh. The State has a population of 5 crores and 23 lakhs. About four crores are affected by varying degrees of famine and scarcity. Seventy-five percent of this population is adult, and converting the children into adult equivalents we get an all-adult 85 per cent waiting to be fed. Of the rest 30 per cent are landless labourers and 20 per cent poor peasants, and these too need providing. At 12 ounces per head this works out to 3.5 lakh tonnes a month.

The Central Government promised to send 2.05 lakh tonnes in April, but only 1.55 lakh tonnes reached Bihar. The State Government had gone ahead on the basis of the Centre's promise. They were in a fix consequently and were forced to withdraw a small quantity of 15 thousand tonnes from the Central godowns in the first week of May. With almost vindictiveness, the Central Government demanded the adjustment of this withdrawal against the supplies expected in May. And they turned round too, to charge the State Government with leakage of stores. Nobody would deny this. In a state of emergency, of stupendous emergency, a state government cannot possibly be expected to exercise greater control over its stores. But what certainly is odd is the mysterious 2 to 14 per cent loss while the grain is in Central custody. It has been claimed that because of certain difficulties in the ports of Madras and Calcutta, the ships were to be emptied and grains filled in without the filled bags being weighed. The total amount of food grain despatched is calculated on the assumption that each bag weighs 90 kilograms.

On arrival the bags were found to weigh anything from 60 kilos upward. The State Government has now begun to weigh the incoming bags. They have abolished, too, the system of private stockists, and have armed themselves with the right to take over godowns, premises and vehicles. The traders tried to stall this with pressure, and having failed, have now gone to court. In Parliament, Sri Jagjivan Ram said recently that the food prospect would get uncertain after July if no fresh agreement was signed with the United States. The people of Bihar have every reason to be alarmed over this statement, because the State's internal food factors would remain where they are till September. So after July it threatens to be a sixty day stretch of desert.

No Water

Then there is the problem of drinking water, a problem of great acuteness in Palamau, Gaya, Patna, parts of Monghyr and some patches of North Bihar. Eighteen thousand out of the 64 thousand villages of Bihar are facing shortage of drinking water. Tanks and ponds have dried up, and where they have not, their knee-deep slush is nothing more than a muddy culture of maggots. Hand pumps have been sunk, but their number is hopelessly inadequate, and each of these collects impossible queues. In North Bihar the drill strikes the water bed at thirty or forty feet deep. But in the South Bihar and in Chotanagpur the soil seems to have been drained of its water. It looks like the recreation of a primordial misery, the weak, faltering women walking miles to fetch a pail of water. In some parts of Palamau the artery of water is as far as 16 miles away in the river of Kanhar. In a hard manual labour project in the Jamui subdivision of Monghyr, I found a woman drinking out of a ditch. I was told that the project had only provision for employing men and women, but none whatsoever for finding them drinking water. Some sweet potato bureaucrat had slipped, obviously, and by the time this slip was corrected,

countless women would have drunk of the slime and the bacilli. I watched them at the project dig away like marionettes, digging away without relevance, digging away in the sheerest ennui, as high above them blazed a sulphurous sun. I hate to get sentimental; but there I stood, overwhelmed by the imponderable symbolism of that ditch.

Irrigation is a scandal. The ponds and tanks and the like, at one time were the charge of the Zamindars. With the abolition of Zamindari, they were vested in the Government. The Government kept back 12 per cent of the Zamindari compensation, to make a kind of compensatory fund for itself to carry on the irrigational responsibilities of the former Zamindars. In the years that followed these water holdings have grown derelict, and now most of them are totally unusable. One wonders what the 12 per cent fund was spent on.

Frustrating Bureaucracy

The present Government has tried to undo much of this. But even they have to operate through a frustrating bureaucracy, a sweet potato bureaucracy, and a bungling subordinate cadre. Technical and administrative complications bedevil the projects in many places. The services of geological experts were requisitioned to spot the water beneath the rocks, but the experts seem to be behaving like shy prima donnas. In the villages the people wait for the rigs, and when the rigs come there is much rejoicing. But quite often there follows the ridiculous: at Sono and Simaria (Jamui) bores were made but pumps were fitted only weeks later. Drilling work has been held up in many places for wants of spares! There was dearth of huge pipe collars, there was not enough dynamite to deepen wells. Dynamite was in short supply one doesn't know why; the war perhaps, or perhaps just a defective issuing system. Then there is the case of small pipe sunk into a bigger bore; with the gap around having to be filled in with gravel. And instead of electric pumps, tedious hand pumps are set up. The result is a pathetically low supply of water which has no

relation to the money spent on the mechanical boring itself.

But the battle is not given up: in Daltonganj 8000 gallons of water are brought daily in 14 trucks. In Nawadah, 24 bullock carts and four motor trucks bring drinking water to the worst-hit villages in Sirdalla Block.

People remember the shoddiness with which the previous government went about the job of irrigation and if there is any truth in these recollections of theirs, they amount to a terrific indictment of the Congress. For in the years that Bihar's tragedy has been building up, the politically protected contractor was making his blood money. I was told of one such operator who was given rock drilling work between eight and ten thousand rupees. Besides, if a rig was idle, he extracted an hourly rental of ninety rupees.

The work on the Gandak Project has not been completed, in spite of a Congress Minister having offered a maund of *laddu* to a certain deity. The delay in the completion has meant additional burden on the State. Indebtedness on account of the project has shot up from the original 52 crores to 155 crores. Had the dam been completed on time, the deficit would have been wiped out, for it would have irrigated an area of 27.50 lakh acres and put production up by about 30 lakh tonnes.

At the Mayurakshi project it was an even more curious story. Some defect prevented the people from getting water even after the project was completed. A floating pump offered as a gift by a socialist country was turned down by the Congress Government for some mysterious reasons. The new Government took the pump, which is now lifting the Mayurakshi water for consumption. The three Plans have made no impact on irrigation.

Forests were denuded since 1947; but the Zamindari abolition gave rise to pure and simple vandalism. The Zamindars began practising a kind of scorched earth on the forests they were about to lose, and felled and sold many trees as they could in those brief months. The Congress Government, making ceremonial fads

of tree planting and tree protection, let this pass. A number of forest produces which the rural people used ceased to be available to them. But more important than that was the interference with rain cycle. Travelling through Palamau and South Monghyr one sees the impress of the desert: dead rocks and parched earth and dessicated shrubbery. Again it is blood money in operation. The contractor continues to get the trees felled, and the forest official is hand in glove with him. The forests are kept fairly lush of the outer rims, a kind of masquerade behind which the clandestine felling goes on. The drought and the oncoming of the desert are no concern of these individuals.

Relief Work

The Government of Bihar began relief work on an unprecedented scale. During the third week of May work on 40,141 hard manual labour schemes was on, employing an average of 6,15,983 persons daily. The schemes coming under the Plan employed another 93,038. By the 21st of May 3,56,028 kutcha wells were dug and work on 6,544 was in progress. The Government has allocated Rs. 6,60,02,892 for hard manual schemes. Light manual schemes have also been started, though on a limited scale. If the Government encourages mat, rope and basket making to mention a few, many of those who are far too famished for the labour intensive schemes can be accommodated.

Ration cards have been distributed to all the people. The 'able' person, though this description often loses meaning, gets the white card. The red cards, its insistent colour proclaiming sovereign necessity, is given to the destitute. A red card holder gets free ration and four rupees a month. When the red card was introduced, the officials had cluttered it as usual with their vexing preconditions. For instance a person had to make a formal application, which to the illiterate villager is a matter of terror even in normal times. Then the genuineness of the application would be investigated by the official machinery. This led to

callous delay and endless harassment. The rules have now been revised and the Government has made it compulsory for the official to complete investigation within three days. By the 21st of May the reds had swelled to 5,48,224. But even the simplified methods now being adopted do not preclude the many instances of human failure and belated succour. I was told the story of a destitute old woman for whom the wait proved too long. For when she got her ration on her red card, she had become too famished to carry it home. The Block Development Officer found someone to carry it for her. But she collapsed on the way and died. The three day wait had killed her.

Wracking Want

Such is urgency of Bihar. Yet the parasites, dug deep in, go on as usual. There are any number of instances of *Mukhiyas* and clerks demanding bribes for red ration cards. At some places big landlords manage to get red cards for their labourers in lieu of wages.

CARE feeds children in the affected areas on *dalia* (crushed wheat) and milk. The CARE centres are run by primary school teachers, and with the teachers so occupied there is no teaching in the schools. The sub-inspectors of schools have been given scooters, their supervisors jeeps to go round and inspect the centres. This seems an entirely redundant, but to the feudal mind prestigious, activity. The Americans go their rounds too, with the American's congenital grossness intruding upon the privacy of a starving and humiliated people; along with the meals, they lecture on their generous philanthropy. There is no denying that all this wracking want would make absorbing TV, if not as bracing as the Viet Nam transmissions, for the queer lech and death wish of infantile audiences.

The Bihar Government has given a crore of rupees to CARE, but there seems to be no way of getting an account of how the money has been spent. At Khuiragarh the people complained that there were no utensils, fuel nor even a cook. In Bibhutipur area of Darbhanga half cooked *dalia* was found being served for want

of fuel to cook it properly. Often the children are made to wander in the sun to gather fire wood. At a particularly dirty feeding centre the person serving the food had not cared to keep his hands and feet clean. A whole generation of children would now be growing up doubly contaminated: by the unclean food, and by the ceaseless propaganda bilge of the ubiquitous American.

Another major factor in the relief operations is Jayaprakash Narayan's Bihar Relief Committee. It collects money and gifts from all over the world. Among the houses of business only the Tatas have given the Committee a donation worth mentioning, and that too only to the tune of a few lakhs. The Central Government's attitude to the Committee, to say the least is curious. They have shown a marked preference for the Committee over the State Government itself. It is said that without consulting the Bihar Government, the Centre gave the Committee 10 trucks and 18 jeeps, and asked the Bihar Government to foot the bill. From the Prime Minister's Relief Fund Rs. 25 lakhs are diverted every month to the Committee. Then on top of this is a monthly dole of 5,000 tonnes of Soviet wheat (but there is neither any signboard nor lectures to tell people about this donor.) With all this, Jayaprakash is reported to be unhappy with the Bihar Government for not having accommodated a fad of his. He had demanded three crores of rupees for the Charka Sangh. The Sangh's past record, the Government felt, was none too straight. The RSS has fielded a number of relief workers, but Jayaprakash's praise for this organisation was felt to be out of all proportion. And he had tended increasingly to get enmeshed in small and inopportune controversy.

The Committee has turned over to the poor the expensive garments it got as gift from abroad. There is often a strange disutility about these; it is curious that it never occurred to anyone that these could be sold or auctioned in the open market and the money used to buy cheaper and harder wearing clothing. It would have

meant also clothing many more people. Many people are reselling these dresses, often for throwaway prices. There is also fairly widespread misuse of foodstuffs meant for the children and the infirm: 2,000 tonnes of milk powder has vanished. The Government has received over hundred complaints, and twenty cases have been registered. Wheat stocks supposed to be in ration shops were recovered in many instances from the houses of traders.

There are few sights more mutely tragic than the peasant who looks on with a handful of seed he cannot sow because his cattle are dead. This is the lot of so many of them in Bihar today: at Sikandara, in Monghyr, a peasant wept like a child that his bullocks had perished, how would he till his land? The grass has dried, and stocks of hay have been burned up. The cattle were let loose to die; and where they were not, they were kept precariously alive on tree leaves, and are just wobbly hulks. The rains have come, and with the rains, the time for sowing. But the men are famished, the bullocks even more if they are not dead already, and there are no seeds, no money and no fertiliser. Again it is the case of the meaningless ritual motion when any of these is made available to the peasant. It comes at the bitter end of things when it has already become a dry insufferable symbol.

Andhra's Tantrums

The Government has opened fodder centres, but these have stabilised the livestock situation only marginally. The seed problem is even more grim. Orissa, Andhra, Madras and West Bengal have been supplying paddy seeds, a promised total of about 30,000 tonnes. Over and above this the Government would buy from the open market and from Nepal. Orissa promised 10,000 tonnes which it supplied immediately, and another 10,000 tonnes on its own. Andhra, whose Chief Minister seems to be having tantrums every time he has to honour a commitment to a non-Congress state, failed to send in the promised quantity of seeds. It was explained as being due to ad-

ministrative complications. The 10 to 12 kilos of seed given per acre is inadequate and the strains are often unsuited to the given patch of land. The seed is given only to people possessing land, while the share-croppers' interests are largely neglected.

The mass activity of the Ministers is naturally too much of the bureaucrat's nerves. Some of them are upset: on May 21, the Bihar Civil Service Association passed a resolution protesting against being publicly humiliated by some leaders. True some SSP leaders indulged in this game, but they have been pulled by their colleagues and also by J.P.

Hideous Racket

The bureaucracy tried to make the government loan a hideous racket. The state Government has sanctioned fourteen crores of rupees to be distributed as loans to the peasants. By the 21st of May only a fourth of the amount had been given. In Banka, where a lakh of rupees were given away as loans, five families hogged half the amount, while the rest was sprinkled among a large number of people. In Barhiya four sons of a big landlord had applied for loans totalling 80,000 rupees! Loans were never given to the landless because they could offer

no security. The Government has moved in and taken two decisive steps. Now only *taccavi* loans will be had from the BDO's office. This will be on a joint bond of five persons, while individuals can get loans from the Sub Divisional Officer. An upper limit has been placed on all loans. Secondly, share-croppers and landless labour have also been made eligible for loans. The Government will henceforward accept the security of the houses they live in, no matter on whose land the houses stood. The landlords naturally feel swindled out of their loot. They have been worrying on behalf of the Government, expressing fears that the loans might never be recovered from the landless. But the lessons seem to be different; the defaulters are mostly the landlords who got their loans under pretences and then stall and evade repayment. And the list of defaulters include some Congress big-wigs.

There are complaints about cheating of labourers in the earth work done: some of the Ministers have themselves detected such cases of cheating. Sadheo Raut of Maura village in Monghyr has written to a Minister that out of 700 Kutcha wells supposed to have been dug, about one fourth has not been dug at all. In some

cases, money paid did not fully percolate down to the man who worked.

Details of Wretchedness

There are a hundred details that make up this mosaic of wretchedness. The village teachers and the village watchmen who were not paid their wages for months, the prices that have gone spiralling up, the landless labourers living underim provided thatches which catch fire in the brittle heat or get battered down by the storms. Then the tide on tide of disease, of epidemics. It is a new dimension of suffering and of endurance.

And the boom towns of this country where the synthetic set lives its phoney lives would not have known of the saga till it has passed. All that it would have meant for them, like the war with China did, is an execrable ostentation, the dry sadism of remote-control charity. But Bihar would have fought and triumphed, as indeed the human will to survive has to triumph. It is the triumph of the basic man over the bureaucrat and the blood-money-grabber. And the wells and the water works dug today in anguish by feeble hands shall be full of the earth-sweet of life when the pall has lifted.

Gherao: Shadow and Substance

C. N. CHITTA RANJAN

IN the furious debate on the Gherao which has been going on for many weeks now, the central point of the supposedly new manifestation of working class discontent has been virtually lost sight of. There has been a tendency, on the part of the employers, the Big Business press and those in authority who are scared of the slightest

threat of disturbance of the status quo, to exaggerate the phenomenon and make it appear to be the precursor to bloodshed and violent revolution. These fictitious fears should cause amusement but for the fact that their propagation is part of the continuing game of suppressing the workers on one pretext or another, so that the employers may

go on expanding their businesses and reaping increasing profits without fear of being made to share their prosperity with those who have made it possible.

It is not in the least surprising that the capitalist should seek to make out that the gherao is some kind of a wicked monster out to destroy everything that

is good in society. The capitalist has always reacted to symptoms of labour unrest in this manner. As a number of labour leaders have pointed out, at one stage even the organisation of trade unions was resisted on similar grounds. Although today the workers' right to organise themselves into trade unions and fight for their rights cannot be questioned it must be remembered that this elementary right was not established firmly without a great deal of suffering and sacrifice on the part of the working class. It must also be remembered that in this unequal struggle State power was almost invariably on the side of the employer, and there was no hesitation to make use of the police force to protect the vested interests of the capital-providing class as against the legitimate minimum rights of those who had to sweat and toil to keep the wheels of industry moving.

Nothing New

Sri Chavan, Home Minister, was not postulating anything new when he offered unsolicited advice to the West Bengal Government on the need to maintain "law and order". This is the theory that has been trotted out at every stage by the men in power as explanation for putting the administrative machinery, including the law enforcement authority, at the disposal of private capitalists. The attitude is not merely one of supporting capital against labour: it represents something more—a deep-seated fear that

the slightest disturbance of the status quo, if permitted, may snowball into a revolution which may finally sweep them out of office. Men in power normally imagine that they are permanent quantities, and resent any suggestion that they may not be, at least in a democracy. Their interest in retaining power inevitably makes them defenders of the status quo: and the status quo can be defended against rising popular discontent only by wielding the big stick. If they now want to come down on gherao, it is part of a pattern: one has only to remember how food agitations by starving people and demonstrations by angry, frustrated students were handled in the past to comprehend the truth of this proposition.

It is not as if only the employers and Government spokesmen have contributed to the confusion in the present instance. Even pro-labour and pro-people politicians and parties committed to socialism and a fair deal for the working class have helped the vested interests in making out that the gherao is a new kind of threat to democracy. Of course they have not done this consciously.

Nevertheless the result is the same. Peaceful picketing has long been recognised as a right of the worker; it is a weapon meant to focus attention sharply on injustice done to him. The gherao is little more than an improved version of peaceful picketing, in that the focussing is even sharper

and calls for quicker and more effective response. By making it appear that the gherao is a new kind of weapon discovered suddenly by the working class following the formation of Leftist Governments in certain States, some of the Leftist leaders in the country have only lent credence to the "precursor to bloody revolution" fiction. Of course some top labour leaders have explained the true meaning and significance of gherao, but their voices have been drowned in the din created by the employers and spokesmen of the Union Government.

Not Properly Defined

Punjab's Labour Minister Krishan Lal recently refused either to support or to condemn gheraos on the ground that gherao was yet to be properly defined. In the Lok Sabha Sri Tenneti Viswanatham similarly raised the question of definition. A writer in a Big Business newspaper described gherao as consisting of "a number of persons surrounding a room or an office or even a residence and not allowing the persons gheraoed to leave until whatever is required of them is done." Phrased thus, gherao is made to look like an extreme form of coercion of which lesser varieties include peaceful picketing, fasting and the like. From this definition it is but one step to declare that the law does not permit it: the act of gherao is described as "illegal confinement" of some individuals which is a punishable offence in the eyes of law. But if the logic of this argument is pursued, even a strike or peaceful picketing at the gates of a mill can be described as coercion. Equally, a lockout, retrenchment or layoff will be coercion by the more powerful of the two parties involved. The only argument against gherao can then be that it has not yet been specifically mentioned in Labour legislation as a legitimate trade union method of struggle. It can hardly be denied that while the gheraos in West Bengal have largely been peaceful, gherao may conceivably lead to violence in certain circumstances: if the employer, instead of seeking to

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to

**Secretary, Bihar Famine Relief Fund, Department
of Revenue, Government of Bihar, Secretariat,
Patna**

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Sadaqat Ashram, Patna-10**

settle outstanding issues with the workers through negotiations, attempts to provoke them further, there is bound to be trouble. If, again, the trade union leaders are not constantly on the spot guiding the workers, the situation may get out of hand. Whether a gherao will remain peaceful or not therefore depends on two major factors: first, the employer being or not being in a reasonable frame of mind; and secondly, the capacity of the trade union leaders to ensure disciplined behaviour on the part of the workers. If in a particular situation both these aspects are favourable, there is no reason at all why a gherao should lead to violence.

Employer Obstinate

Gherao results in the first place from the fact of the employer not being a reasonable person willing to concede the just claims of the workers. It also results from the total inadequacy of the Labour legislation available at present. Today's Labour laws are helpful to the employers rather than to the workers, for the simple reason that they provide ample scope for almost endless litigation which the workers cannot afford in terms of money or time. Cases of disputed closure have been known to drag on for long years—one such was recently disposed of by the Supreme Court at the end of eight years—and the mere fact that the dispute is many years old often influences judges in deciding against the workers. There is no certainty of speedy disposal of labour disputes, and there is no certainty of the workers securing justice even after such long periods. Such a situation naturally causes cynicism and lack of faith in the working class. It is only where massive numbers of workers are involved, the trade union is powerfully organised and company-backed unions have not been engaged in subversion that the employers are easily made to see reason. In all other cases the employer is inclined to be obstinate, knowing that he has the capacity to drag the workers from conciliation to tribunal to High Court to Supreme Court. The Tribunal's work can

be effectively delayed by making frequent and frivolous applications to the High Court. In the High Court itself, if a single judge delivers judgment an appeal can be made to a bench of two or three. Then comes the Supreme Court which does not display the same diligence in disposing of labour cases as it does in the case of disputes involving "fundamental rights" especially of the propertied classes.

A recent Supreme Court judgment has the implication that if an employer wants to get rid of "troublesome" employees who demand decent wages and service conditions, all that he has to do is to float a new company, pay off all his old employees according to law, and start business once again under the new company, taking back only such employees as he chooses on such terms as he chooses to impose. The Court has not said so in plain language, but when it holds that the motive of an employer in transferring his business to another company cannot be questioned, such becomes the implication. This is only an illustration of the kind of conservative thinking that prevails in the highest court of the land. When the guidelines are laid down by conservatives, lesser courts cannot be expected to interpret the law in terms of the changing social conditions and values, or even in terms of the declared social purpose of the State. Frustration among the workers is a natural corollary to this situation.

Similarly, there is the case of a newspaper establishment of huge dimensions which would not pay the meagre interim relief fixed by a Wage Board (Rs. 15 to 25) for two years. When the workers went on strike, all that the Government tried to do was to work out a "compromise" under which the workers would receive part of their dues instead of taking steps to compel the employer to pay them their full dues. This despite the fact that much smaller establishments had honoured the interim award of the Wage Board soon after it was notified.

These examples should show

that in the present situation the worker has hardly any hope of securing justice through the instrumentality of the Labour laws or the Government's industrial disputes machinery. In fact, many trade union leaders who soon after independence enthusiastically supported these same laws and pinned their faith on the governmental machinery have now begun to admit that they made a mistake in giving up dependence on the collective strength of the workers in favour of dependence on the Government and the courts. That such a reaction should have come about is sufficient evidence of the failure of legislation to ensure justice for the worker; it also provides room for serious concern about the future of peaceful and harmonious industrial relations.

Futile To Object

Even Ministers who do not altogether approve of "gheraos" have publicly chastised employers for not behaving properly towards their employees. If employers are permitted to resort to coercive methods like vindictive retrenchment, victimisation of trade union workers, feigned closure, lockout, layoff, etc., without fear of the Government coming down heavily upon them, it is futile to object to the workers resorting to gheraos. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the West Bengal gheraos have taken place in cases where employers have either arrogantly ignored the available conciliation machinery or flouted arbitration awards. In these circumstances they can hardly be found fault with for using the only weapon in their hands—their unity and collective strength—in the consciousness that they are the real producers of wealth and as such entitled to a fair share in the prosperity of the industry to which they contribute. This is especially so when it is found that the Government is in no position even to enforce a "code of conduct" evolved and agreed upon at a tripartite conference of employers, employees and the Government. The incapacity of the rulers to ensure disci-

plined behaviour on the part of employers was very much in evidence during the period of emergency following the Chinese attack on India. Even in such a situation, when freedom was in peril, the employers—at any rate the bigger ones among them—had no compunction about making use of it to increase their profits and harass the workers. The Union Labour Minister and the then Prime Minister publicly acknowledged that while the workers had done their best for the country in the crisis, the employers had not. But even such a great leader as Jawaharlal Nehru was unable to make the employers behave.

Government Afraid

This then is the background against which the question of gherao should be considered. If there is a guarantee that at the factory level the genuine grievances and legitimate demands of the workers will be looked into expeditiously and settled, there would be no need for gherao—or even for strike or picketing for that matter. But as things stand now, it is vain to look for such a guarantee. A Government which is unable or is afraid to discipline the private capitalist and ensure an equitable share of industry's profits for the workers has no moral right to put down peaceful gheraos. It is immoral to talk only of protecting the fundamental right of the employer to make profits at the cost of labour and not of protecting the right of the worker to enjoy the fruits of labour—at least as much of it as is possible in a shapeless society such as ours.

What has to be remembered is that the problem of gherao is not solved by letting the police force loose on the workers. If gherao is put down, working class discontent will surely find other forms of expression—and the new forms may be even less pleasant than the gherao.

Then there is the question of public sector undertakings. There can be no doubt that public sector undertakings must be protected and helped to grow. But equally it must be recogni-

zed that the workers in these institutions too have certain rights. If the Government had taken systematic steps to expand the public sector and curtail the power and influence of the private capitalist, there would be some justification for asking the worker to wait for a specified period before making any demands. If the worker is to make sacrifices, there must be a clear-cut end in view. If the worker is made to feel that his sacrifices are contributing positively towards the creation of the promised socialist state, there is no doubt he will respond generously.

But the position is that there is no evidence of the Government taking the public sector seriously. Manning of the projects is largely left to hide-bound bureaucrats who in some respects are worse than private employers. So long as the tendency to treat the worker as a mere chattel and not as a partner in industry persists, it is futile to expect the worker to feel extraordinarily enthused. If there is seriousness about running the public sector in the right spirit, a beginning must be made in the direction of associating the workers with their administration at various levels. And the practice of entrusting public sector projects to bureaucrats not committed to the socialist ideology must be given up straightaway. Then the workers will themselves see the need to treat the public sector undertakings on a different footing.

Those who are raising a hue and cry against gheraos are either employers and their agents, or men who are afraid of any disturbance of the status quo. The attempt to deal with it as a mere law and order problem is foredoomed to failure. If there is the possibility of gherao leading to violence, there is need for alertness on the part of both Government and trade union leaders. The extent to which gherao is legitimate and legal can only be learnt by experience and not by narrow legalistic pronouncements by experts

and non-experts alike. Gherao is admittedly a successful method in making employers see reason: all that need be said is that the weapon should be used even more judiciously than the strike weapon, for the reason that it is a sharper and more delicate instrument.

To denounce gherao on purely legal grounds is to miss the substance for the shadow. In the long run, legal niceties and quibbling cannot stand in the way of the working class asserting itself and securing its rights. Wisdom requires that the causes of gherao must be understood and remedied. It would be foolish to imagine that backing of the employer by the strong arm of the law can solve the basic problems and bring about industrial peace. The solution is not that simple.

Serious Consequences

The solution lies in guaranteeing to the worker speedy redressal of legitimate grievances, positive steps to prevent employers from taking advantage of loopholes in the law to deny workers their rights, and providing reasonable certainty that when a dispute is brought to the notice of the Labour authorities, justice will be only a matter of days. The Government should not only tighten up Labour legislation for the purpose but gear up the entire conciliation and other machinery to ensure that employers cannot adopt delaying tactics. And managements provoking employees—either by resort to retrenchment, lockout, layoff etc., or by victimisation, or by non-implementation of settlements and awards—must be made to realise that the Government will not tolerate such goings on. If Government spokesmen merely join the employers' and reactionary political parties' chorus against gherao, without at the same time adopting positive measures on the lines indicated above, they will only be adding to frustration and loss of faith among workers. And this can have serious long-term consequences for the country and its democratic structure.

The Balance of Power in the States

S. KUMAR

IN the ten years preceding the election of 1967, Kerala had come to be regarded by the party in power as a sore point in the country. The Congress had resorted to various devices—lure of political power to dissidents, consolidation of the Congress, disruption of the Left-wing parties, and so on—to overcome this irritant. They did not stop short of extreme forms of political surgery—declaring the President's Rule and imprisoning the leadership of the Left Parties.

The results of this naked exercise of power are now well-known. The people of Kerala somehow refused to be persuaded of the unworthiness of the Left Parties to assume power. Each time they were consulted, they expressed an enlarged confidence in the Left Parties. Instead of being obliterated as an unwanted disease, the pattern of development initiated in the most literate state of the country has now come to establish itself as the pattern of the future political development of the whole country. The Congress power has been shaken at the State level in the 1967 elections; it is therefore of great interest to look somewhat more closely at the election results for each of the States, and their implications.

The information about election results in 1967 in 16 States is summarized in the accompanying Table. Before analysing the details, some explanation is called for concerning the particular grouping of the States and of the political parties. The sixteen States are classified under four major categories:

I, the three States where coalitions of various Leftist Parties have formed the Ministries (Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar);

II, the two States (Madras and the Punjab) where a purely State party has either formed a Ministry (DMK in Madras), or where a dominant State party (the two Akali Dals) has formed a coalition Ministry;

III, the seven fluid States (Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Andhra, Mysore, Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir), in most of which the Congress has formed the Ministries, but which for reasons discussed later on must be regarded as "fluid"—in the sense that although the old pattern of power yet persists there, there are all too clear signs of the change. They are also to be considered "fluid" in the sense that party grouping (of the Left or of the Right) which may "inherit power" is not yet clear beyond doubt to all, as is more or less the case in

the other nine States; and

IV, the four States (Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Gujarat) where the Rightist influence is at present clearly stronger than the Leftist influence.

The political spectrum in India is divided into five major colour belts, with each of it having its own various shades:

Political Spectrum

(i) The Leftist parties, comprising CPI, CP (Marxist), SSP, PSP and other parties which are indicated in detail in the footnotes to the Table. The very listing of these parties is sufficient to emphasise that the Leftist Parties cannot be regarded as a homogeneous grouping; and yet, most of it is significantly different from the rest of the groupings;

(ii) the Congress;

(iii) the two major Rightist parties, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra; although both of them can certainly be considered Rightist, as distinct from the Leftists, it is important for the long-term strategy and the short-term tactics of India's political transformation to consider each as a separate identity—particularly for the reasons suggested below;

(iv) other parties, which are important in only two States, the DMK in Madras and the Akali Dals in the Punjab; neither of them has so far taken positions on major issues of the country's transformation so as to earn them any particular label—the Leftist, the Centrist or the Rightist. In a sense, these parties are, or may become, at the State level what the Congress was at the national level—the symbol of the people's unfulfilled hopes. The temptation to rush to give them any label may therefore be avoided and the last group

(v) "Independents and other parties" includes the whole heterogeneous mass which could not be considered as part of the preceding four party groupings. A glance at their column, showing the percentage of votes they received in each of the States in 1967, brings out sharply the fact that they have lost in relative importance in States where the pattern of popular performance has become fairly clear (States in groups I, II, and IV). But they are a sizeable force in the "fluid" States, where they account for 21 to 37 per cent of the popular vote; their large presence gives further significance to our classification of the seven States (group III) as "fluid". The recent events in the Uttar Pradesh and Haryana testify to the fluidity of the situation.

Such a classification of States and political groupings has a certain visual advantage. A quick glance

This contribution from a distinguished Indian economist writing under a pen name, may be taken as the follow-up of the author's article, "1967 Elections and the Future Outlook" Mainstream, May 6, 1967.

at the table would show that the centre of political support moves from the Left-corner at the top diagonally through the Table towards the Right-corner at the bottom. A clear look, however, would show that the quick glance need not produce very rigid conclusions; this is particularly true of States in Group II.

The balance of popular preference, or power, in each of the major groups of States, and in each State within the group, may now be briefly discussed. In some cases, the shift in the balance between 1962 and 1967 is also referred to so as to provide the basis for drawing some conclusions concerning the relevance of this all to the future.

I

States with Left-coalition Ministries

THE 1967 elections proved as its most important lesson that Kerala's pattern could neither be stamped out nor confined to a little corner at India's southern tip. Now, it has spread to West Bengal and Bihar, in both of which the major Leftist parties behaved as if neither did they expect such a development, nor did they in fact prepare for it. And yet, they have been led to power by an erosion of Congress strength. These three States were responsible for nearly 33 million votes out of a national total of 149 million for the Vidhan Sabhas—or 22 per cent of the total. The vote for the Leftist Parties combined was 14 to 15 million, or 45 per cent of the total in the three States. The Left Parties have thus already reached in these States approximately the same level of popular support which the Congress enjoyed in the country as a whole over the fifteen years since 1952. In that sense, therefore, they are the dominant popular choice.

There are two other features which are worth noting. In all these States, the Congress vote is below the combined Left vote—by as much as 18 percentage points in Kerala and by some 5 percentage points in West Bengal and Bihar. Secondly, the Rightist parties nearly do not exist in Kerala and Bengal, and the Independents and other parties (often allied in fact with the Left parties) account for only 11 to 12 per cent of the vote. In order to regain power, therefore, the Congress cannot count upon any real support from the Right-wing parties or to a large extent even from the Independents. Its only salvation would be real bungling by the Left parties, which may generate popular discontent and disintegration of the coalition. In Bihar, the total Left vote is below 40 per cent and it has to rely on the Jan Sangh and the Jan Kranti Dal for support; the Left coalition is to that extent less strong there than in Kerala and West Bengal.

If the Left administrations show a modicum of efficiency, respect for the people's needs, non-corruptibility, "approachability", and above all a demonstrated desire to carry out the major points of a minimum programme agreed among the coalition partners, it is more than likely that these parties would continue to consolidate their position among the people. In that case, new elections would see them sweep the polls (as in Kerala), derive real benefit from non-

proportional representation and provide from these States nearly one-fifth of the total members of the future Lok Sabha. These States could become, if the Left Ministries and Parties work well, the real bases from which the slogan for the immediate implementation of a minimum popular programme could spread to other States.

The conditions mentioned above are very important, for it is not necessary to assume that the very label of being Left-wing is a guarantee of the desire to serve the long-term interests of the people. The respect that the people have shown for the Left Parties yet remains to be fully earned. Left unity is very fragile, mainly because the constituent parties have not yet sorted out the main elements in their tactics and strategy to attain certain minimum goals, as part of India's way to socialism.

In the past, the excuse that the power of the vested interests, entrenched bureaucracy and the concentration of political power in the hands of the Congress stood in the way of carrying out even the minimum programme had served the Left-parties fairly well in their agitation. While these factors still continue to exist, it will be difficult to deny that with Left coalitions forming the Ministries in three States, the earlier excuse still retains the same degree of validity. While the Central Government has considerable powers in India, it cannot be forgotten that in agriculture, education and social policy, industrial relations, control of police, and many other areas, the State governments have considerable power. Looking at the list of Ministerial portfolios, the following areas can be easily identified at random: Land and land revenue; food supply and agriculture; animal husbandry, fisheries and forests; irrigation and waterways; community development; panchayat and social welfare; planning and development; public works department; housing; relief and rehabilitation; tribal welfare; small and cottage industries; labour; finance; transport; education; health; law; information and publicity.

True enough, the Centre controls financing, and the bureaucracy may hinder the new Ministers. But the areas, listed above, in which the Left Parties can act are wide indeed. In all of them, the country needs decisive progress forward—at least in terms of all the concrete steps that can be taken. And these are the subjects in which a galaxy of our intellectuals have distinguished themselves on a world scale by their contributions. Can the Left Ministries harness these talents to produce outlines of development of each of these States, outlines which will distinguish their approach sharply and concretely from that of the Congress, and outlines which will inspire the people with hope and faith in their future? Some of the recent developments make one despair of the wisdom and maturity of the Left parties. Quite often, the concern for preserving the purity of pet formulations of India's path to socialism appears to over-ride the interests of analysing the reality and finding detailed solutions. In these three States, which in the size of their population are equal to France and Italy together, the people have given a

"Call to Greatness" to the Left Parties; only their efforts at ironing out differences, forging stable alliance, proceeding forthwith to produce distinctly radical solutions in all the areas listed above, their implementation of the urgently needed minimum programme and the preparation of a long-term outline of development—only these steps would prove whether the leaderships of the Left Parties can answer the people's call to greatness. If they do, their work will mark a giant stride towards formulating the strategy of socialist transformation of India suited to India's specific conditions. And its influence in the "fluid" States would be spectacularly instantaneous.

The rest of the discussion is based on the hope that the Left leaderships are concerned, above everything else (even above the justification of their own pet solutions), about the solution of the century-old misery of our people. The States they control constitute what may be called the "liberated areas", where the strategy of India's transformation is to be tried out; and others will then follow, as the subsequent discussion seems to indicate.

II

States with Major State Parties

THERE are two such States, Madras and the Punjab. In Madras, the Congress vote is still larger than the DMK vote. The spectacular victory of the DMK is therefore to be ascribed, not to its being more popular than the Congress, but to mainly its forming an electoral understanding with the parties opposed to the Congress. The result was that even with nearly 42 per cent of the vote in 1967, the Congress won only 21 per cent of the seats; in 1962 on the other hand, with 46 per cent of the vote, it had won over 60 per cent of the seats. Some of the leaders of the DMK may wish to ascribe their spectacular success to the blessings of Rajaji; but it may well be remembered that all the blessings of Rajaji reinforced by Masani's manoeuvres could not prevent the decline in the vote for the Swatantra from nearly one million in 1962 to about 0.8 million in 1967—and from 7.7 per cent of the vote in the State in 1962 to only 5.2 per cent in 1967. The strategic ingredient in the victory of DMK in the seats gained (nearly 60 per cent of the total) was the support provided by the Left Parties in concluding electoral adjustments. Without this crucial support, the Congress could have even in 1967 gained more seats than the DMK. A unified leadership of the two Communist parties in Madras could derive the maximum benefit of this strategic position by isolating the Swatantra and by becoming a part of the coalition in the next elections.

The position in the Punjab is nearly similar, with two differences. The Akali Dals have not yet secured the support of more than one-fourth of the electorate; and Jan Sangh alone received more votes than the Leftist parties combined. It may be expected that as in the case of DMK that the Akali Dals will consolidate their position in the next elections. But they would need the support of the

Jan Sangh and the Left Parties to attain a decisive victory. The Swatantra can be isolated in these States.

If the Left Parties have a certain degree of unity of understanding and action, they can help in Madras and the Punjab, to isolate the Swatantra, to defeat the Congress decisively, and to become crucial elements in coalitions led by the regional parties—the word crucial is important. This could form the basis of implementing a somewhat moderate version of the minimum programme, which may be carried out in Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar, where the Leftist parties have a dominant voice.

These two States account for about 13 per cent of the votes cast; and the success of the steps outlined above would assure that neither the Congress nor the Swatantra would win any significant number of Lok Sabha seats in them.

III

The Fluid States

THIS group comprised Maharashtra, the Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Andhra, Mysore, Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir—arranged in descending order of importance of the Left vote in the State. In all of these, the Congress is a dominant party. Its share in the popular vote in 1967 is everywhere over 40 per cent of the total, except in the U.P., where it was only 32 per cent. In all of them, the vote for the Independents and other parties is high—from 21 to 37 per cent of the total. Recent events in the U.P. and Haryana underline the fluidity of the situation.

In three of these, the Left Parties form the major organised Opposition; the Left vote was about 22 per cent in Maharashtra, 17 per cent in Assam and 16 per cent in Andhra. The Right-wing following is marginal in Assam, under 10 per cent (but mostly for the Jan Sangh) in Maharashtra and about 12 per cent (but mostly for the Swatantra) in Andhra. Hence the coalition of Jan Sangh and the Swatantra has virtually no possibility of achieving state power. On the other hand, unified Left Front has the possibility of drawing upon the Independents and other parties; and may with an electoral understanding with the Jan Sangh, have a good chance of winning, particularly if its performance in Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar has by then proved striking.

In the U.P., the Jan Sangh, Independents and other parties and the Left Parties each account for about 20 per cent of the vote. The Swatantra, here again, is of marginal significance; and therefore, the coalition of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra would be politically absurd for the Jan Sangh to swallow. On the other hand, with Swatantra isolated and the Left unified around a programme, the conditional support from the Jan Sangh and the Independents can almost be taken for granted. If these conditions were to be fulfilled, the left Front can definitely think in terms of winning in the State.

The three remaining States—Mysore, Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir—together account for only

8 to 9 per cent of the national vote. Of these three, political conditions are abnormal in Kashmir; Haryana is a new State; and Mysore may produce a major split in the Congress. The Congress is dominant there; and the Opposition is yet small and scattered. Except for a major split in the Congress, the main aim of the Left Parties would be to work towards maximum consolidation of their positions.

In summary the possibility of the Left Front forming the dominant position in a victorious anti-Congress coalition for a minimum programme is very great in four of these States—the U.P., Maharashtra, Andhra and Assam. A split in the Congress would make a decisive contribution. These States together account for over one-third of the national votes. If the Congress were to be defeated in these (and in the States in Group I and II), it would clearly be unable to have a majority at the Centre. In fact, it would provide the basis for a Left-led coalition at the Centre. For these reasons, a split in the Congress in Andhra and Maharashtra assumes a crucial significance. The emergence of the Left Front with a unified minimum programme of action could no doubt hasten the process. The States in Group I and II and the four States in Group III send about 70 per cent of the Lok Sabha members. A victory of Left, or Left-led, or Left-supported coalitions would mean the end of the Congress rule in the country.

IV

States with Right-wing Influence

THIS group consists of four States: Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Gujarat. Altogether, they accounted for 17 to 18 per cent of the national vote. In none of them, however, the coalition of the two Right-wing parties, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra, had a larger popular vote than that received by the Congress. For this reason alone, the label "States with Right-wing influence" need not be interpreted too literally. Moreover, there is a need to distinguish between the areas with Jan Sangh influence and the Swatantra influence.

In the largest of these four States, the Madhya Pradesh, the Jan Sangh has acquired a strong support, but the Swatantra is of marginal significance there. Together with the Left, however, the Jan Sangh, even now, would command about the same popular support as the Congress. Hence the Swatantra could be isolated in this State.

In Orissa and Gujarat, on the other hand, the Swatantra has acquired relatively large political support. In both, the Jan Sangh is of marginal significance. In Orissa, however, the Leftist Parties command over 20 per cent of the vote—or only slightly smaller than the Swatantra vote. A united Left Front, therefore, can provide a fighting chance of victory in Orissa. In Gujarat, Swatantra is the main Opposition. The concentration of the Swatantra in the three States—Gujarat, Rajasthan and Orissa—sheds a clear light on its political support—areas where the former princely States ruled. The combination of Big Business with feudal lords—this is the main spring of

Swatantra showing. The business brain has been added to the prince's body. This shows its strength as well as weakness.

It is important to point to another significant factor of the Indian situation. The leadership of the Swatantra likes to regard the Jan Sangh as a party of the Right-wing, and some of the leaders of the Jan Sangh may also desire to reciprocate these sentiments. But even their political hearts may be in love, the geography is against the match. Generally speaking, the Jan Sangh has acquired a following in precisely those States where the people have, rather in a contrite manner Sri Masani would say, not paid much attention to the Swatantra; and where the Swatantra is strong, the Jan Sangh is hardly to be found around. For instance, Jan Sangh's popular vote, in order of declining importance, is as follows: 28.3 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 21.5 per cent in the U.P.; 17.3 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir; 13.5 per cent in Haryana; 12.6 per cent in the Punjab; 11.6 per cent in Rajasthan and 10.3 per cent in Bihar. In all these States, with the sole exception of Rajasthan, the Swatantra does not command even five per cent of the popular vote. In consequence, the Jan Sangh and Swatantra nowhere in the country (except in Rajasthan) form a winning combination—a fact which the sober elements in the Jan Sangh are unlikely to forget. On the other hand, the Jan Sangh will have to solicit the support of the Left Parties if it wants to become part of the administration in these States.

This particular factor would seem to deserve much more attention than it has received so far. Geography simply would not make possible the coalition of the Swatantra and Jan Sangh. Therefore, the Jan Sangh will have to seek other allies, unless its political objective was permanent wilderness. In fact, if the Jan Sangh leadership moves clearly towards the Swatantra on a national scale, it does not in any way enhance its bargaining position with the Swatantra in Rajasthan, where the Swatantra badly requires the Jan Sangh support; and such a step would cost the Jan Sangh a major, or a significant part of the popular support it has won in the Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. Some elements in the Jan Sangh leadership may be short-sighted enough not to see this. But no political party—the Swatantra as well as the Leftist—should fall a victim to believing that the Jan Sangh leadership in general is incapable of distinguishing between political suicide and success. No wonder, all the benedictions of Rajaji, political manoeuvres of Patil, and the Buddha-like pronouncements of JP have not brought the Jan Sangh any near to embracing Masani's Swatantra. Every approach from the Swatantra—whether coy or direct—has met with a cry from the Jan Sangh: "I want Swatantra" (freedom).

The position of the DMK is not altogether dissimilar. If the ageing politicians of the country suffer from political hallucinations, there is no reason why the Left has to accept them as reality—"them" meaning the possibilities of the Jan Sangh and the DMK crowding under Masani's little umbrella.

THE BALANCE OF POPULAR PREFERENCE IN STATES, 1967 (on the basis of Assembly results)

States	Total votes polled in 1967 in million	Percentage share in total votes									
		Leftist parties					Total	Rightist Parties		Other parties	Independents and others
		CPI	CPI(M)	SSP	PSP	Other parties		Jan Sangh	Swatantra		
I. Left coalitions											
Kerala ..	6.5	8.5	23.5	8.4	..	13.0 ^a	53.4	..	..	..	11.2
Bengal ..	13.6	8.0	18.2	1.9	1.8	14.8 ^b	45.7	1.4	0.8	..	11.9
Bihar ..	14.2	6.8	1.3	17.5	7.0	5.5 ^c	38.1	10.3	2.4	..	15.9
	34.3										
II. State parties											
Madras ..	15.8	1.7	4.1	0.6	0.9	..	7.2	0.1	5.2	40.8 ^d	5.2
Punjab ..	4.5	4.9	3.3	0.7	0.5	..	9.3	12.6	5.1	25.1 ^e	10.5
	20.3										
III. Fluid States											
Maharashtra ..	14.1	5.1	0.9	4.5	3.9	7.2 ^f	21.6	8.3	1.1	..	21.0
U.P. ..	22.8	3.4	1.2	10.2	4.0	..	18.8	21.5	4.7	..	22.9
Assam ..	3.3	5.2	2.0	3.8	6.3	..	17.3	1.8	1.5	..	35.8
Andhra ..	14.3	7.5	7.8	0.4	..	..	15.6	2.1	9.9	..	26.8
Mysore ..	8.0	0.7	0.9	2.3	8.9	..	12.8	2.8	6.7	..	29.6
Haryana ..	3.1	1.0	0.4	3.5	0.2	..	5.1	13.5	3.2	..	37.0
Jammu & Kashmir ..	0.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	20.3	..	..	30.2
	66.4										
IV. Rightist influence											
M.P. ..	9.8	1.1	0.3	3.3	4.7	..	11.3	28.3	2.5	..	17.2
Rajasthan ..	7.0	1.0	1.1	4.8	0.8	..	7.6	11.6	22.4	..	17.0
Orissa ..	4.2	5.0	1.2	1.5	12.6	..	20.3	0.5	22.7	13.7 ^g	12.0
Gujarat ..	6.8	..	..	0.4	3.3	4.2 ^h	7.9	1.9	37.3	..	6.7
	27.8										

NOTE.—The total polled vote was 151 million, of which 149 million is accounted for the 16 States mentioned here.

^a Muslim League, RSP, KSP; (Kerala Congress may be partly included here).

^b Bangla Congress; Forward Bloc

^c Jan Kranti Dal

^d DMK

^e Akali Dals

^g Jan Congress

^f Peasants and Workers' Party

^h Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad

Concluding Observations

LET us try to summarize the points discussed above concerning the balance of political forces in various States. In this, attention is focussed on only the two protagonists that matter—the Congress and the Left Parties.

Congress:

The Congress influence has begun to recede everywhere in the country. In some States—Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar—it has been decisively defeated. The only chance of its emergence is a serious quarrel among the Left Parties; and this possibility need not be entirely ruled out. On the other hand, if the Left Parties stick together, the remaining influence of the Congress in these States would soon disintegrate. In Madras, it lost not because DMK has outvoted the Congress, but because the DMK allied itself to anti-Congress parties, particularly of the Left; and the situation is about the same in the Punjab. These five States command more than one-third of the national electorate. For them, the fading away of the Congress has already begun.

In the U.P., the position is even more serious. There the Congress has received the lowest proportion of popular vote in any State. The Opposition parties there have learnt the lesson of the folly of not working out an electoral understanding; the next elections, once such an understanding is implemented, could thus see the end of the Congress in the U.P., which was the bastion of the Congress power.

With these five states lost decisively (they constitute one-half the electorate), there would be no possibility of the Congress returning to power in the country.

In addition, the Left Opposition is quite strong in Maharashtra, Andhra and Assam—States where the Jan Sangh and Swatantra do not count much. The formation of a United Left Front with an agreed minimum programme in good time could provide the basis for the Congress defeat by creating a split in the Congress ranks.

A split in the Congress can now be regarded as a certain possibility—a process which will be accelerated by unity of the Left Front. If the Congress moved to the Right towards the Swatantra, in order to salvage itself, it would be deserted en masse by the bulk of the people who supported it so far. It cannot move much to the Left anymore. It has already split in many States. And once the socialistically inclined elements in it see for themselves that the Congress is no place for them, they will move away. The process is already under way. Despite all the attempts to cover up the differences; it is hard to see that many radical elements would continue to remain with the Congress, if there is already the formation of a United Left Front for the country as a whole; the Congress disintegration could then almost amount to its disruption. But this cannot be visualised without Left unity. Whereas with Left unity, the hesitant break-away from the Congress could become an avalanche.

Left Parties:

In 1967 Left parties received 42 to 45 million votes,

or some 29 percent of the total. In three States—Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar—with 110 million people, or a number of larger than in Italy and France together—they are the dominant parties; their future role now, as never before, depends on their performance. In the U.P., Maharashtra and Assam, they now command nearly one-fifth of the popular vote; and the proportion in Andhra is only slightly lower (16 per cent.) In these four States, the position of the Left Parties at present is not altogether dissimilar from that in Kerala in 1957. Whether these four States will follow the “Kerala way” unequivocally depends on whether the lesson of Kerala is learnt and practised.

A patient and careful cultivation of Left Unity was an absolute precondition of victory of the Leftist parties in Kerala; the departure from it in the 1962 mid-term elections demonstrates beyond dispute the prime necessity of Left unity. The advance of the Leftist parties in West Bengal was in fact a demonstration of the people's faith in the Left tradition; the leadership of the Left parties was perilously preoccupied with self-inflicted wounds. And the gains in Bihar were also the result of people's commonsense and wisdom rather than the of the validity of the grand strategy of the political transformation of India worked out jointly by the parties of the Left.

Can these sobering thoughts as well as the grand perspectives form the basis of the beginning of a real dialogue between the Left Parties? The dialogue can proceed only if it is dominated, not by the desire of any particular party to prove its monopoly to wisdom, and to it alone, holding the master-key to the gates standing in the pathway to progress, but, by a genuine desire to seek the minimum areas of agreement. There are in fact in the election manifestos of each of the parties of the Left more than a dozen concrete issues of the most crucial significance to the socialist transformation of India—issues which will be discussed in the article to follow. If the dialogue produces an agreement on these issues forming the core of the Left platform, the way would then be open to a grand national conference of all the Left parties and associated organizations among labour, peasants, students, women, etc., to be held as soon as possible, in, say, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna or Trivandrum. Its platform could provide the alternative around which the people would rally. That will assure the disintegration, and perhaps the disruption, of the Congress. The possibility of the victory of the Left and the beginning of the socialist transformation of India under India's specific conditions would then become a certainty.

Can this be done? Are there issues around which the Left parties can form sufficiently strong unity so as not to be disrupted by any particular party's prescriptions? What could be the common platform? What has to be given up, or in fact not to be forced upon other parties, in order to assure the fulfilment of people's needs? On the centenary of Marx's *Capital* this year, the leaders of all the Left Parties in India, jointly and individually, would no doubt be seeking answers to these questions. A subsequent article would attempt to explore some of them in detail.

Future of the Hill State

KRANTI SEN

THE Mizos having set their face against the proposed federal set-up and the Mikirs having opted to stay out of a Hill state, both weakening the position of strength from which the APHLC had been bargaining, and the people of the Brahmaputra Valley being totally opposed to any proposal that threatened the 'integrity' of Assam, it was to be expected that the imprecise federal formula would come very near to being treated as *non-est*. The infructuous Chavan mission to Assam, while confirming that apprehension, has also highlighted the lack of firmness on the part of the Centre in face of incompatible particularist demands.

The general opinion of the Assamese people is that any change in the present status of the state to accommodate the hill people's demand for autonomy should be made on the basis of the recommendations of the Pataskar Commission, namely, amendment of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Both the APCC and the Assam Sahitya Samiti Sabha—which latter is carrying on a consistent campaign against the federal formula—have made it clear that they will not accept a federal set-up "even in the extreme and unfortunate event of having to concede a Hill State."

Secessionist Bogey

The principal arguments against the federal formula are: first, that it will lower the status of Assam; secondly, disintegration of Assam will endanger the security of this region; thirdly,

it may be a prelude to a demand for complete secession from India; fourthly, the "parity" envisaged in the formula, equating the populous Brahmaputra with the proposed Hill State which will have only one-eighth the population of the former, does injustice to Assam; and lastly, once accepted, it will lead to the plains tribes demanding territorial autonomy of themselves.

The APHLC, on the other hand, is equally firm in its demand for a Hill State—a full-fledged one without a federal set-up if possible, within a federation if unavoidable. Though never very enthusiastic about the regional federation idea, the APHLC did not risk the odium of rejecting it outright but anticipating Assamese reaction, left it to the Assamese themselves.

The ruling Mizo National Union told Sri Chavan during his visit to Assam that it wanted the district to be given the status of a Union Territory outside Assam if the federation scheme was not accepted, and outside the Hill State if the latter was formed. Representatives of minority opinion in the district were less ambitious; they indicated that they would be satisfied with 'safeguards' in the shape of territorial autonomy.

Political opinion in Mikir Hills is not averse to the federal idea as such, but insists on the status of a separate unit—separate from Assam as well as from the Hill State. In the event of the hill districts being separated from Assam, they would demand that the Mikir and North Cachar Hills be made

a Union Territory, in order to obviate the difficulties arising out of lack of territorial contiguity.

Not Easy

Torn between the Scylla of tribal particularism and the Charybdis of Assamese parochialism, Sri Chavan could do little beyond promising that no decision would be imposed either on the hill people or on the Assamese and suggesting a round-table conference of representatives of both sides to evolve an acceptable solution.

Such a solution, according to him, would have to meet the twin requirements of preserving the integrity of the State and providing for more autonomy for the hill people. In face of the rigid stand taken by the contending parties, such an ideal solution seems as difficult of achievement as fitting a square peg in a round hole.

In this welter of confusion, Sri Chaliha's is the most unenviable position. He alone among Assamese leaders was very sympathetic to the hill people's aspirations and took a realistic view. It is also known that he was not against the federation formula when it was mooted by the Prime Minister during her talks with the APHLC delegation in January.

Even now, the State Government does not insist—as does the APCC—on the acceptance of the Pataskar recommendations as the sole basis of a solution to accommodate the hill people's demand for autonomy.

But hardening of the APCC's attitude has placed Sri Chaliha in an awkward position. The

anti-Chaliha faction in the Assam Congress is using the issue to weaken his position in the party. Sri Devakanta Barooah, leader of this faction, reportedly told the APCC that some of Sri Chaliha's colleagues, included in the Cabinet subsequently, had taken a pledge to resign from the Legislature as well as from the party if they could not ultimately prevent the federation formula from being implemented. In the event of a future showdown with Sri Chaliha on this issue, Sri Barooah can also count on the support of Sri Bishnuram Medhi, a former Chief Minister of Assam, who has always been opposed to the federal idea.

There is some ground for the fear that the creation of a separate State for the hill tribes may encourage the plains tribes to raise similar demands. The plains tribes constitute about 11 % of the population of Brahmaputra Valley. The major plains tribes are the Bodo (also known

as Koch, Kachari and Rajbanshi), the Miri, the Rabha and the Hojai, inhabiting, respectively, the western, north-eastern and central parts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Of them, a section of the Bodos, living in Goalpara district, has already submitted a memorandum demanding, in the event of reorganization of the State, a Kamatapur Rajya comprising Goalpara district of Assam and the West Bengal districts of Cooch-Bihar and Jalpaiguri.

The Miris are for territorial autonomy, while the Rabhas and the Hojais, living in isolated pockets, cannot have autonomy by themselves. However, the possibility of their demanding inclusion in the Hill State—if it comes into being—on grounds of contiguity cannot be ruled out.

The argument that a separate State for the hill tribes may subsequently encourage seces-

sionist trends among them is not tenable. On the contrary, shilly-shallying over granting full autonomy to the hill people may have just the effect of breeding frustration among them—a circumstance in which secessionist elements may win new adherents.

The fact that opinions different from those of the APHLC have crystallized among many sections of the tribal people, notably the Mizos and Mikirs, makes it clear that in any future talks their representatives will have to be included.

Given goodwill and an urge to understand the other party's point of view, the modalities of reorganization should not prove insuperable. A great deal depends on Assamese leadership which should explain to the general masses the bigger issues at stake so that they may rise above petty provincial considerations and facilitate a quick decision being arrived at.

BUDGET AND DEVELOPMENT—II

Shifts In Basic Policy

BALRAJ MEHTA

IN outlining his "general economic policies" in the budget speech, Sri Morarji Desai was extremely cautious and unlike his general pose of brutal frankness he was not averse to hiding behind ambivalence and clichés lest the sharp break he was making with avowed policies and approach to economic development may become far too evident.

Nevertheless, coming to the discussion of what he called the "long-term considerations" he frankly asked: even if our immediate difficulties were essentially the result of two ag-

gressions and two droughts, it was important to enquire "whether they do not signify something more basic in our plans and policies which also calls for a correctness in emphasis if not in direction". That he presented his case for shift in basic policies in the form of a question rather than as a positive statement indicated the measure of his hesitation but also made clear his intentions.

Even when seeming to defend the strategy of development pursued so far and granting the benefit of good intentions in "mistakes and miscalculation" in its pursuit, Sri Morarji suggested the adoption of certain new guiding principles for the future. He

said: "Perhaps in the past, our investment decisions have been guided more by a general consideration of our longterm needs rather than by a precise assessment of the relative role of return in different activities. We will need to rely more, over the years to come, on an analysis of costs and benefits in different sectors and to guide our long-term strategy in the light of alternative courses of action. A little later he was even more frank when he really condemned the development strategy in the past as an attempt to "short circuit the process of growth" itself.

Sri Morarji Desai was, of course, on firm ground in finding fault with the development process of

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the last ten years which has undoubtedly run into serious difficulties and is now in total deadlock. But the issue at question is whether the revisions in this process which Sri Morarji is proposing and is actually trying to carry through will resolve this deadlock and bring about economic recovery.

It would be extremely naive to think that the present crisis in Indian economy is the cumulative effect of ignoring the need to make a precise assessment of the relative rate of return in different activities or a proper analysis of costs and benefits in different sectors. These problems in themselves may be of great importance and significance in any system of planning in depth and in taking specific investment decisions. But they are problems of tactics and do not constitute the strategy of development. The very fact that Sri Morarji Desai has elevated these problems to the level of his conception of the strategy of development has more to it than meets the eye.

Emphasis

This becomes clear in Sri Morarji Desai's treatment of the respective roles of agriculture *versus* industry, consumer goods industry *versus* heavy industry, and specially the respective roles of public and private sectors in the whole process of development. What stands out in this treatment is that in contrast to the process of growth we have so far witnessed, the emphasis (if not the direction) is now to shift towards agriculture *at the cost of* industry, towards consumer goods industry *in preference to* development of heavy industry, and in consequence of these changes in emphasis as well as independently of them, in favour of the private sector *as against* the public sector—all in the name of costs and benefits analysis in the short run.

Even when conceding that the Government is committed to the expansion of the public sector, Sri Desai laid down that, "over time, the relative roles of the private and public sectors, will necessarily be determined by their respective abilities" and that the Government would not seek to

supplant the private sector. Since public sector has been confined to prospects of long gestation, their rate of return is bound to be less in the short run. This is not to say that public sector management has not to improve.

Laughter

Such a presentation of the problems of development strategy clearly assumes that there is no intention of taking radical measures which will make for structural transformation of the present social and economic set-up and will bring about basic and fundamental changes in the prevailing system of property and relations between economic interests and classes. On the contrary, its very working is bound to further strengthen and entrench existing dominant vested interests in the structure of the economy. This was realised instinctively by all those who heard the Budget speech in Lok Sabha when almost the whole House greeted with derisive laughter the mention of the Government's commitment to the achievement of a socialist society.

Within the framework of such "general economic policies", Sri Morarji can claim the merit of consistency in his conception and structure of the Budget. The Budget has been balanced, deficit financing has been avoided and the expenditure of the State for development has been firmly pegged at the lowest level possible—all in the name of holding the price line and checking inflation. Indeed, the role of the State in the present difficult economic situation has been strictly limited to what the Economic Survey of the Finance Ministry has more frankly defined "that of checking inflation and of maintaining and strengthening the arrangements for equitable distribution of food supplies". For the rest, the entire initiative has been passed on to the private sector.

It is easy to see that Sri Morarji Desai was not in a position to offer straightaway any large and tangible incentives to the private sector. He did not possess the wherewithal

for that and to that extent the Budget can be said to have been a disappointment for even Big Business. But expressions of disappointment on the part of the organs of business are either deceptive or meant to keep up the pressure so that in the obtaining political situation the so-called "correction in emphasis" introduced in plans and policies may not be arrested and can be pushed forward. In any case, Sri Morarji Desai was not lacking in friendly gestures to the corporate sector within his means as is evident from his concessions in direct taxes, marginal though they might be.

But more than the small fiscal concessions or rather the inability to give away a lot more to the private sector, the policy and institutional framework offered for its functioning should be quite heartening for the men of business. The most exalted principle of the Morarji budget-making, the avoidance of deficit financing and balancing the budget is itself directly and explicitly related to the opening up of larger avenues of credit accommodation for the private sector—through banks and financial institutions.

Principal Device

Indeed, together with avoidance of deficit financing the parallel high principle Sri Morarji Desai has laid down is that "the Government should not appropriate any part of the permissible limit of monetary expansion". This means that to the extent the expansion in money supply is considered necessary for the working of the economy, it should entirely go to the non-government economic and production activity. Sri Morarji Desai was so keen on emphasising this principle that he repeated it more than once as if to assure and reassure the private sector. At one point he said that the new principle he had laid down would allow a larger expansion of bank credit to agriculture and industry to facilitate higher production. Again, he said that avoidance of deficit financing would make it

possible to ensure that production was not held back for want of credit.

The liberalisation of credit for industry and also agriculture covered by the so-called new agricultural strategy within the overall fiscal and monetary stringency which will place crippling check on economic activity under the aegis of the State whether at the Centre or the States, is the principal device in the Budget to stimulate economic activity and check the recessionary tendencies that the Finance Minister could not entirely ignore. The private sector is to be the main agency which has been invited to take advantage of this device.

Main Lever

There has been a noticeable shift in the past year or so towards relaxation of statutory controls and creation of good environment for the freer functioning of the industry which will place the initiative in the hands of producers in the operation of the economy. In a certain set of circumstances and to the extent this may give better leverage to the producer as against the trader and speculator it would undoubtedly be a positive feature of the economic policy. It was in this context that we have had the lifting of statutory controls over production, pricing and marketing in some industries and the handing over of these functions to producers and their organs. This together with import liberalisation and now larger credit availability should go a long way to stimulate the private sector industrial activity.

If these policies were conceived at some stage as mainly directed against the trader and speculator, now in the context of the Morarji budget and the drastic pruning and constraints on government expenditure and investment they will place the private sector at a distinct advantage in the structure of the economy and its working.

It is a different matter, of course, whether they will achieve the results expected. In fact, this is doubtful because in our conditions large-scale eco-

nomic activity and investments by the State have been and still are the main lever to stimulate the economy as a whole, even in the private sector. The present recession in certain industries itself is the result of the slackening of public investment just as such investments were the foundation for advances registered for several years with the launching of the Second Five Year Plan. If the reliance placed on the private sector to lift the economy from the trough of depression is therefore not likely to succeed, it would certainly have acquired a position of vantage when economic recovery does start with a turn in agricultural production, improvement in the finances of the State and the step up in the governmental expenditures.

This approach to the problem of economic recovery has obviously no relationship with the one outlined, under political compulsions, by the recent Resolution of the Congress Working Committee. The significance of proposals for nationalising general insurance, banking and trade is not related merely to considerations of social justice, egalitarian principle and curbing some of the more glaring of the misdeeds of some of the Big Business houses. They signify taking over by the State the commanding positions for garnering community's savings and ordering their deployment in economic activity according to plan priorities. These considerations obviously have no place in the budgetary and general economic policies of Morarji Desai. It is also understandable in this context that he does not regard the political pressures for such radical measures as having any economic relevance to his scheme of things.

Interim Budget

The implications of Sri Morarji's budget and the new direction that they give to economic and plan policies will of course remain somewhat dormant till the process of economic recovery gets into strides. In strictly budgetary terms, the Morarji Budget has been rightly described as no more than

a second interim budget intended to maintain some order in the management of economy for a few months more till the rains come and the foreign aid position becomes more precise.

The chorus from high quarters from World Bank President to Planning Minister and the Finance Minister about the monsoons need not be dismissed lightly. There is no gainsaying the fact that normal rains after two years of drought and the inputs that have been arranged for agriculture might well bring about a big upswing in agricultural production. That will provide the material basis as well as the psychological environment for the start of economic recovery. If the rains fail for the third year in succession the economy is sure to be deeply hurt which will call for nothing but ruthless measures, as Sri Morarji has said, to hold everything together. But this is not the basis on which the prospects need be discussed at present. What should be of interest is to assess the shape and direction of the economic recovery when it comes. If the Morarji Budget is any indication and his general economic policies the basis of governmental action the economic recovery after three years of stagnation will have a direction quite different from the process, with all its faults and weaknesses, which started in the Second Plan.

Probable Alibi

Serious economic limitations are bound to arise in the pursuit of developmental strategy of the Second and the Third Plan which were not faced at their start. Such difficulties will easily become the alibi for basic changes in economic strategy in the process of economic recovery, on the lines indicated in the Budget in the context of stagnation.

It is impossible to visualise for instance that economic recovery or increase in agricultural production will immediately create a feasible basis for quick augmenting of government revenues on the basis of traditional forms of taxation, which will place enough rupee resources in the hands of the State to step up its developmental outlays. In addition, we have to

reckon with the crippling reliance on foreign aid of every kind, specially in the form of PL 480 food-grains and its new variant in the industrial field in the form of non-project aid. Such aid gives large accruals of rupee resources to the Government and any cut in such aid will immediately create large gaps in the budgetary receipts of the Governments which will have to be first filled up.

It is some time suggested that appropriate price policies for the products of public-sector enterprises and of services and inputs controlled by the State specially for agriculture as well as selective tax measures can bring in adequate resources. Such ways could be depended upon to bring results in the normal set of circumstances—social, political and economic—and if the progress over the Plans had been orderly and without a break of as long as three years. In the prevailing conditions such half-hearted forms of resources raising for the State are bound to run into serious difficulties. Agriculture can not just be pounced upon for a share as soon as the first good crop is harvested after

two years and the town middle classes are to far bled by rising prices to be able to contribute much.

It is some time admitted by some of the Government leaders, specially those who claim Leftist postures that a period of crisis is the most appropriate time for taking radical measures for structural changes in economy and production. These measures are now required not only because the present is a time of crisis and they have been recognised as politically necessary by the ruling party itself but also they are the only ones economically feasible to have orderly economic recovery and sustain it over a period of time. They are necessary for maintaining the balance in the economy internally as well as in its external relations specially if there is any intention to reduce the dependence on foreign aid.

The budget of Sri Morarji Desai in itself, of course, gives no indication that foreign aid is not to be relied upon as almost the most important mainstay of the Budget. After his interim Budget when his attention was drawn to

the fact that the Plan provision was based on foreign aid for upto nearly 70 per cent he was a little upset and claimed that this proportion would be reduced. By the time he presented his full Budget, he had attuned himself to the existing realities of foreign aid in the structure of his Budget and the entire resources position of the Government. Instead of reducing he has taken credit for an increase of Rs. 30 crores in the foreign aid component on the credit side of the Budget in addition to opening his arms wide for the inflow of foreign private capital.

On different occasions, different apologia have been given about the merit of the foreign private capital and of foreign collaborations. Sri Morarji Desai has accepted all that and has added one more of his own: he said that the foreign private capital could help in export promotions, even while all evidence so far has been that the foreign capital when entering into collaboration makes it sure that the enterprise in this country would not become its competitor in outside markets.

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the rainy day

But should we give up hope if the rains don't come? Modern science bids fair to tame the weather. President Lyndon Johnson said in Washington, inaugurating the Water-for-peace Conference, that the US would begin technical talks with India in June on an experiment to make rain—Report

'TALK!' rasped Lyndon. 'I talk, Mr. Johnson, sir,' said the Fertilizer minister. 'Talk about the rain,' said Lyndon.

He went back to his elementary science, which he still maintained was his forte when people tried to demoralise him about his democratic socialism that he hadn't read or understood.

And he began talking with evident trepidation, 'Water is turned into steam by the action of the sun, and this vapour collects as clouds in the sky. These clouds are cooled, and they come down as rain.....'

'Stop!' said Lyndon.

'Mr. Johnson, sir?' he wondered.

'This is not the way it rains,' said Lyndon in terrible wrath. 'You're misrepresenting.'

'Mr. Johnson, sir,' he pleaded. That sounded like a terrified cooing, but really it was his way of saying he would be on the mat in his party meeting if he did anything that touched the sovereignty of the country.

'As between equals at this bilateral Rain-for-peace meet,' said Lyndon, 'I tell you this: rain is made through free enterprise, and sold to the people down below.'

His eyes widened, he scratched his unkempt beard.

'Mr. Johnson, sir,' he said, 'I understand.'

'Good,' said Lyndon.

'And so there's plenty of rain to go round, Mr. Johnson, sir?'

'There is plenty of finely produced, sophisticated rain for everybody, though not for the Negroes because they are Communists or Black Muslims. And the people

stay free.'

'What about the air to breathe, Mr. Johnson, sir?'

'Well, the air goes with the water. That too is fixed for the Free World, sold at a price.'

'Well, Mr. Johnson, sir,' he said, 'we haven't come to that stage of development yet. Trouble is we still have a Planning Commission, though it has been largely liberated under me. We've got this young Professor Hazari who seems to be a security risk, and we have Arora....'

'Oh, that so? We've Aurora too, way up on the Pole.'

'I'm concerned to hear it. But what I was saying was, air is still the property of the state and is given as a welfare service.'

'You mean they don't pay for it?' asked Lyndon in amazement.

'No, not yet, Mr. Johnson, sir,' said he apologetically.

'They had better pay,' said Lyndon. 'Otherwise they would cease to be a free people. The North Vietnamese don't pay for the air they breathe, and as a result they are groaning under the yoke of slavery. I'm bombing out the guys so that they may pay for the air and become free. Would you like me to bomb you?'

'What kind of bombs, Mr. Johnson, sir?' he asked, excited at the prospect of becoming a partner in the great free experiment of plenty.

'Fragmentation bombs, classical HE, romantic napalm, low yield nuclear stuff if you like.'

'Oooh!'

'But bombing alone won't make you healthy, wealthy and wise', said Lyndon.

'Early to bed and early to rise, Mr. Johnson, sir?' he said.

'No! you need artificial rain,' said Lyndon.

'Yes, certainly, Mr. Johnson, sir,' said he. 'We propose to have self-sufficiency in imported artificial rain.'

Lyndon stamped hard on the floor.

'Mr. Johnson, sir?' he said, tentatively.

'You ain't gonna import any rain from us,' said Lyndon.

'Certainly not, Mr. Johnson, sir,' he agreed. 'What I meant was if we could get full statehood not like Puerto Rica but like Alaska and could say *Aloha, Lynda Bird's daddy bird* and stuff, we wouldn't be importing anything, but would be having just an inter-zonal arrangement.'

'I deny you statehood,' said Lyndon. 'Injuns shan't have no state, but shall go to them reservations.'

'But, Mr. Johnson, sir,' said he, 'how do we get our rains?'

'You got to have your own Cloud,' said Lyndon, and flew out on a rain-for-peace sortie over Hanoi.

He conferred later with his Colleagues, all of whom were in a stiff fright.

'It's all right,' said he. 'Lynda Bird's daddy bird was sweet. He says it will be all right if we have our own Cloud.'

'In that case,' said the Colleague for Industry, 'we shall not have an enquiry even by the experts of the weather office.'

'Yes, Colleague,' said he 'we will continue to be under the Cloud, and whatever Arora might say or Hazari write down we will be nonaligned and socialist which means on the right side of Lynda Bird's daddy bird.'

'The Cloud is a matter of private enterprise,' said another Colleague whose name was not known to him or even to himself. Only Mr Arora and the Opposition knew his name.

'True,' said he to the nameless one, 'like I was telling Lynda Bird's daddy bird....'

'Only let's hope the Birla enterprises will help to keep the Cloud there,' said the Colleague for Industry.

'Let's save the Cloud,' said he, 'for the rainy day.'

—Charvaka

Nuremberg In Stockholm

SCHOFIELD CORYELL

IN Stockholm, between May 2 and May 12, the United States was on trial—symbolically, but no less effectively—for its war in Vietnam. As might have been expected, the American press failed to convey the slightest hint either of the extreme seriousness and meticulous care which marked the proceedings of the International Crimes Tribunal, or of the overwhelming weight of evidence which led to the Tribunal's unanimous double conclusion that the United States is indeed responsible for aggression against Vietnam, and for the deliberate and pre-meditated bombing of civilian populations.

The Tribunal, as its members and sponsors describe it, was comparable to a kind of Grand Jury, meeting to consider the evidence and determine whether there exists a basis for indictment of the United States in terms of international law. Nothing could be further from the truth than the widespread journalistic conception of the Tribunal as a kind of politically-motivated farce, stage-managed and manipulated by Russell's youthful American Secretary, Ralph Schoenman, with the Tribunal members, usually characterised as "mediocrities", acting the role of Yes-men to Schoenman's ringleaders, Sartre and Beauvoir.

It is hardly realistic to describe as non-entities or blind followers such people—well-known for their achievements and their staunch independent-mindedness—as historian Isaac Deutscher, the German anti-Nazi writer and philosopher Gunther Anders, the playwright Peter Weiss, the Tribunal President, Yugoslav historian, Vladimir Dedijer. The

three American members of the Tribunal—Courtland Cox of SNCC, the pacifist Dave Dellinger, and the New Left spokesman, Carl Oglesby—are anything but "yes-men."

The real spirit and purpose of the Tribunal was accurately and concisely expressed by the philosopher Bertrand Russell himself, in his message sent to the opening session in Stockholm: "Our Tribunal is not a group of disembodied formalists, quibbling over definitions or posturing an immoral lack of decision about events. We investigate in order to expose. We document in order to indict. We arouse consciousness in order to create mass resistance. This is our purpose and the acid test of our integrity and honor."

Litmus Test

As a Swedish journalist expressed it to me, the Tribunal—placing as it does, the acts of the US Government before the spotlight of international law—has come to serve as a kind of litmus test, forcing people and regimes to show their true nature and to take an unequivocal stand on the fundamental issues of human morality, as projected on the international stage. Thus, De Gaulle's categorical last-minute refusal to let the Tribunal hold its hearings in France revealed clearly enough the limits of Gaullist "independence" within the Atlantic Alliance and the capitalist world. The attitude of Sweden's Social-Democratic regime was ambiguous but fair enough, as expressed by Premier Erlander: While Sweden regretted the Tribunal's decision to hold its hearings in Stockholm—which

could only complicate relations between Sweden and her powerful partner, the United States—there was nothing in Swedish law to prevent the Tribunal from functioning, so long as no heads of state were personally insulted.

The Swedish press and public opinion—mildly antagonistic to the Tribunal at the outset—were visibly impressed by the solemnity and gravity of the proceedings. The Tribunal became the talk of the town, and rated front-page headlines treatment in all the Stockholm newspapers. The Social Democratic press—despite the Government's ambiguous attitude—was favourable from the beginning; the Liberal Party Press veered from mild hostility to mild respect; and only the ultra-right Conservative press remained hostile throughout. The bulk of the public, clearly opposed to the American war in Vietnam, felt that the work of the Tribunal was useful and necessary.

By far the most significant aspect of the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal was the varied and telling testi-

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mony presented, by members of the Tribunal's five investigating teams returned from North Vietnam, to the Tribunal in the presence of the world press and a varied assortment of observers and delegates in Stockholm's bright, spacious People's House. Particularly dramatic and agonizingly vivid was the testimony concerning the concentration of American bombing against purely civilian targets—the so-called “psycho-social objectives”, explicitly specified in an Air Force R.O.T.C. manual, from which a relevant chapter was excerpted and made available to the world press in Stockholm. These targets, according to this manual, are: the enemy's food-supply, water-supply, housing areas—in brief, all that contributes to the life and morale of the population.

Pellet Bombs

Typical of the exact eye-witness testimony submitted, in great quantity, to the Tribunal to show how the American military's aims are actually carried out in Vietnam was the contribution of Professor J.B. Neilands, Professor of Bio-chemistry at Berkeley University. He had carefully observed the effects of US bombing on villages in North Vietnam in the vicinity of the Viet Tri area on March 15, 1967, and reported that the pellet-bombs—the famous C.B.U.s (Cluster Bomb Units, in US military terminology), which had been used extensively, are useless except against the bodies of human-beings. “The base-ball size grenade which is dropped

from the C.B.U. cannister,” he said, “makes only a six-inch deep mark in a dirt road-way, and the pellets penetrate probably less than an inch into wood. The best traces of the pellets are left on masonry walls or on the apparent targets, namely people.” The Professor then gave a brief description of some of the victims of the pellet-bombs, including a 34-year old mother of five children, struck by a single pellet on August 11, 1966. “The pellet entered the fore-head, lodged at the base of the brain, and could not be removed by surgery. The patient was in a condition of almost total paralysis. She could swallow but not chew, and is kept alive by her son who puts soup in her mouth daily.”

Professor Neilands described the bombed Viet Tri area—where he observed the effects of C.B.U. bombs in practically every hamlet he visited—as a region of rice-paddies and agricultural land, without military objectives of any kind. He examined and photographed the empty cannisters, with their markings, as proof of the extensive use of these anti-personnel weapons, which the Pentagon—while the Tribunal hearings were still being held—strangely denied using except against military and industrial targets. Neilands' findings were abundantly confirmed and expanded by the French physicist, J.P. Vigier, the Tribunal's leading military expert, a research scientist at the Henri Poincare Institute in Paris. Vigier, who had also visited North Vietnam, pointed out that, according to his calculations, at least 50% of the total bomb tonnage dropped by US aircraft in North Vietnam consisted of such anti-personnel bombs, and that their use is on the increase.

To give an accurate idea of the quantity and nature of the evidence presented to the Tribunal, it would be necessary to multiply by many times the testimonies of Neilands and Vigier. Witness after witness told of remote villages bombed with devastating effect and intent in agricultural areas far from any conceivable military target—unless, as the R.O.T.C. manual suggests, people themselves are

to be regarded as military targets. The Tribunal's witnesses told a grim story of churches, pagodas, schools, hospitals and monasteries—all easily distinguishable targets—destroyed.

The French doctor, Francis Kahn, described, with the aid of slides, the plight of an extensive leper colony—consisting of a complex of 160 buildings, surrounded by mountains—which had been bombed no less than 39 times and left in a state of almost complete devastation! The Swedish doctor, John Takman, told of surviving villagers who described to him how their homes had been devoured by flames, how mothers and children were set afire while doing their daily chores, how cattle were burned to death by napalm, how farmers were maimed and killed by steel-pellets while working in the rice-fields.

Deliberate Technique

An American lawyer, Hugh Manis, who had visited North Vietnam as a member of a Tribunal investigating team, found villages of clay and thatch that had been attacked by high-explosive bombs, followed, in rapid succession, by fragmentation and pellet-bombs, suggesting a deliberate technique designed to drive people from their shelters or covers, and then to kill them.

Further evidence of the concerted attack on purely “psycho-social objectives” was provided by a Cuban doctor, Roberto Guerra, who described the effects of US bombing on the completely new and extensive Public Health system of North Vietnam, which had been built up in the years following the end of the First Indo-China war. He found the entire network of hospitals and sanitation centres so completely destroyed that hardly a single hospital remained in its original building. The entire health system had been dispersed and camouflaged, the health centres transferred to remote areas, hidden under thatched roofs from the prying eyes of the US aircraft which deliberately aimed its bombs against brick hospitals marked with red-crosses!

As an example of Vietnamese

REGRETS

Dr V. B. Singh, author of the article “Investment Structure and Income since 1956: A Preliminary Note”, published in the columns of *Mainstream* dated May 20, 1967, is officiating Reader in the Department of Economics, Lucknow University and Dr Baljit Singh is the Head of the Department of Economics. The confusion about their designations is regretted.

—Editor

ingenuity under fire, Guerra described a small improvised hospital in a hard-to-reach area where the personnel went about their work with lamps attached to their fore-heads for lighting. A bicycle was used as a generator—it was turned upside down and light was generated by continuously turning the pedal by hand. The attendants took turns keeping the small light—so indispensable for saving lives—from fading.

Bombed Dykes

No less telling than the proof of a concerted attack on the hospital system was the factual evidence of the systematic destruction of the vast network of dykes constructed in North Vietnam since 1954—a system which made possible the irrigation of 90% of the cultivated land, resulting in a significant increase in agricultural productivity. A Japanese member of a Tribunal investigating team, Professor Tsetsuri Tsurushima, had witnessed the bombed dykes, pierced with gaping craters, and thus personally confirmed the detailed reports of the North Vietnam Water Conservation Commission which had revealed a particularly violent and concerted attack on the dykes network in July, August and September of 1966. The American historian, Professor Gabriel Kolko, of the University of Pennsylvania, pointed to the alarming significance of such an attack on the irrigation system by recalling that SHAEF Commander Eisenhower had characterized as a "terrible war crime" the act of the German High Commissioner in Holland, Seyss-Inquart, in opening the dykes in 1944 and thereby flooding 500,000 acres of land.

A particularly dramatic point in the hearings was the moment when the Vietnamese witnesses appeared to make their statements and answer questions. Two were from the North—an eight-year old shepherd boy badly burned in the thighs and stomach while tending the cattle, and a lovely lithe 18-year old school-mistress, wounded and partially blinded by a steel-pellet in her head when her school was bombed. Two others were from the South—a farm-boy of 18, and a

merchant of 45, both burned and permanently maimed by napalm. These witnesses—who, as the Tribunal doctors pointed out, were not among the most severely wounded even of the survivors—stood as accusing symbols of the war's impact on thousands of their countrymen, maimed, blinded, reduced to a life of pain and suffering by American bombs.

The searching questioning to which the Tribunal's witnesses were subjected added considerably to the effectiveness and credibility of the entire proceedings. Particularly active in the questioning were Isaac Deutscher and the Pakistani lawyer, Kasuri, with considerable assistance from the Americans Courtland Cox and Dave Dellinger. So probing and insistent were the questions that anyone happening into the hall without any prior briefing would not have known that the questioners of the Tribunal were already completely committed on the question of the war itself. The questions aimed at bringing out the exact details and conditions under which the reported acts of war were carried out, so as to either confirm or demolish the evidence presented.

The Tribunal's double task in the Stockholm hearings was not only to examine the facts about the conduct of the American war in Vietnam, but also to study the relevant international law already on the books, and ratified by the Great Powers themselves, including the United States.

The conclusion that the United States had committed aggression in Vietnam—the first question considered—was reached after an exhaustive study of American official documents themselves, such as the famous "White Papers", in the light of the realities of the situation in Vietnam. The Tribunal's Final Declaration pointed to the following international laws and agreements on aggression which have been, and are being, violated by US intervention in Vietnam: the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 outlawing the resort to force in international relations, and the UN Charter, which contains the same provisions; the Nuremberg Statute;

the UN Resolution of 1960 affirming the right of all peoples to national independence. The Tribunal also regarded as an act of aggression the deliberate violation of the terms of the Geneva agreement of 1954 (prevention of elections in 1956 as scheduled, establishment of US troops and bases in the country.) The bombing of civilian populations by US aircraft was found to be in violation of the Hague Convention of 1949, prohibiting the bombing of civilian objectives.

The French lawyer, Joe Nordmann, President of the International Association of Democratic Jurists, made a particularly useful distinction—typical of the absence of emotionalism that characterised the proceedings—when he refused to liken "the struggle waged by the US today against the National Liberation Movements to Hitler's territorial conquests." He described the American armed intervention in Vietnam as a new and special kind of aggression directed against a country emerging from the long night of colonialism and embarking, in its brief moment of peace and freedom, upon a programme of rapid cultural and economic development within the framework of a new socialist society. Nordmann concluded that the "crimes deliberately committed in connection with the American aggression in Vietnam are crimes perpetrated against the development of humanity."

Against Third World

In his concluding recapitulatory report, Lelio Basso, Professor of History at the University of Rome, made another fine distinction between Hitler Ger-

A two-month Ukrainian Language course for Russian-knowing Students will be starting soon. Contact M/77, Connaught Place (opp. Fire Brigade), New Delhi from 6 p.m. to 7-30 p.m. till June 11, 1967.

many and the American colossus of today: The United States, while waging its distant wars of intervention against the revolutionary forces of the under-developed countries, has not as yet established a Hitler-type concentration camp state inside the country. America's worst violence, for the moment, is reserved for those in the Third World who reject the Pax Americana and the alien model of society based on private capitalism. In the light of this fact, it was not surprising that—on addition to messages from Prince Sihanouk

of Cambodia and President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam—the Tribunal also received an earnest message of appreciation from the permanent Tri-Continental Committee in Havana.

It is to the credit of the Tribunal—its members, organizers and many unpaid voluntary collaborators—that the sessions in Stockholm were characterized by such calm and impressive solemnity that even the most cynical, case-hardened journalists who witnessed it were finally moved to join in the record-breaking 22-minute applause that

ended the first phase of this historic event.

The Tribunal is the effort, by men of achievement and conscience, but without power, to examine the acts of the powerful and call upon the peoples of the world to pass judgement. As the Tribunal's Executive-Secretary, Jean-Paul Sartre, expressed it in his statement to the opening session: "The judges exist everywhere. They are the peoples of the world, including the American people. And it is for them that we are working."

THE VIETNAM SAGA

The Modern Ramayana

KUDRUSA

DURING the past few weeks events have moved fast in Vietnam. Ever since the Guam Conference, the US warlords have been busy hustling things. They are worried by the mounting anti-war movement at home. Even the address of General Westmoreland, called specially to testify before the Congress, has not helped re-assure the average US citizen, who is feeling increasingly disturbed by the mounting losses in Vietnam. He finds it more and more difficult to believe the statements of President Johnson and his henchmen about the end of the war being in sight. The latest US Government strategy seems to go on escalating the war, so that decisive results can be obtained before the massive public protest at home forces its hands, as happened in the case of Korea.

Today, there are upwards of half a million US soldiers in a country, not larger than some of our medium-sized States. Troops sent by South Korea, Australia, etc. as also those of Saigon are in addition. In all the number is about a million. In equipment, the very latest is being used against the patriotic citizenry of a small but valiant country. US aggressors believe that with the latest in equipment and very well-trained army, they will be able to crush all resistance in their path.

Facts, however, are somewhat stubborn and do not bow before the wishful thinking of the Yankee imperialists. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people has exasperated the aggressor and now in broad daylight, he has been committing one war crime after another.

The sympathies of the free-

dom-loving people all over the world are with the brave people of Vietnam and they are sure that in the end the Yankee will have to go home. The Indian democrat shares this feeling with other democratic people, but unlike citizens even in capitalist countries of Western Europe and the USA itself, he is being denied correct information on the progress of this titanic fight, reminiscent of the struggle between David and Goliath.

Here it would be worth while noting a number of facts, culled from such newspapers as *Die Welt*, *L'Express* and even *US News and World Report*. This will enable one to have a better idea of the military situation in that war-torn country.

It is not very well known that the US war-planes can reach any point in the entire country

(North and South together) within *thirty minutes*. They have been able to do so, first, because of the small size of the country and second, because of their plane-carriers in the sea and of their bases in Thailand and Laos. In such a situation, any attack by the patriotic forces must need be carried out within *thirty to forty-five minutes*. This means that if an American camp or base is to be attacked, soldiers must converge there, carry out the attack and disperse, hauling away their casualties within *forty-five minutes*. As all the US bases are linked by high-power radio transmitters, no risk can be taken on this account.

It may be said that the thick forests of the country-side are excellent cover for the soldiers of Vietnam. But this not entirely correct. The US army has put into use extremely powerful infra-red ray cameras in its reconnaissance planes. The planes, so equipped, fly day and night and thanks to their extra sensitivity to heat, they can register the variation in the number of persons moving about in thick forest. For example, if in a forest-patch, the heat emitted by persons in a particular day registers a serious increase, the obvious conclusion is that some troop movement is going on. And within thirty minutes the patch can be subjected to carpet-bombing, in which napalm bombs are frequently used. The special defoliation bombs help clear the patch of all foliage, making every movement visible to the naked eye as it were.

If the Vietnam soldiers have been able to overcome even this handicap, it is only because of their intense love for their country's freedom and independence, which they have been fighting to regain and secure, second time since the Second World War.

In order to attack any place, they plan everything, in advance, even the seemingly minor details are not left to chance. Everything is done with clock-work precision. In this they have taken full advantage of a weapon, perfected by them during the last few

years, namely tunnels. Hundreds and hundreds of kilometres of underground tunnels have been dug up all over the country. These tunnels, in deep forest, serve as training centres, as army head quarters, as hospitals and what not. Such tunnels also surround a large number of US bases, so that a great deal of movement out of such camps has to be by aeroplane or by helicopter.

Thanks to the support of practically every patriotic citizen, information in Vietnam travels very fast, so fast that it is able to defeat the speed of the highly sophisticated communication net-work of the US army. To take an example: Some months ago, the US army accidentally discovered a vast underground tunnel network in a forest miles away from Saigon. The network was, however, empty though some documents, medicines and food were captured. The experts went straight for the records and found to their happiness, the Saigon address of an underground office. Within three hours of the capture of this forest-post, the Saigon premises in question were raided, but nothing was found. It had already been evacuated!

This super-human group-work has been made possible by a thousand-year-old tradition of fighting tyranny, which has left its mark in the blood of each and every patriot. This feeling is so intense that even a person, put on solitary duty, carries out his mission with cool nerve and can be counted upon to stick to his post until death. In this connection, we may cite the case of a lonely forest-fighter. In a certain forest, the road was being mined everyday and despite careful checks, the US soldiers were unable to find anyone in the vicinity. The nearest village was about 20 kilometres away. There was not even a solitary hut anywhere within miles. But mining continued, resulting in mounting losses in men and material. Desperate, the area-commander organised a thorough search. For conducting the same, he used the tactics of

'animal-hunting', that is, several hundred soldiers started moving together from one end of the forest, searching every bush on the way. To their surprise, they came across a solitary tribesman living in the very heart of the area. Operating single-handed for several weeks, he had been able to sow terror in the Yankee heart. His method was simple. From time to time he would go to his supply-base several kilometres away and bring back the mines. Then he would go on laying them methodically, but with all the cunning such persons acquire in their childhood, while hunting for their quarry. Food posed him no problems, because he could hunt in the jungle. He could have died of illness or accident. Loneliness could have driven him mad. But no. His only idea: to help drive the aggressor out. This is the stuff the Vietnam citizen is made of.

Thus in their sacred fight against the most powerful army of the world, the people of Vietnam are working with both caution and daring and have been devising ever new methods when confronted with the latest in technical devilry. The result has been quite impressive so far. According to the calculation of a military expert, it cost 50,000 dollars to kill a soldier during the Second World War. But thanks to the Viet Nam people, the US Government has to spend about 3,50,000 dollars to kill a patriot there. The total cost to the US Government has already crossed the 30,00 million dollars mark!

We, in our great country, have heard of the epic fight between Rama and Ravana. We know how Rama, aided but by a number of forest tribesmen, fought and vanquished Ravana, a renowned fighter, who enjoyed overwhelming superiority in man and material. It is no exaggeration to say that the great people of Vietnam are writing new Ramayana, with their blood. But to our eternal shame, since the demise of Nehru, our leaders and our "national" press have been doing their best to isolate us from the progress of this epic war.

Why Pakhtunistan ?

ANU BANDYOPADHYAYA

A patriot's pride and a reformer's zeal ever swayed Abdul Ghaffar Khan's mind. His passion for serving his people was first canalised in educating the ignorant minds. To the illiterates he taught the three Rs, to the minds crippled with orthodox teachings by the mullahs and maulvis he carried the message of free-thinking.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's attempts to liberate and awaken the people met with stiff opposition from the British authority who warned that evil would befall him if he pursued his course of action further: "What are you doing? Stop it." Undaunted Abdul Ghaffar Khan stuck to his guns and hit back saying it was as imperative a duty to him as the performance of the religious call—doing daily *nemaz*. He said "I am, in fact, doing the work the Government should do, hence you should extend your help and co-operation to me."

Unperturbed he carried on an untiring campaign for educating the masses and organising public opinion for the realisation of his ideal. He was short of helping hands, but bubbling with irrepressible enthusiasm of a healthy young social worker. In a province where 98 percent of the population was illiterate, he toured from village to village and opened *azad* schools that taught Pakhtu—the long-neglected mother tongue of the Pathans. Not a single village of the three thousand in the Frontier Province was left unvisited by him.

He believed that his Sikh co-

prisoners were more spirited than the Hindus and the Muslims because their scripture written in their mother tongue touched their hearts and revealed to them the true meaning of the religious tenets and lofty prayers. He regretted "how a wrong notion prevails that to give proper expression to one's ideas in Pakhtu is difficult and it is unfortunate that in Afghanistan there is no journal in Pakhtu."

Free Land

He gently derided Amanulla Khan and the Afghan students for not knowing their national language—Pakhtu. In 1928 he started a journal *Pakhtun* to ventilate his constructive ideas about social reform and political education. In simple language *Pakhtun* spoke about such political topics as boycott of the Simon Commission. Along with making his people proud of their own language he tried to make them conscious of the need of having a free land of their own where all the Pakhtu-speaking tribes scattered around the former Frontier Province could live a consolidated community life. He reminded them of their past history and heritage of the Pakhtuns who, now split up into fragmental existence by the British, was once "a large community stretching from the Amu to the middle of the Punjab. No one can dominate them". Were they not the Aryans who spread the message of Buddha crossing lofty mountains and vast expanse of lands?

Instead of fanning the natural leanings to armed revolt and

violent warfare of this band of strong bornfighters who have an easy access to the use of and command over arms, he chose the difficult work of training them up in a far strenuous mode of war-tactics—use of non-violent civil disobedience.

His observant and analytic mind did not fail to notice how the Pathan wasted his time and energy in cutting the throat of his brother Pathan to avenge some wrong done to someone in his family. Abdul Ghaffar Khan believed that violence, the bane of the Pathans, had shattered their solidarity and tore them with bickerings and murders. To make a fruitful use of their strength and to rid them of this curse running from sire to son, he presented them with a better weapon that never grows rusty—the non-violence of the brave. The seed of non-violence sown in his mind, in his younger days, from the reading of the Koran was nurtured to a healthy growth by Gandhiji's idea of non-violent non-co-operation with evil.

Red Shirts

In 1929, he founded the Khudai-Khidmatgar organisation. Carrying his six-feet-three Pathan manhood he went striding along hamlet after hamlet opening Khidmatgar centres which greatly upset the British Government. He defended his stand saying that what he was doing was basically a social movement and not a political one. When the British Chief Commissioner challenged him: "What guarantee is there that after organising the Pathans you will not use them against us?" Abdul

Ghaffar Khan retorted: "Such a guarantee is founded on mutual trust, you trust us and we shall trust you."

That trust was never reposed on the subject race by the suspecting rulers and that lack of trust and sympathy generated an equally forceful mistrust of them in Abdul Ghaffar Khan's mind. He said: "Who was responsible for converting this social movement into a political one? The British. Who associated us with the Congress? The British."

Promise of personal gain, power or administrative post could not win over this man of God and servant of the people to the side of the rulers who in one breath said: "An unfortunate Government from which honest men keep away is destined to perish" and soon after treacherously clamped him in jail. He had spent thirty of his 77 years of life in prison.

Manacles and Fetters

From his mind he could wipe out personal grudge or bitterness or thought of retaliation against those who tried hard to crush his spirit, demolish his organisation and journal and break his body by repeatedly confining him in solitary cells, making him grind 20 seers of corn a day on a *chakki* with manacles on, iron ring and fetters round his neck and bleeding ankles. But he could not pardon those wily despots who with determination practised the divide-and-rule policy and exploited the helpless masses by indulging in ruthless repressions. Their cruel scheming acts and sinister moves seldom allowed him to forget that he belonged to a slave nation, and goaded him to take part in active politics. He hated politics and more than once expressed his desire to devote himself to humanitarian service of the poorest but was compelled to believe "that a socially backward people cannot develop a sound political consciousness and without a sound political sense there can be no democracy."

Accusations both by the British and the Muslim League against his activities and the underlying

motive behind his social reform campaign piled up. The one lakh Red Shirts were dubbed as Gandhiji's volunteers and congress stooges who were being used to help the Hindus to subdue the Muslim population. They again were labelled as Bolshevik agents ready to help infiltration of Russian ideas and arms to overpower the British rulers.

British Rejection

He once told Gandhi: "Why these fights with the tribes (by the British)? Why this effort to bribe them when bombing them into submission proved futile? I want to make friends with them but am not permitted to go near them. To me the problem of defence of the Frontier appears to be simple, if we were united. Is it not a tragedy that we should not be able to guard this narrow pass against the foreign invaders?" His pleadings to befriend the proud and primitive tribal people, to teach them an honest way of living by utilising their energy in constructive work instead of revelling in raids and looting were repeatedly turned down by the British as unsanctionable requests. They suspected that Abdul Ghaffar Khan would join Afghanistan or the Fakir of Ipi for dethroning them. They also feared the growing popularity of the *Fakhr-e-Afghan* who by people's voice was called *Badshah* and whose word was law to them.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan repudiated the designation of his land as North-West Frontier Province as it was an innovation of the British who in 1901 separated it from India. His persistent demand for Pakhtunistan got highlighted when he was compelled to accept the partition of India in 1947 and later on the one unit plan of Pakistan. The motive behind the proposal for holding fresh elections and holding a referendum in the Frontier just before the partition of India, *Badshah Khan* thought, was not to elicit public opinion on the issue of Pakistan on which the Pathans gave a clear verdict only one year ago, but to instal the Muslim League in the British ministerial throne by fair means or foul. The British wanted to

reward their henchmen and to give a parting kick to the majority of Pathans whom they wanted to punish for having played a vital role in making them quit India. The India League report recorded as early as 1932, "it was stated by a very high official that Abdul Ghaffar Khan's real plan was to create a Pathanistan and not to work for India's self-government." At the same time a Government of India note said: "... the Red Shirt movement is essentially a Congress movement."

In spite of his announcement to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly that "Pakistan is our country and its solidarity and protection is our duty" by this man of integrity, the latest tag added to *Badshah Khan* for criticising the Pakistan Government and for not finding any difference between the old British bureaucrats and the Pakistan leaders is that he is a seditious disruptionist, traitor and a fifth-columnist.

It is true that *Badshah Khan* did not labour hard, considering all earthly gains, rest and comfort as *haram*, only for a change of masters, for having white bureaucracy replaced by a brown one that proved equally apathetic to the welfare of the under-fed, underclad and unlettered Pakhtun masses. He never tired of emphasizing that: "I have been working for the establishment of Pakhtunistan all my life. Pakhtunistan would be an autonomous unit in Pakistan. It would stand for the Pathans just as Sind stands for the Sindhis or Bengal for the Bengalis.... The people of India call us Pathans, the Persians call us Afghans. Our real name is Pakhtuns. We want Pakhtunistan and we want to see all the Pathans on this side of the Durand Line joined and united together in Pakhtunistan."

Instrument of Service

Before the partition, all his demands seemed to be within easy reach only for his asking for them as both the British Raj and the Muslim League appeared to be too willing to oblige him if he agreed to sever his connection with the Congress. When a citizen of Pakistan, in six years'

time, Badshah Khan was twice asked by the Governor Cunningham, and Liaquat Ali whether he would work in collaboration with the League Government. He said: "To them Government is a means of achieving power, to me it is an instrument of service. Our outlook is constructive, theirs is destructive. How can we then work together?" Badshah Khan is no timeserver and he could not forget his debt to a party that once stood by him in his stricken plight. His mission in life is to see his people live and work in Pakhtunistan—a constituted belt of all Pathans that were disunited by the British. They should enjoy the freedom and responsibility of managing their internal affairs to the advantage of the whole community in a way that

their art, culture and inborn talents for self-development and self-expression do not die out.

He is fully justified in repeating that "India is enjoying the fruits of independence for twenty years and has made us the slaves of selves, has thrown us to the wolves."

The unkindest cut of all was India's betrayal of his cause.

The memorandum submitted by the exasperated Pathans to U Thant during his recent visit to Kabul has a touch pathos in it: "We can no more tolerate Pakistani colonialism. In no way can we give up our right of self-determination. If we do not get it through peaceful means, we are prepared to achieve it by whatever way possible." Resort to violence may expedite the rea-

lisation of Badshah Khan's lifelong dream, namely, birth of Pakhtunistan. But it will be no less a tragedy than Gandhi's yielding to the pressure put by his impatient colleagues and the general public of India for acceptance of vivisection of India in order to throw off a foreign yoke. To gain political independence at the cost of disowning Gandhi's or Badshah Khan's fifty years' relentless effort to prove the need and efficacy of non-violence in solving domestic or world problems with courage, honour and dignity is unworthy of a true revolutionary. This prostitution of ideology will be something like selling the birthright of human beings to brute force for a mess of pottage. It will be another crucifixion of the Christ.

MASK OFF

Peking and the "Third World"

OBSERVER

"CHINA is all in favour of Africa's sovereignty," Chou En-lai said time and again during his 1963-1964 Afro-Asian tour.

Last February, while receiving Mauritania's Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi chose to recall the well-known "Five Principles" guiding China's relations with Asian and African nations.

But that did not in any way prevent the Chinese Foreign Minister from telling the Red Guards recently that "Nasser, Gandhi, and Tito are leaders who curry favour with American imperialism". The notes handed down by the Chinese embassies in Nairobi and Tunis branded Kenya as "a docile pawn of imperialism and modern revisionism" and predicted "a sorry end" for Tunisia's Government.

The question asked by many

these days is: Is it sincere when it sets forth its principles or when it is adding insult to injury in regard to independent states in Asia and Africa.

There are many statements protesting Peking's interference in the internal affairs made by the Governments and the press of those countries. They also complain about the Chinese abusing their traditional hospitality.

It has not taken them too long to realise that the so-called theory of "common interests" and the talk of "the need to support, help and learn from each other" are a cover-up on China's claim to a leading position in the "Third World" or, to use the Chinese officielle, Peking's claim to be "the one and only centre of world revolution".

Prior to 1962-1964 the Afro-

Asians tended to look up to China with hope that gradually gave way to distrust and suspicion. The reason is that the Third World has seen through the demagoguery of the Chinese leaders. That is why Peking's claims to hegemony and sermons on "Africa and Asia being ripe for revolution" are met today with caution by the leaders of these countries.

The many failures in China's foreign policy have made Peking sore and caused it to cast off all pretensions. That does not mean, of course, that it fails to pay lip-service to the old days when it used to approach Asian and African nations with an open heart. The alternative it puts forward nowadays, however, sounds quite different: side with China or face subversive activities, inspired and directly financed by

China, and thus an end to the country's peace. Neutrality is clearly not to Mao Tse-tung's liking.

Territorial claims are high on the list of ways and means employed by the Chinese leaders for purposes of blackmailing their neighbours.

"Mao Tse-tung teaches us that the Chinese people are morally all set to struggle in order to get back the territories they have lost, the territories which used to be owned by China in the old days", said Tuan Lo-fu, Chinese Minister, in November last year. The truth is that Peking still wistfully regrets the loss of the territories it "owned" south of its borders, "the territories down to the South Seas".

Evidently paving the way for an eventual recovery of the "lost lands", Peking is engaged in a vast programme of infiltration into its neighbours' territories. For these purposes it widely exploits

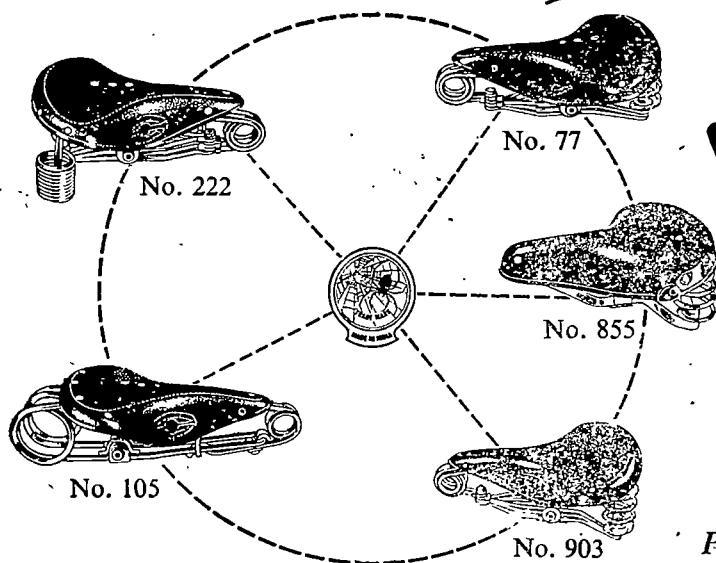
the Chinese colony abroad which presently comes to a total of 12 million emigrants holding rather important positions in the economies of China's neighbours. According to reliable sources several thousand Chinese residents have been sent by Peking in the past few years to Burma, Cambodia, Nepal and India to merge completely among the local Chinese colonies in those countries.

Push Buttons

Be that as it may, the Chinese emigrants are the source of growing concern for many of China's neighbours. They behaving in such a way that the Cambodian press once aptly referred to Pnompenh as a city which seems to be "occupied by the Chinese". Burma's official newspaper, *The Working People's Daily*, usually rather reserved in any open criticism of the big northern neighbour, now

accuses Peking of attempting to "push the buttons" in Burma. The reason for such an accusation was a secret order from Peking instructing its emigrants in Southeast Asia to get citizenship papers, worm their way into the army and government, trying at any cost to be on good terms with the local leaders. The Chinese Embassy in Rangoon is said to be urging the local emigrants to unite or face "the lamentable end of the Chinese in Indonesia which came to them only because they had lacked unity". Even in faraway Africa the national leaders who are sympathetic to Peking and invite experts from it are not fully in the know about the exact numbers of the Chinese in their country and what they are actually doing there. Dahomey's President C. Soglo recently said that the Chinese experts in his country had been busy not so much planting rice, as expected, as planting agents

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As to China's neighbours, their security is threatened not only by the Peking Chinese but by their fellow countrymen from Taiwan, mostly known as "the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek armed forces". Taking advantage of the so-called Cultural Revolution on the mainland, those forces are engaged in 'harassing activities' both in China and the neighbouring countries. Peking is known to wink at all that. The rumours strongly indicate that, dissatisfied with the existing frontier treaties signed several years ago with its Asian neighbours, Peking in fact is secretly aiding the Chiang forces with food supplies to terrorize the neighboring countries.

The way things are, Red China dreaming of Asian leadership, finds it increasingly difficult to act through the national leaders and official representatives of the Afro-Asian countries. Both their experience and the world events make them rather wary of the aging Mao's true goals. To make matters worse Peking itself dislikes the regimes in those countries and, moreover, refuses to accept even the socialist goals announced by Burma, UAR, Mali, Tanzania and several other countries. In other words, Asia and Africa, bound to China by "common history and common tasks" have

no alternative but to be Maoised.

To attain its ends Peking has long been playing a double game: while wooing and lulling leaders in Asia and Africa, it has relied all along on opposition groups, building up a pro-Chinese lobby through the Machiavellian combination of bribes and blackmail. UAR has asked Peking to recall its ambassador to Cairo because Chen Chia-kang has been found involved with the Mohammed Agha anti-Government plotters and guilty of setting up a pro-Peking student extremists' organization. Chen Chia king is said to have explained away his ties with the Mohammed Agha group by claiming that the money he gave was to be spent on distributing Chinese propaganda material. For Nasser, however, that hardly makes any difference whatever since the money M. Agha received was in the final analysis, always used against his Government.

Adam Malik, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, has recently accused Peking of training Indonesians who are later to be smuggled into their home land to combat the present Jakarta regime.

Reports from the Middle East indicate Peking has lately been busy training agents for the Palestine organization to be smuggled into Israel to work for a clash between the Zionists and

the Arabs at a time suitable for China

On the eve of the 17th anniversary of China's revolution and the New Year of 1967 the Hsinhua news agency carried greetings to "people's wars" in over twenty countries and regions of the world. The Chinese leaders, of course, do not make it clear what kind of wars they have in mind but, when one recalls the abortive coup in Indonesia, it can be said definitely that Mao's aim is to substitute pro-Chinese regimes for the ones now existing in Afro-Asian countries although they have won their independence quite recently and naturally need a long period for stabilization.

The Peking leaders seem to have long since forgotten their highfalutin promises of aid to other countries, made several years ago. In Mao's hands economic aid and trade are not so much a means of contacts and exchanges as a tool for pressure. Thus, the usually well-informed quarters in Colombo believe, China is presently threatening Ceylon, with breaking all trade links and ending the rice-rubber exchanges unless Ceylon takes a favourable stand towards China. The recent pro-Mao speech in Peking by Gunavardhane, Ceylon's ambassador to Peking, is thus a plea to the Chinese to continue with the existing agreement.

In return for their 'no strings' aid the Chinese would actually like to get political concessions or, at least, approval for the Cultural Revolution. Ismail Toure, Guinea's Minister, and Mauritania's Foreign Minister have shown how praising that 'revolution' may become an open sesame password to get access to China's finances.

Red China which, until recently, claimed to be a guarantor of independence in Asia and Africa and, perhaps, was believed to be so, is now a source for concern for many Afro-Asian countries. Thus Peking has lost the goodwill of the very area whose centre it pretends to be and on which it has pinned and is still pinning its main hopes for its hegemony in the third world.

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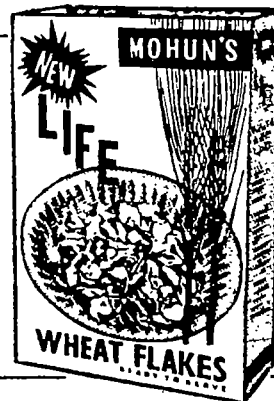
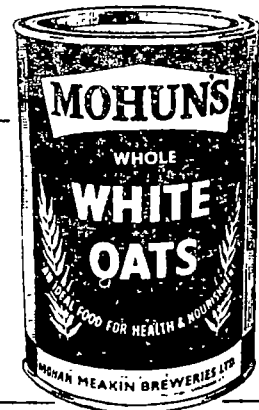


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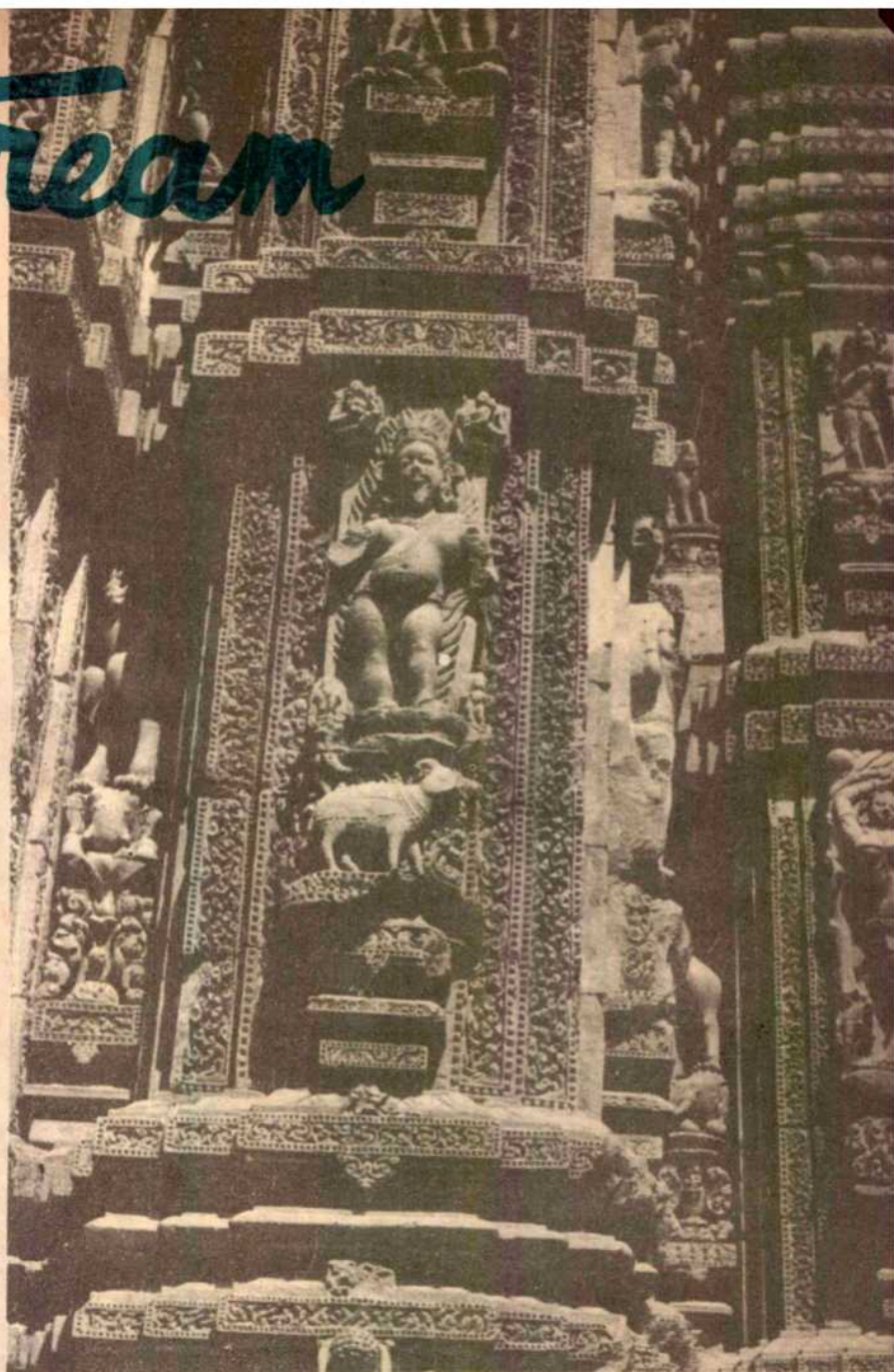
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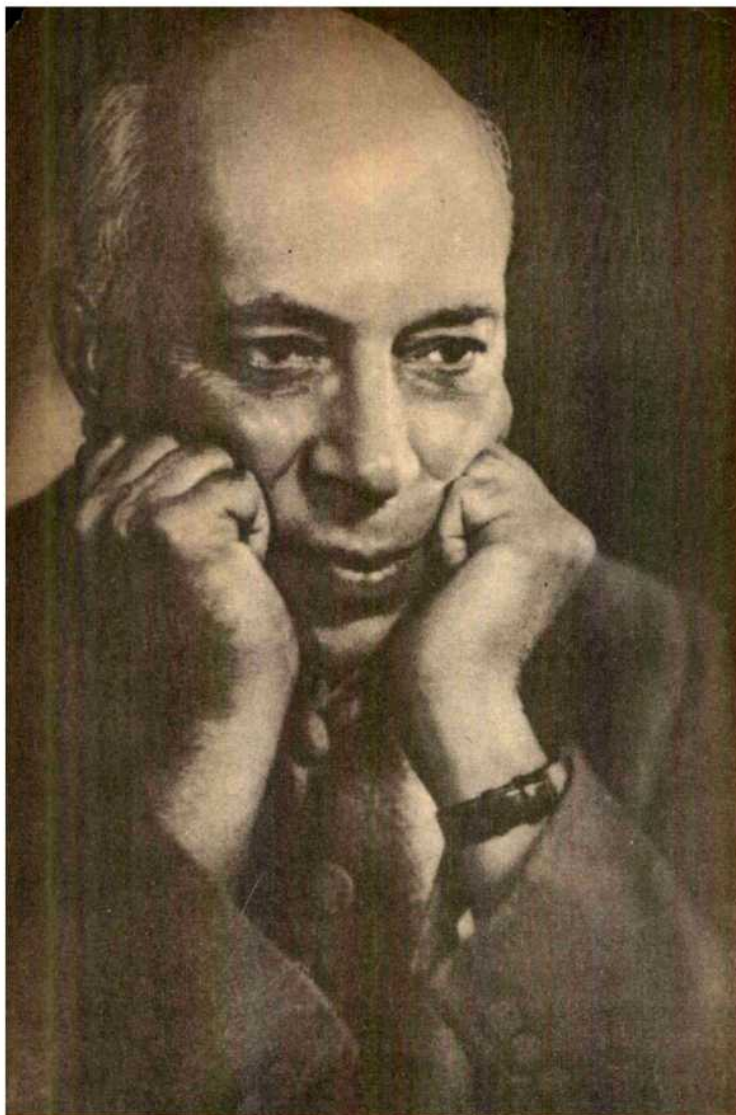
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MAO'S MEN IN BURMA



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A FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCE

ONCE again the Chief Ministers of Congress and non-Congress States met in New Delhi under the aegis of the Centre and dispersed without seriously tackling the basic economic issues confronting the country.

Even in the new situation thrown up by the results of the Fourth General Election such conferences continue to be occasions for underlining the absence of direction and a sense of helplessness that appears to have overtaken government in this country, especially at the Centre. At conferences of Chief Ministers, in the very nature of things much of the initiative for new thinking and formulation of new lines of action has to come from the Union Government. If at the recent conference no effort was made to find or even investigate the root causes of economic malaise much less to consider long-term solutions for them, the reason is mainly the total incapacity for initiative, that has developed at the Centre, although the aggravating factor of the reluctance of many State Governments to think in terms of drastic and radical remedies for the persisting crises cannot be minimised.

The Central Government has got used to drifting, having been on this course for at least three years now. The sad fate of the Fourth Plan bears eloquent testimony to this; so does the hibernation into which

the Planning Commission has been systematically pushed; so does the utter lack of effort in the direction of ending total dependence on imports from America to feed the nation. Other examples of the tendency to put off positive decision or action are provided by the continuing quibbling over "social control" on the banking industry, the deliberate avoidance of implementation of the promise to introduce monopoly procurement and State trading in foodgrains, and the refusal to take steps to place curbs on monopolies and end concentration of wealth. In short, the Centre prefers to wait indefinitely, hopefully looking to the skies and to President Johnson's Administration for signs that its problems will be solved for the time being without much effort on its part.

This attitude naturally found reflection in the Chief Ministers' Conference. Also was evident the tendency to make out that the ball was now in the States' court—that it was up to the States to take their own decisions and implement them with their own resources, subject of course to the constitutional limitations which are considered more sacred than human lives or happiness.

The recent conference of Chief Ministers was supposedly devoted to agricultural problems, but there is no evidence that it came to grips with the basic questions involved. That it was not entirely the fault of the States can be seen from the fact that when one of the non-Congress State Governments suggested the abolition of land revenue and the simultaneous imposition of graded agricultural income-tax, Sri Asoka Mehta raised the bogey that any such proposal required the approval of four Central Ministries. The Congress is committed to the abolition of land revenue on uneconomic holdings and to the levy of agricultural income-tax but the Congress Government at the Centre was able to obstruct a constructive proposal on these lines by raising what is obviously little more than a technical objection, the validity of which must be open to serious doubt.

There is no justification whatever for the Union Government coming in the way of progressive agricultural legislation in any State, even if it lacks the capacity to initiate such measures on an all-India basis. The suspicion is inescapable that the objection has been raised mainly because the proposal has emanated from a non-Congress Government and partly because the Congress is dominated by interests which

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will be adversely affected by any such legislation.

On planning and the future of the Planning Commission neither the Centre nor many of the States have shown much enthusiasm. Not only have most States not offered their comments on the Administrative Reforms Commission's proposals on the reorganisation of the Planning Commission, but none of those present at the conference had any comment to make on Sri Namboodiripad's six-point programme to make planning productive: they wanted "time" to consider the programme. This is rather strange because the Kerala Chief Minister's proposals did not contain much that was new; its highlights were radical land reforms, nationalisation of banks, general insurance and external trade, greater State participation in internal trade in essential commodities, elimination of foreign business interests and reduction of dependence on foreign aid.

All these ideas in one form or another—in some cases even in more radical forms—have been accepted by the Congress as well as many of the other political parties represented at the Chief Ministers' Conference. Yet they wanted "time" to consider the proposals. The reluctance to make the basic structural changes needed to make planning fruitful to the masses was certainly in evidence. Even if the Centre preferred drift, there was no reason why the non-Congress Governments in which Leftist parties are participating should not have insisted on discussion of Sri Namboodiripad's proposals, so that even if final decisions could not be taken, an outline of the future line of action could have emerged. The plea that not sufficient thought had been given to these burning questions can only amount to a confession of ineptitude if not of betrayal of the popular mandate.

The readiness with which some at least of the non-Congress Chief Ministers played into the clever hands of Sri Morarji Desai was amazing. It has become customary over the years for the Chief Ministers to make such conferences occasions to demand funds and for the Central representatives to sermonise the States on the need to find their own resources. A new dimension was added to this perpetual debate by the introduction of the idea of a wage-prices-profits freeze. The idea was first mooted by Sri Desai, and it came up at the conference in the context of the Gajendragadkar Commission award on dearness allowance for Central employees and its recommendation that State Government employees should be paid DA on the same basis. Those Chief Ministers who, finding that the Centre was in no mood to make additional resources available to enable the States to meet the additional commitment involved, plumped for the "freeze" formula, showed little appreciation of the practical implications of the proposal.

The administration over all these years has proved both unwilling and incapable of holding the price line; and there is not even the inclination to consider steps to limit the minting of unlimited profits by big business houses owning large numbers of industries and cornering licences in the bargain. The practical result of any such scheme will only be to freeze wages while prices and private profits continue their upward curve with wonted gay abandon. The working class will have no alternative but to resist

any attempt to freeze wages which are already far below the needs imposed by the prevailing price levels. The worker today is in no mood to tolerate his being made the scapegoat for the failures of the administrators, and the reaction to any attempt to peg wages at their present eroded level without prior freezing of prices at reasonable levels and of profits also similarly can only be an outburst of massive labour unrest.

If the authorities are serious, pegging should start with prices and profits—and the freezing should not be at the current bloated levels but considerably lower and realistic. There is no indication that the Chief Ministers' Conference thought on these lines at all. At least those non-Congress Governments in which progressive parties have a share should set their faces sternly against injustice to the working class.

As for procurement, it cannot be denied that the performance of both Congress and non-Congress Governments has been unsatisfactory. Even West Bengal and Kerala have not done enough. With the Centre reluctant to insist on monopoly procurement, the surplus States are disinclined to take up such a programme on their own. And there is room for suspicion that some of the surplus States are utilizing their surpluses as a political lever. The Centre is yet to awaken to the fact that unless procurement and distribution are totally in the hands of the Government, the pathetic dependence on the monsoon and Washington's moods will continue; and to that extent our freedom will remain mortgaged.

None of the fundamental economic problems which are causing suffering and privation to millions in this country can be solved without structural changes in the planning machinery and without drastic alterations in the economic structure itself. Tinkering with basic problems as is being done by the Chief Ministers at their periodic conclaves will lead nowhere. While the ideal solution would be reforms on a national scale, the State Governments dominated by Leftist parties cannot afford to wait for such a happy consummation. The State Government which proposed simultaneous abolition of land revenue and introduction of agricultural income-tax should go ahead with its proposals: if later it is found that the Constitution comes in the way of such a progressive move, the people will bring about the necessary changes in the Constitution. After all it is they who gave the clear mandate for change.

If, on the other hand, these States follow the tradition of leaving every decision to the Centre and drift aimlessly along with it, they must get ready to face popular anger. The Governments of these States must remember that unless at every stage they challenge the status quo, the constitutional pundits at the Centre will successfully prevent them from acting firmly in the interests of the common people and against monopolists, profiteers and other anti-social elements who have cornered the nation's wealth in their greedy little hands. The people will not accept excuses like limitations imposed by the Constitution or non-cooperation from the Centre; these pleas can be valid only up to a point, and will lose validity once the people begin to feel that their plight is unbearable and the Government has done little positive to lighten their burden.

SANS INITIATIVE

ALTHOUGH the prospect of political instability seems to have receded in recent weeks, a pall of uncertainty hangs over the New Delhi scene and drift has become the law of political functioning in the Capital.

The confabulations that the Chief Ministers had last week with the Centre produced very little by way of firm decisions. The agenda was impressive and the urgent problems pertaining to food, price rise and unrest over wages have almost reached the point of crisis. The impression one gathered during the talks that were mainly conducted by the Finance Minister—the Prime Minister and the Home Minister being conspicuously subdued during the entire period of the Conference—was that the Centre was posing the problems and expecting the States to fulfil their part, while the States pressed the chronic complaint of the Centre's neglect of their demands and grievances.

This frustrating essay has led quite a few Chief Ministers to question the very necessity of such conferences with all the fanfare and publicity. The Food Minister, for instance, tried to perform gymnastics, quibbling with figures of allocations which convinced few of the Chief Ministers, and tried to throw the blame, at least partly, on the States for not having gone ahead with large-scale procurement.

What was noticeable was that there was hardly any effort on the part of the Centre to place before the Chief Ministers the actual picture of difficulties in getting foreign imports particularly because of the adamancy of the US Government. Had this been emphasised strongly, the entire debate could have assumed a political character and despite the hardships in the offing, the spirit of self-reliance would have emerged as a distinct national feature. The innate anti-imperialism of the common masses could still be roused if they were told

that it would be necessary to forgo meals so that independence and self-respect of the nation could be held high and that the Government refused to knuckle under American blackmailing. But the food crisis has not been posed from that angle at all. Instead, the Chief Ministers went back with a sense of frustration which is bound to change into despair as shortages loom larger and larger in the coming weeks.

Even on the question of working out a correct agricultural strategy there was no direction from the Centre. A few months ago the entire problem was reduced to the question of more fertiliser production, and today the emphasis seems to have shifted to minor irrigation. While there are good reasons in support of both the approaches, what is lacking is a well-thought-out coherent line which could unify all the States in a common crusade for greater agricultural production.

Sri Morarji Desai's exchanges with the Chief Ministers over the question of wage freeze and more dearness allowance for Government employees, sounded more like a college-union debate in which two-sides were putting forward contending arguments. The basic approach, as Sri Nambudiripad complained later on, was missing and the Government seems to be trying to tackle problems piecemeal; but the crisis today is too overpowering for any piecemeal solution. The totality of the economic crisis can only be tackled by thrashing out a common basic approach which will have the maximum support in the country. While there is no doubt about the scope for reducing administrative expenses, one cannot escape the feeling in New Delhi that larger and larger sections of political opinion are coming to realise that unless institutional changes are introduced there is no escape from the quicksand of deepening crisis.

While the excitement over the question of abolition of privy purses continues—three Chief Ministers, namely, those of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Orissa having raised objections to the proposed measure—the more important issue of bank nationalisation is quietly shelved although economists, by no means Leftists, have come to recognise that without such basic measures as bank nationalisation, there can be no question of curbing prices.

* * *

DRIFT on the part of the Centre was not confined to the question of facing the economic crisis. This week it was seen in a very blatant form in the handling of the Assam question, and here the drift has become the law of the Central activity for years, if not decades. The fear of alienating Assam Congress which presents a picture of a divided house and the likely collapse of the Congress regime in Assam as a result, have hamstrung the Centre's approach to the problem of the hill people. From Nehru's proposal for Scottish type of economy to the Pataskar recommendations, there has been an endless series of quibblings mainly because the Assam Congress could not be made to see reason: the wisdom of parting with a portion of power before it is too late, has never been a virtue of the Congress in Assam; even on the question of handling the Bengali minority, its intolerance touched off a first-class crisis a few years ago.

With regard to the hill people, what the leaders of the Assam Congress—and not only Congress but a substantial section of the Opposition as well—do not seem to realise is that political awakening in these areas has to be given proper recognition, and unless that is done, frustration will lead to unrest and unrest to open revolt.

This is the lesson that one has to draw from the record of the mishandling of the Nagas until it became too late, and later on of the Mizos. There is no point in blaming them today for having gone anti-national. More serious was the steady neglect and the attitude of looking down upon them which marked the record of the Congress in Assam in the first years of independence. If the All-Parties Hill Leaders Conference with its established base among the Khasis is allowed to be embittered, then a heavy price may have to be paid later.

At one stage Sri Chaliha tried to take a realistically tolerant attitude towards the hill people. But this was exploited by the rival faction in the Assam Congress to whip up chauvinistic frenzy against Sri Chaliha. The result is that today he can hardly take a bold stand as can be seen from his pathetic acquiescence in the angry tub-thumping of a large section of Assam Congressmen against the Centre's January proposal for a federal set-up for Assam.

During the week-end conference in Delhi, what was noticeable was that the Centre played more or less a neutral role instead of asserting its authority to press its own proposal for a federal reorganisation of Assam. New Delhi observers got the impression that neither the Prime Minister nor the Home Minister is in a position today to enforce a Central proposal on their own partymen in Assam, for fear that this might lead to a revolt in the Pradesh Congress and consequently, to the fall of one more Congress Ministry.

But the overall objective assessment of the situation as could be gathered during the New Delhi conference would show that unless the Centre firmly takes up a position, and emphasises the need to placate the hill people as a national issue—and not just an item of bickering at the State level—crisis will overtake the Government's relations with hill people, undermining further the fabric of the Republic as has already happened due to the actions of the Nagas and Mizos.

* * *

THE crisis which has overtaken the United Front Ministry in Uttar Pradesh has naturally enthused Congress circles in the Capital. However, the more sober section among them attribute the discredit of the United Front Ministry not so much to the emergence of unity among the warring factions in the UP Congress but to the dwindling prestige and authority of one of the main constituents of the United Front, namely Jan Sangh.

The UP election results have come as a great shock to the all-India leaders of the Jan Sangh. For, they realise this will break the myth of the Jan Sangh's monolithic dynamism—a virtue which perhaps more than the Jan Sangh leaders themselves, Dr. Lohia has been talking about for a long time.

Another factor which in the opinion of New Delhi observers has contributed to the discredit of the UP Ministry is the role of Sri Charan Singh. In marked contrast to the unifying role played by Sri Ajoy Mukherji in a much more difficult set-up in West Bengal, the UP Chief Minister has been playing like a local Morarji, hectoring all the time not only his opponents but even his allies; his unconcealed conservatism on questions of economic policy and his rigidity in handling difficult situations have become a serious liability for the United Front Ministry. His reported remark at the New Delhi conference that the Chief Ministers must 'govern' is an index of his old-time outlook which can never be a solidifying element in keeping a United Front together not to speak of a coalition ministry of parties with divergent outlooks over which he presides today.

The prospect of an early end of the United Front Ministry in UP is bound to activate Congress circles in other States as well. For instance, there are reports current in New Delhi of serious moves to patch up differences among the contending factions in Bihar Congress. The earlier effort to win over the Raja of Ramgarh so that the majority could be secured, and

to bring back Congress into power in Bihar seems to have been given up for the present, mainly because of the awareness that if Ramgarh walks into the Congress, a section of Congressmen is likely to walk out of it.

At present the objective of the Congress leaders in Bihar is to forge unity amongst the internal factions. In the bargain Sri K.B. Sahay is likely to be left out; it is reported that he is planning to go soon on a visit to U.S.A. The mantle of leadership in the Bihar Congress is likely to fall on Sri Binodananda Jha who has the additional advantage of commanding the confidence of the high-ups in New Delhi.

All these developments are, however, more in the nature of advance preparations. They have not yet matured to a point where it can safely be said that a new power alignment is definitely coming up in the Indian political scene.

Meanwhile, the Centre seems to have taken up West Bengal watching as more than a pastime. It is being emphasised that political unrest in West Bengal is far wider than the disturbances at Naxalbari. Sri Chavan is believed to have a high opinion about Sri Jyoti Basu's competence; however, New Delhi circles point to the fact that the extremist wing is strongly entrenched in the ranks of the CPM and that it would be a mistake to equate its strength or influence with those of the proclaimed dissidents who have been thrown out of the party. It is understood this is one of the points in Governor Dharma Vira's reporting in New Delhi on an urgent visit.

Against this background of growing rift in the Left Communist ranks, political observers in the Capital attach significance to the confidential meeting that took place here between Sri Basu and Sri Namaboodiripad, along with Sri Gopalan.

Are like-minded leaders preparing to take the initiative in putting CPM on right rails?

July 11

N.C.

Mao's Men In Burma

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The sudden outburst of anger against the Chinese that has today engulfed Burma is likely to come as a surprise to the outside world, but not to the informed circles in Rangoon.

While the Ne Win Government had some inkling of the coming events, it was not fully aware of what Mao's men were upto. It could detect certain coldness in the Sino-Burmese relations, but had no idea of the enormity of the impact of Mao's Cultural Revolution on Peking's relations with Rangoon.

In fact, the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" finally rolled down to Burma like a tidal wave.

Several dozen Red Guards from among the local Chinese gathered at the Chinese Consulate to "struggle against the small group of people vested with power who are following the capitalist road". They put up several posters on the Consulate walls exposing the "supporters of the most prominent person in the party who is following the capitalist road" and levelled a number of accusations at the Chinese Ambassador in Burma, Keng Piao.

The Red Guards claimed, among other things, that the Ambassador's daughters had fled China in fear of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; that they were immersed in the bourgeois way of life, bought valuables on the Burmese black market and read nothing but trash literature.

The wall posters were discussed at a meeting held by the Embassy

staff. The speakers admitted the correctness of the accusations and noted that in their posters the "local Chinese had expressed their boundless love for Mao Tse-tung and admiration for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

Diplomatic observers link the subsequent unexpected recalling of Keng Piao to Peking with the criticism levelled at him and predict that in the very nearest future the activities of the local Red Guards will acquire even wider scope. Burma has a considerable Chinese population—400 thousand Chinese and 500-700 thousand Sino-Burmese; there is a fully pro-Chinese Communist Party—the "White Flag"—which receives moral and material support from Peking; and 1000-kilometre-long common border which facilitates the smuggling of agents, arms and propaganda materials into the country.

And although among the one million Chinese in Burma there are also supporters of Liu Shao-chi and even Chiang Kai-shek, and the attitude of all these people to the Cultural Revolution differs, they are completely unanimous in the belief that Burma should be within the sphere of Chinese influence. To strengthen this influence the local Chinese readily join the Burmese army, marry Burmese women and never fail to come to the aid of any Chinese businessman when he finds himself in difficult straits.

These circumstances are cleverly used by Peking's official and unofficial emissaries. The Chinese

Embassy, Consulate, the staff of the New China News Agency and the group of Chinese specialists working on various construction projects, organise the publication and distribution of propaganda materials, guide the activities of numerous Chinese clubs, associations and societies, help the Chinese loyal to Mao Tse-tung to infiltrate into the government machinery, party and army command, and help organise secret members of the Chinese Communist Parties into special groups which are instructed to form Red Guard detachments in various districts of Burma. Thus, in April alone more than 30 Chinese functionaries were sent to the Shan, Kachin and Karen states.

According to circles close to the Chinese colony in Rangoon, Peking is nowadays quite hostile to the Ne Win Government. Mao holds that even if his supporters fail in staging an immediate take-over and even if the worse comes to the worse and events develop on the Indonesian pattern, this will inflict much less harm to the development of the "Revolution" in Asia than the stabilisation of the Ne Win regime and the peaceful implementation of his programme of economic and political reforms.

It is in this background that the incident about the Mao Tse-Tung badges triggered off a nationwide revulsion against the Chinese. Mao's cultural Revolution has boomeranged on the banks of the Irrawaddy.

National Integration and Teaching of History

AMARNATH VIDYALANKAR

MOST of us feel deeply distressed at the thought that a process of disintegration of our country has set in. Separatist and fissiparous tendencies are aggressively asserting themselves in the social and political fields.

During our freedom struggle and immediately thereafter, the forces lending sustenance to disruptive elements, remained dormant in the face of the powerful upsurge of nationalism. But these trends are now acquiring various insidious forms, and many interested groups in India and outside are seeking to exploit fully any weakness that our Central authority might betray at any level.

India's heritage is unity in diversity; occasionally, however, symptoms of narrow groupism and sectarianism marred our progress towards complete nationhood in the past, and led to weakening and disintegration. These same symptoms are now reappearing.

Continued foreign domination seriously undermined the potentialities of the unifying factors. The most important and strategic field where the forces of national unity were astutely but systematically subverted and gradually annihilated, and germs of sectarianism and disruption nurtured, was that of education. Under British rule, successive generation of the 'elite' were so regularly conditioned through a cleverly designed educational system that consciousness of social and political conflicts was accentuated. Consequently, mutually conflicting emotions, those of nationalism on one hand and of sectarianism of many varieties on the other, became one of the

characteristics of our day-to-day existence. By making English the only link language and the means of communication, a high wall was erected between the educated classes and masses. The very springs of national ethos and aspirations were sought to be polluted by laying exaggerated emphasis on the internal conflicts in our social and political history, and by presenting a grabbed, distorted and disjointed version of past events in the history text-books; the value of common achievements through fusion of thought and culture were heavily underrated.

Story of Human Concord

The prolonged conflicts in world history between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies between loyalty to country and humanity and loyalty to caste, region and religious or linguistic group, were resolved by our wise forefathers by cultivating a comprehensive outlook. It is absurd to think human history is a long chronicle of discord and belligerency. In fact human history is a long story of human concord, cooperative effort, and mutual aid. Man subordinated his individuality and submerged his self in the common pool of humanity, and began to share the benefits of life with others. Individualists asserted itself and resisted when society sought to advance on the basis of united effort. Individualist and small groups created conflicts, but ultimately they had to surrender. Our history books have totally ignored these values and laid emphasis entirely on political conflicts. That is sheer distortion of history.

During the 1947 communal frenzy Gandhiji admitted at one

of his prayer meetings that "communal harmony cannot be permanently established in our country so long as highly distorted versions of our history are being taught in our schools and colleges through the history text-books."

Jawaharlal Nehru made the following observations in his *Discovery of India*: "The histories of India that most of us have had to read, chiefly written by Englishmen, are usually long apologies and panegyrics of British rule and barely veiled contemptuous accounts of what happened here in the millennia preceding it. Indeed, real history for them begins with the advent of Englishmen into India. Even the British period is distorted with the object of glorifying British rule and British virtues."

Even present history text-books are by and large based on these earlier text-books, and are no more than chronicles of internecine strife in which the divergent elements in the Indian population engaged themselves. For almost 200 years these books continued to corrupt the minds of Indian youth with the viruses of narrow groupism, communalism and sectarianism, instead of inspiring in them sentiments of common nationhood and patriotic fervour. Distorted versions of history produced mutual distrust, conflict and fear—the educated classes were made to imagine that if the protecting hand of British rule was withdrawn there would be chaos. Through these text-books long-forgotten memories of conflict, aggression, war and persecution were revived and brought into prominence. The result was that dead controversies of ancient times were resurrected, embitter-

ing our daily life. The teaching of history, in short, was used to create perpetual rift among our people.

Englishmen produced "The Cambridge History of India" in four volumes, the British version of our history, and they are now preparing to bring out a new and revised edition of it. The Russians are writing Indian history from a different angle, in four volumes, each of 800 pages, and two volumes of that history have already come out. American scholars are doing the same, and preparations are afoot to bring out a comprehensive book of many volumes. But we have grossly neglected our national duty in this regard, and have tolerated, even as a free country, a distorted image of India continuing to be presented to our students and to the world.

Deliberate Distortion

The most deliberate and mischievous distortion of our history was in respect of our relations with Islam and the Islamic world. First, instead of dividing Indian History into natural ages and periods determined according to our social, cultural and political evolution, it was divided into periods of so-called "communal rule", like the Hindu period, the Muslim period and the British period, with a view to dividing our children's minds from the start into communal compartments. How mischievous, disjointed and scientifically wrong this kind of division is can be easily realised when we see our historians ending the so-called "Hindu Period" with the decline of the kingdom of "Vijaya Nagar" and then again taking the student back to the 7th century to start the History of the "Muslim Period" beginning with the Arab attack on Sind. The Muslim Period ends with the dethronement of the last Mughal King Bahadur Shah — and then the student goes back to events connected with the entry of the Portuguese into India, in order to start the narrative of the British Period. According to these versions the two great conquerors, Rajendra Chola and Mahmud of Ghazni belong to two different

ages, because we find the former in the "Hindu Period" and the latter in the "Muslim Period", but both were in reality contemporaries and should have come on the scene together. The histories of various so-called "Hindu" and "Muslim" states from the 8th to 16th centuries cannot be separated from each other and form a single whole. To tear them apart is unnatural and robs history of its environmental base.

To take another example, the kingdom of Orissa in the 15th century extended from Rajmahal to Trichinopoly, and was then the biggest state in India, but history books continue to focus our attention on Delhi, even though that kingdom had then shrunk to an area of 14 square miles. British historians did not aim at a synthesised handling of the whole Indian history, and they never attempted to correctly assess the sum total of the events that acted and reacted on one another. Their aim was to present a disjointed picture of different sects and communities building up mutually exclusive social and cultural lives and seeking to establish domination over one another. Even art and sculpture was presented as Hindu, Buddha, Jain and Muslim; the great expert on Indian art, Rai Krishen Das, demonstrated the absurdity of these notions. He traced the ancestry of the Mughul school of painting back to Ajanta.

Comparing Polities

Where the head of the state happened to be a Muslim, the state was described as Muslim, and vice versa. The character of the rule, the relationship between the state and the people and the form of administration were considered of no consequence. For instance, if the whole polity of Mughul administration is thoroughly and minutely compared with the earlier, so-called 'Hindu' polity, or the subsequent polity under Shivaji, and the systems of imperial administration are properly compared, it will be found that basically the system introduced by the Pathan king Sher Shah Suri, and later adapted by Akbar and his successors was

only an extension and adaptation of the systems developed in earlier times, advocated and expounded by scholars of statecraft like Kautilya. But an impression was sought to be created that with the advent of the sultanate and the subsequent Pathan and Mughul kings an entirely new "Muslim" polity and system of administration were imposed which were alien to the "Hindu" genius.

In the history books, the close relationship between Arabs and Indians during the period from the 7th century till the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni, a period of nearly 300 years, was altogether ignored. These were the years when the most intimate and cordial social, intellectual and cultural relations between Hindu and Arab scholars were established and constant interchange of ideas had become the order of the day. Those were the days of the rapid rise of Islam in Asia and Europe, and the Arab Islamic world was brimming with vigour and freshness of outlook. However, the so-called 'inherent' intolerance of Islam was hardly conspicuous in those days in the mutual relations of the Hindus of India and the Muslims of the Arab world. But British historians gave to Islam an entirely different role in India and elsewhere.

Mahmud of Ghazni started his adventures in India in A.D. 1001, and he died in A.D. 1029. Shabab-ud-din Ghauri conquered Delhi in A.D. 1192, i.e. nearly 200 years after Mahmud of Ghazni. But Indian history books deliberately skipped the whole period of 200 years, omitting important and relevant narratives of close cultural, commercial and political relationships that continued to develop—to which the great scholar Al Beruni and other brilliant writers had made references. These history books nowhere mentioned the fact revealed by R.B. Kashinath Dikshit that Mahmud of Ghazni got new coins issued, with the Islamic Qalama inscribed in Arabic on one side and on the other side its Sanskrit translation. The words were: "God is one, and Muhammad was His Prophet." This coin was struck in the mint at Lahore.

A large bilingual Sanskrit-Mongolian inscription found in Waziristan shows that Sanskrit was very well understood by the intelligentsia in Waziristan even up to the end of 14th century A.D.

Few people know that the renowned historian of Rajasthan, James Todd, was directed by the Political Resident of the Holkar's Darbar to compile his famous book eulogizing Rajput warriors in their battles against "Muslim rulers." This was done soon after the 1857 Revolution, with a view to weaning away Rajputs from Muslims. Todd's Annals of Rajasthan have remained the chief source of inspiration of Hindu communal chauvinism.

'Vishnu' and 'Allah'

Rana Kumba has been depicted as great 'Hindu' warrior and saviour of Hindus, "who razed to the ground the mosque of Nagore." But these historians never disclosed the other fact that on the great Victory Pillar of this gallant "Hindu" ruler, which he erected at Chittaur, along with the images of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu, he got inscribed in Arabic and Nagri scripts the word 'Allah' also.

The late Dr. G.H. Ojha proved that the word 'Rajput' and the idea of a 'Rajput' caste did not come into existence before the 16th century, but many history textbooks have placed a 'Rajput' period between the 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' periods.

No effort is made in these history text-books to find our proper original Indian names. How ridiculous errors are being committed by our scholars because of undue attachment to the English language and detachment from the Indian environment will be seen from the following instance. In Tamil Nad there is a small hill, called "Elamalai." English writers translated this proper name into the "Cardamom Hill." Dr. Shambhu Chatterji brought out a Hindi Atlas, and without caring to find out the original name, very well-known in the locality, translated from the English as "इलायची की पहाड़ियाँ" Mount Everest

is still known by the name of a European surveyor, and no one has attempted to enter the Dudhkosi Valley of East Nepal, from where Mt. Everest is visible, and where people must have given this high peak some local name, as they gave names to other peaks like Nanda Devi and Kanchanjunga. Sri Jayachandra Vidyalkar found an Indian as well as a Chinese name for this peak. Very few know the original name of the famous Elephanta caves near Bombay. The broken statues and images remind us of the vulgarity and vandalism of Portuguese pirates and invaders. The present popular name was given to these caves by these very pirates, but we have never attempted to give our children the true name and history of this beautiful site which was built by the Gupta rulers. In Indonesia and its neighbouring countries Indian culture predominated for many centuries. Many original Sanskrit names have acquired a distorted form there. As we know these names from English books and newspapers, these names get further deformed. For instance, 'sulubesi' is a derivative of the Sanskrit name "Sula Vishaya" or Northern District. But we would only use the English versions of these names, while the local pronunciation is much nearer the original Sanskrit. Toponymical researches are needed to find out accurate local names that will throw further light on our history.

National History

The demand for a National History of India is as old as the first Swadeshi movement. In 1931, that doyen of Indian historians, the late Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, tried to arouse the interest of our people, secured the collaboration of Indian scholars and found a publisher to finance the scheme. That attempt could not make much headway. In 1937, under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and with Sri Jayachandra Vidyalkar as Secretary, an institution named "Irihas Parishad" was organised to undertake this huge task. Prof. Habib of

Aligarh University, who collaborated with Sri Jayachandra Vidyalkar, suggested that the Sanskrit sources should also be explored to ensure accuracy in regard to the Sultanate period. Till then Persian writers' versions had been the only sources.

Studies of regional histories are now becoming more and more important. I fully appreciate the importance of these studies, so long as they are not motivated separatist and chauvinistic considerations. Regional histories would be meaningful only if they are written in the context of national history, for only then one can see in proper perspective the significance of their distinctiveness.

Wrong Impression

Our history books have also deepened an impression that two separate races, Aryans and Dravidians, have inhabited the northern and southern half of sub-continent. The reality is that today it is not possible to come across any clear racial pattern anywhere in India. In the course of thousands of years of co-existence there has been continuous and thorough admixture of blood. The Hindu philosophy of transmigration of souls was originally propounded by philosophers from the South. Indian culture today is a fine admixture of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. But our history books have never sought to present an integrated picture because the authors wanted to impress on our students a different image of India.

Parochialism, communalism and linguism flourish in our country on account of the false notions generated by these history books. Educated people have forgotten that what we have inherited from our ancestors is the composite culture of India. Our history is the history of this composite culture.

If the minds of our people continue to remain divided as a result of false notions of history, nothing will bind us into one nation. Our history books should be so written that the thoughts and emotions of nationalism permeate the blood of our new generations.

The Root of the Unrest

ASIT BHATTACHARYYA

To return to the problems of the economically displaced persons. It appears that they come from two sectors of the economy. First, there are the retrenched workers from the tea gardens; secondly, there are the *adhiars* or *bargadars* evicted from land. Nor are the two categories of people quite unrelated to each other, because many tea garden workers are also cultivators. A large number of people of the area work partly as cultivators and partly as tea garden labourers.

A talk with the manager of a tea garden gave me an idea of the problems of the tea gardens. Subsequently, at Siliguri, I had talks also with Government officials and leaders of various political parties, including those of the CP (M), and ascertained their views on the situation prevailing in the tea gardens.

The workers have lately become conscious of their rights and of the laws protecting them. They are vocally demanding implementation of the relevant laws. The management, therefore, is in a tight corner. Their complaint is that the workers are not as conscious of their responsibility for maintaining and increasing production as of their rights. If production suffers, contends the management, it affects the rights and interests of all concerned in the industry.

The argument may not be irrelevant but has to be judged in the context of the larger question whether the way production is organized in the industries in

general, including tea industry, and even State-owned industries, leaves any scope for the workers to think of their responsibility in production. The workers' right to participate in industrial management has never been recognized, nor have they been assigned any responsibility for maintaining or increasing production. Decisions taken at the top level are just imposed on them. Pursuant to the decisions, if there is a profit for the industry or the enterprise, the workers do not get any share but they do face retrenchment if there is a loss. And then, a worker begins and ends his service on the same pay. Experience is of little value to him, and he gets no opportunity to educate himself.

New Consciousness

The workers of Terai, like their fellow workers all over the country are waking up to a new consciousness; with the growth of democracy they are fast shaking off the sense of inferiority and asserting their rights. It is a question of basic human rights, going beyond the question of mere wage-increase.

Workers of Terai, therefore, demand, for instance, that as in other hill areas, they be given winter clothings, that the estate doctor, who visits the officers' quarters daily, should also pay them regular visits. In short, they refuse to accept the conditions under which they have been forced to live so long. It is a new and distasteful experience for those who have been conditioned to think differently. An outsider coming with an open mind can easily understand the situation. One can definitely say that unless and until steps are taken to

define the role of the worker in industry, to ensure their right to take decisions in industrial matters and to better their educational and living conditions, the situation in the tea garden areas can never be fully normal.

I had a talk with the Manager of the Phulbari Tea Estate, just behind which is Buraganj (under Kharibari Thana), considered to be a rebel stronghold. It is claimed that except for Hatighisa (under Naxalbari Thana and near the Bagdogra airport) and Chowpukhuria under Phansideoa Thana, no other rebel base is as strong as Buraganj.

The Manager has to admit that tea is not grown in all the lands under the Estate. Leaving out the residential area for the workers and others, the surplus land is distributed among the labourers for share-cropping. It earns for the Estate some profit. Under the law, the management has to supply the labourers with rations, at a subsidized rate. The paddy grown under the share-cropping system exempts them from supplying rations for about four or five months (January to April or May).

The Manager told me that in the pre-Independence days it was difficult to get labourers for tea gardens; nowadays they have to turn back men willing to work. Due to population pressure labour has become readily available. It has created the problem of a new category of economically displaced persons.

A discussion with Sri Bidhan Maulik, a Bangla Congress leader of Siliguri and with Sri Sourin Bose, a CP (M) leader, further elucidated the problem of the share-cropping labourers of the tea gardens.

The first despatch of this on-the-spot reportage appeared in last week's Mainstream (July 8, 1967).

I came to know from both these leaders that retrenching a large number of workers every year is a policy with some tea gardens. To the workers so retrenched, finding alternative means of livelihood is an acute problem, because after retrenchment they lose both the lands they were tilling and the homes if they were living within the garden. *Many of those that have now taken to the path of violent movement are retrenched tea garden labourers. These people, bereft of any means of livelihood, are the economically displaced persons.* Later, what I gathered from the Police Superintendent at Siliguri about the general *modus operandi* of the agitators, also confirmed this theory.

Meeting various people in the interior as also at Siliguri, I got a rough idea about the way the 'rebels' operate. Usually, the agitators assemble in a body on what they claim to be surplus land owned by a tea garden or a jotedar. They take possession

of the land formally, even if there are standing crops or share-croppers are settled on the land. Taking possession means ploughing a furrow, posting red flags and announcing that the land from that moment belongs to so-and-so.

They then go away. Quite understandably, it involves a clash of interest of the so-called rebels with the settled share-croppers. I could sense it during my tours in these parts. *This explains why the agitation has failed to take the form of a widespread peasant movement; on the contrary, has made the general people very much panicky.* People are afraid to come out after dusk. I was told that in many villages, particularly in the villages inhabited by Rajbanshi peasants, the menfolk go into hiding or fly away as soon as a stranger comes. The 'rebels' have made their base mainly among Santhals. All this gives one the strong impression that Naxalbari is a vortex and not a 'path' as claimed by some.

I inquired of all the political leaders and local officials as to how much surplus land they thought was with the tea gardens. None of them could give me a definite answer. Sri Sourin Bose, the CP (M) leader, told me very emphatically that the jotedars and tea gardens had, by various tricks, evaded showing their surplus land in the Government records. They had recorded share-cropped land as bamboo groves or ponds etc. The land records of the Government, he said, were not at all reliable. The situation, according to him, calls for a new legislation and a *de novo* land survey under a new Land Commission. But he admitted that under the situation prevailing at the moment no survey could be undertaken.

In the *Assam Directory & Tea-Areas Handbook*, 1966-67 (pp. 267-270), there is a record of the total land under the tea gardens in the Terai area and of the portion of land under actual tea cultivation. (See Table)

Name & Address of the Tea-Garden	Total Area (Hectare/Acre)	Area under Tea Cultivation (Hectare/Acre)	Name & Address of the Tea-Garden	Total Area (Hectare/Acre)	Area under Tea Cultivation (Hectare/Acre)
1. Bengdubi, Badogra	110.84 A	40.00 A	12. Gungaram, P.O. Bagdogra	Not mentioned	490.24 H
2. Bhojnarayan, P.O. Kamlabagan, Darjeeling	470.13 A	Not mentioned	13. Old Terai, Bagdogra, P.O. Belgachhi	578.69 H	246.92 H
3. Bijoynagar, P.O. Naxalbari (Hatighisa)	Not mentioned	156.0 H	14. Hanskua, Bagdogra, P.O. Belgachhi	578.69 H	237.00 H
4. Chadmani, P.O. Siliguri	293.89 H	182.47 H	15. Sanyashisthan, P.O. Bagdogra	104.56 H	Not mentioned
5. Manjha, P.O. Naxalbari	309.18 H	161.81 H	16. Anjhora, P.O. Anjhora	438.48	259.12
6. Dagapar, P.O. Siliguri	Not mentioned	175.74 H	17. Kamla, P.O. Kamla	1888.77 A	733.00 A
7. Phulbari, P.O. Naxalbari	369.04 H	174.05 H	18. Kharibari	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
8. Ajanabad, P.O. Naxalbari	430.30 H	200.00 A	19. Mauribari, P.O. Shimulbari	1447.85 A	567.41 A
9. Bagdogra, P.O. Badogra	280.96 H	172.04 H	20. Maryview, P.O. Hatighisa	1182.28 A	540.00 A
10. Belgachhi, P.O. Naxalbari	793.61 H	258.64 H	21. Matigara, P.O. Matigara	515.00 A	284.87 A
11. Deomani, P.O. Bagdogra	Not mentioned	Not mentioned			

Name & Address of the Tea-Garden	Total Area (Hectare/Acre)	Area under Tea Cultivation (Hectare/Acre)	Name & Address of the Tea-Garden	Total Area (Hectare/Acre)	Area under Tea Cultivation (Hectare/Acre)
22. Gayaganga, P.O. Kamlabagan	1494.00 A	865.00A	32. Satish Chandra, P.O. Naxalbari	Not mentioned	220.00 A
23. Mohurgang, Gulma, P.O. Shukna	Not mentioned	546.36 H	33. Shukna, P.O. Bulma	Not mentioned	217.55 A
24. Marapur, P.O. Belgachhi	Not mentioned	101.17 A	34. Taipu, P.O. Bagdogra	Not mentioned	532.00 A
25. Lohagarh, P.O. Belgachhi	958.68 A	458.54 A	35. Tirihamno, P.O. Bagdogra	1761.35 A	576.37 A
26. New Chumpta, P.O. New Chumpta	Not mentioned	230.67 H	36. Nishchintapur, P.O. Matigara	248.07 A	161.87 A
27. Panighata, P.O. Belgachhi	Not mentioned	299.50 H	37. Naxalbari, P.O. Naxalbari	1957.07 A	642.00 A
28. Matighar, P.O. Kamlabagan	3000.00 A	754.00A	38. Phargumia	Not mentioned	1120.71 A
29. Bijilmoni, P.O. Kamlabagan	3000.00 A	440.00 A	39. Putinbari, P.O. Matigara	612.00 A	332.00 A
30. Simulbari, P.O. Simulbari	936.87 H	279.37 H	40. Sahabad, P.O. Sahabad	716.14 H	329.42 H
31. Singhiajhora, P.O. Bagdogra	Not mentioned	88.93 H	41. Saidabad, P.O. Kamlabagan	364.00 H	193.00 H

It is obvious from the above table that tea is not grown in a large part of the land held by the tea gardens. While it is likely

that all the uncultivated lands are not suitable for cultivating food crops, it does call for an immediate inquiry into the pos-

sibilities of settling landless labourers on them.

(To be Continued Next Week)

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the naxalbari story

IN an astounding serial the New York Times revealed that the Santhal tribals of Naxalbari were running the CIA. 'They have joined the consortium,' said a hidden-away correspondent from Naxalbari, 'of the Chinese Communist Party, the Encounter, the Mormons, the Flat Earth Society and others already running the CIA.'

It was a scandal-burst. 'Is that so?' asked Lyndon Johnson, looking darkly from the *Craft of Intelligence*.

The CIA man who stood by disguised as an alarm piece refused to answer.

'Tell me,' demanded Johnson. 'I've got to know. I'm after all the Baines behind the CIA.'

Reluctantly, the alarm piece spoke up, 'Sir, the Agency has a considerable lever in the Santhal's tribal structure.'

'Dash it,' said the President in irritation. 'But why did these stupid guys get involved with tribals?'

'Sir—'

'The tribals have their voodoo,' went on the President desperately, 'and they have the Thought of Mao Tse-tung on top of that. Do you understand?'

'Yes, Mr. President, sir.'

'And they might permeate your body fluids. Right in, and there would be no getting rid of them. And then in another six months you'll have the Communists running the CIA.'

'Of course we've taken a calculated risk, sir,' said the alarm piece. 'But in the event of what you picture happening, we can retaliate massively.'

'Grumph,' said the President, taking off his glasses in a gesture of resignation. 'You better look out. I've read a guy called Tagore, a Santhal if I'm not mistaken, who wrote about the Universal Soul and the Individual Soul, one

creeping into the other. I don't want any transmigration in the CIA. I want no nonsense in the election year.'

In Delhi the Home Minister denied the New York Times story.

'It's the Chinese,' he said.

'But we were told,' said a questioner, 'that the CIA is running the Chinese Communist Party.'

'Rubbish,' said the Home Minister. 'Then how do you account for the Chinese and our people having differences?'

Asked the questioner again, 'Or do you think the Santhals are on the pay roll of somebody?'

'We could ask Mr. Sirha and Mr. Pant to investigate,' said the Home Minister. 'But really, there's no need. It's just the Chinese. Let us have a wage freeze to defeat the Chinese conspiracy.'

The Political Correspondent of the *Pay Roll Times* of Delhi had more information. 'Large caches of bows and arrows,' wrote he, 'are coming into Naxalbari via the Kanu Sanyal Trail. The arrows are tipped with tiny hydrogen and cobalt warheads guided by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. Jyoti Basu is personally directing the operations, with the Red Book in his hand. The man in Calcutta calling himself Jyoti Basu is not Jyoti Basu but his double. Ajoy Mukerjee is also a double. Hare Krushna Konar has his quadruples.'

The despatch in the *Pay Roll Times* was cited by Masani. He demanded the immediate bombing of the Kanu Sanyal Trail, the flushing of Sunder Bans forests with incendiary bombs and full-fledged recognition of Israel. Dahyabhai Patel said the

bombing must not be entrusted to the Indian Air Force but to USAF. He also demanded the ceding of the Bay of Bengal to Britain for starting of a naval base. 'That would reduce the size of the Fourth Plan,' said he, 'and make Naxalbari safe for the investor.'

The Peking Radio came jauntily on the air. 'The great Indian people are in revolt,' it said. 'And the days of the reactionary expansionist ruling clique of E.M.S. Nambdiripad and Jyoti Basu are numbered. In Calcutta trams are going off the rails. They are leaving the rails to take to the road of revolution and armed struggle against the Neo-Revisionist attempt to take them over on behalf of American Imperialism. And in Delhi the people have denounced the traffic laws of the exploiting class, and are riding their bicycles at night without lights.'

The commentator waxed poetic, 'In darkness, with eyes closed, the heroic cyclists of Delhi are pedalling on, sure of their destination. How do they achieve this miracle? They let themselves be guided by the invincible Thought of Mao Tse-tung, their shining star in capitalist darkness.'

In a sombre announcement to the nation, the Home Minister announced the constitutional perpetuation of the Emergency. 'The Chinese,' he said grimly, 'are planning to take over the country.'

'Evidence,' demanded the listeners.

The Home Minister signed to waiting aides. They hauled in a wooden crate, and broke it open. Lo, and behold! Inside the crate was a cycle without a lamp!

—Charyaka

Hongkong : A Profitable Opening

AN ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT

PEKING attaches very great importance to Hongkong in its drive to get foreign currency. In 1955 as many as 13 mainland China's banks had their branches in Hongkong.

The chief operations carried out by these banks were export-import deals with capitalist countries and remittance of money by the Chinese emigrants to mainland China and other countries of South-East Asia. In 1955, the grand total of these operations reached 3,000 million Hongkong dollars while the banks enjoyed great influence in Hongkong and elsewhere in South-East Asia. Today the number of branches of Peking's banks in Hongkong has reached 40.

Apart from these banks which are officially controlled by Peking, Hongkong boasts over 10 private Chinese banks closely connected with mainland China's trade organisations and the business circles of the Chinese emigrants in South-East Asia. These banks carry on operations mainly connected with the drawing of foreign currency of the Chinese emigration to the mainland.

At the present time the following banks of the Chinese People's Republic are actively operating in Hongkong to increase the influx of foreign currency to mainland China: Bank of China, Kin Cheng Banking Corporation, China and South Sea Bank, China State Bank, National Commercial Bank, Kwantung Provincial Bank, Hsinhua Trust Saving and Commercial Bank.

Besides, "independent" Chinese banks are active in Hongkong

today, all of them being controlled by Peking. They carry out large-scale operations mostly on the remittance of currency from Chinese emigrants to mainland China. The Chinese Postal and Remittance and Saving Bank is especially important in this respect.

In cases in which currency restrictions imposed by this or that country make it difficult to remit currency to mainland China through channels controlled by Peking, the Chinese resort to the services of smugglers and black-market profiteers. In order to overcome customs barriers, the CPR often uses her missions abroad and also the Chinese emigrants who are on good terms with these missions.

As is evident from the Hongkong magazine Chinchu Taopao in the period between October and December 1959, the Chinese emigrants remitted to Hongkong three to four thousand million Hongkong dollars while the figures for 1960, 1961 and 1962 were: 800 million, 700 million and 600 million Hongkong dollars respectively. According to the estimates of the Bank of Hongkong, in 1963, these remittances comprised some 850 million Hongkong dollars; in 1964, it rose to 1140 million Hongkong dollars.

From the estimates of experts on Chinese economics it is clear that from 10 to 30 per cent of all money remittances made by the emigrants to Hongkong immediately go to mainland China. In the past few years mainland China received over 200 million American dollars annually from the emigrants via Hongkong alone. These sums occupy the second place after exports as a source of currency for mainland China.

It is noteworthy that the Pek-

ing leaders are not in the least ashamed to use the money of Chinese businessmen who make capital on the exploitation of the population of South-East Asia, including the exploitation of Chinese have-nots from among the emigrants. This means that Peking is taking an active part in the exploitation of the peoples of the developing nations through the rich strata of Chinese emigration and is even stepping up its participation in this exploitation. In the light of all these facts, all the loud pledges of Peking that it is defending the interests of the peoples of the Third World are worth little indeed and are a kind of a smoke-screen to camouflage the unscrupulous policy pursued by mainland China's rulers with respect to the developing countries.

Prospects of Alliance

The Peking Government is pursuing the traditional policy of old China in its relations with the Chinese emigrants abroad. This is not accidental. Peking set itself the goal of creating such conditions in the countries of South-East Asia by means of using the economically and politically influential Chinese emigrants; through this, the Chinese Government wanted to establish control over this rich and vast region in the world.

In all its actions Peking proceeds from the premise that the Chinese businessmen resident abroad occupy important positions in the economy of South-East Asia and can thus influence all the walks of life in that area. In a number of countries the Chinese control influential political parties and have close contacts with political leaders of those countries, which enables Peking—to use these political leaders for the hegemonic objectives of the

This is the concluding instalment of the article. The previous instalments appeared in Mainstream, June 24, July 1 and 8, 1967.

Chinese People's Republic. Putting its stakes on the Chinese emigration abroad, Peking attempted to proselytize Indonesia. This adventuristic move by Peking, aimed at proving the correctness of its theory on world revolution by means of Chinese emigration—has, however, flopped. (It is possible that the same is happening in Burma, in a different context).

The events in Indonesia demonstrate that Peking supports Chinese emigrants in South-East Asia until they act as the effective instrument of its foreign policy and a channel for mobilising large currency funds for Chinese economy.

That is why despite the official statements of mainland China on her readiness to repatriate all emigrants who want to be repatriated, Peking in fact is against any large-scale return of the Chinese emigrants to the motherland. This is easily understandable. China has a great surplus of working hands. Chinese leaders would gladly send fifty and even a hundred million Chinese somewhere to "explore new lands".

Indonesia where the Chinese population is living under unbearable conditions is a vivid example of Peking's unwillingness to deal with the repatriation of the emigrants. During the year and a half following the abortive coup in Indonesia inspired by Peking, the Chinese authorities forwarded over 50 notes of protest to the Indonesian Government demanding that persecution of the Chinese emigrants be stopped. And yet Peking has not taken one single practical step in that direction. Mainland China gave only one ship to bring the emigrants home. This ship made only three cruises and brought some 3,000 repatriates from Indonesia to the mainland.

The attitude of Peking to Chinese emigrants in Indonesia demonstrates that the leaders of Communist China could not care less about the destiny of the Chinese emigrants abroad whom Peking is prepared to sacrifice for the sake of its expansionist policy.

At the same time, the events in Indonesia could not help put-

ting the national governments of South-East Asia on their guard. It should be borne in mind that in those countries the Chinese comprise a considerable portion of the population. The authorities of these countries closely watch the activities of the Chinese emigrants aimed at helping Peking and take active steps against those of them who are being turned into Peking's fifth column in South-East Asia.

Thus, too active a cooperation of the Chinese emigration with Peking may jeopardise its positions in the economic and political spheres in the countries of their residence.

The Chinese emigrants cannot help thinking hard about these developments. They cannot help being frightened by the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China which has assumed such ugly forms. This revolution is fraught with a very real danger for the Chinese emigration and especially for the repatriates who decided to return to their motherland. The militant attitude of the Red Guards toward any manifestations of bourgeois ideology in combination with their determination to enter the international scene make the wide sections of Chinese emigration abroad one of the targets of the Cultural Revolution. Both the relatives of the Chinese emigrants abroad and certain sections of the emigration with their capitalist philosophy

of life fall victim to the Cultural Revolution. Reports begin to appear in the world press on reprisals meted out against the repatriates in mainland China by the Red Guards.

These reprisals give the Chinese emigration another pretext to doubt the advisability of cooperating with Peking. They received increasing evidence that no qualification would save them from persecution in contemporary China. That is why many of them even now take steps to guard against the possible sanctions in the course of the Cultural Revolution. For example, immediately after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution prices of Peking's yuan dropped by 30 per cent at Macao's black market. There has been a curtailment in the scope of postal remittances by the emigrants to the relatives in mainland China. One should expect a sharp decline in the interest of the Chinese emigrants in the economic and political cooperation with Peking.

In the past, Peking organised frequent mass reprisals against the undesirable elements and the present Cultural Revolution is no exception in this respect. If Mao Tse-tung gets evidence that the Cultural Revolution is fizzling out without reaching its goal, he will not think long in using the Chinese emigration as broad as fuel for a new upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

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De Gaulle, Labour and the Trusts

SCHOFIELD CORYELL

THE Gaullist regime—which sometimes appears quite “reasonable” and even “progressive” because of its relatively independent foreign policy—has now recently entered a period of sharp, head-on conflict with the labour movement inside France.

The French trade-unions have been waging a series of strike actions and mass demonstrations against their employers unparalleled in scope since the advent of the Fifth Republic, and are at the same time finding themselves more and more directly opposed.

“Special Powers”

The Government, on April 26, announced its intention to invoke the “special powers” provisions—Article 38—of the French Constitution for the stated purpose of bringing about “needed reform in the social and economic domains” through a series of executive decrees.

Various guarded statements since then by Premier Pompidou and other officials have already hinted at the probable content of the proposed “Reforms”: reduction of social security benefits, price increases, wage control—in brief, a series of anti-labour measures designed to help “balance the economy” in the interest of the wealthiest corporations.

The three trends of the French labour movement—the Communist-led CGT (by the largest group), the Socialist-led Force Ouvrière, and the Catholic-inspired CFDT—have temporarily shelved their ideological differences in their over-riding opposition to what they regard as a dangerous anti-labour manoeuvre on the part of the regime.

Trade-union officials agree that the real reasons for the demand

for special powers are the unpopularity of the intended measures, and the Government’s desire to consolidate its own precarious and shaky majority in Parliament by taking drastic steps that would compel the recalcitrant or lukewarm Gaullists—the partisans of “Yes-but”—to fall in line with the “unconditional” Gaullists to check the growing resistance of the Left opposition consisting of Communist Party and the newly-formed Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Left, a coalition of middle-of-the-road groups.

A militant trade-unionist of the CFDT remarked to me that not only the entire labour movement leadership, but also the majority of average workers were aroused into vigilant opposition by the mere announcement of the regime’s intention to impose the special powers: “For them, it was a question of democratic principle”, he pointed out. “They adopted an attitude of distrust and defiance before even knowing what use the Government intended to make of its exceptional powers.”

Labour gave its opinion through the impressive general strike of May 17, sponsored by all three trade-union federations. On the same day a mammoth protest parade through the working-class district of Paris clearly expressed the view of the labour movement: “No to the Special Powers!” “No to Rule by Decree!” read the banners. This was indeed a *political* strike, based on economic interests and demands, but directed against the regime.

The influence of the May 17 strike action on many Deputies and Senators helps explain the difficulties that De Gaulle’s lieuten-

nant, Premier Pompidou, had in getting a bare majority of Deputies in the National Assembly earlier this month to approve the Special Powers request, after it had been twice rejected by the Senate. The Special Powers are now in force and the way has been paved for a period of rule by decree in the economic field.

A Foretaste

The French people were given a foretaste of the probable use the Government will make of its Special Powers, when a series of drastic price increases (scheduled to go into effect on July 1) were announced in mid-June for the public transport system (a fare increase of 60 per cent on the subways and buses), the nationalised railroads (fare increases of 15 to 20 per cent) electricity (5 to 6 per cent increases) and gas (2 per cent increases).

Trade-union spokesmen found it significant that these increases were announced several weeks before they were to go into effect (which is unusual) and at a time when newspaper headlines and public opinion were passionately pre-occupied by the Middle East crisis—an issue on which the French Left is as badly divided as it is united on its opposition to the economic policies of the Gaullist regime.

The *Vie Ouvrière*, organ of the CGT, bluntly rejected the official view that general price increases to correct the budget deficit in the nationalised sector, pointing out that the nationalised industries and services waste large sums of the tax-payers’ money by selling at privileged low prices to the trusts, from which they also buy equipment at artificially inflated prices. Increasing the burden on the general public without doing

away with these privileges can only intensify the already widespread discontent.

These attacks on the economic interests of the French working class come at a time when the labour union, under strong pressure from the rank-and-file, have been multiplying strikes, walk-outs, and demonstrations against the employers in many sectors of the economy. In many cases, these actions have been organized jointly by the three trade-union federations, which often were unable to work together in the past. The main centres of conflict these past few months have been the automobile industry (for example, the giant Berliet plant, manu-

facturer of trucks and buses), shipyards, textile firms (like the big Rhodia ceta artificial fabric plants), iron mines (like those in Lorraine), to mention a few.

One of the main labour demands in these often long and bitter struggles has been, not simply hourly wage increases, but measures against the growing threat of unemployment (a guaranteed monthly wage, for example, as well as reclassification and re-training for workers displaced by new technology or fluctuating market conditions). Another burning issue is the pronounced wage differential between Paris and the rest of the country, where the wage rates are substantially lower than in the

Capital. The demand for wage equality among the various regions is a vital one, and the cause of many strikes.

At the moment, the most intense labour disputes have been momentarily calmed on the basis of temporary agreements and partial satisfaction, or promised satisfaction, of the workers' most pressing demands. But the deep-seated restlessness and discontent have not yet been assuaged and at the end of the summer vacation period—if not before—France will undoubtedly witness a renewed upsurge of sharp labour struggles directed not only against the companies, but also against the authoritarianism and anti-labour orientation of the regime.

Did USA Participate in West Asia War?

MAJOR T. C. GHOSH

A doubt seems to exist in the minds of the public as to whether USA directly participated in aid of Israel during the West Asia war or not. UAR has strongly accused USA for active participation, and USA with equal gusto has denied the charge and has insisted that she was absolutely neutral.

Unfortunately, UAR has not so far produced any concrete proof of this to the world public and consequently a fog of doubt exists in the minds of the public as to which side of the story was true. But if one properly collates and analyses the news that have come out in the press, a clearer picture emerges and most of the mist will disappear.

The first question that would naturally come to the public mind would be regarding the details of evidence to substantiate UAR's accusation of USA's direct participation in the West Asia war. It may be remembered that UAR's accusation was only restricted to USA's participation in air raids along with the Israeli Air Force. In other words, they claim that

USA sent certain number of planes to increase the intensity of Israel's air attack. In a case like this, it is impossible to prove USA's participation unless some planes of USA have been shot down over the UAR territory and some pilots of USA have been captured, dead or alive. From the press report it has been seen that the attack was so sudden and simultaneously on a large scale at so many places that UAR's Air Force was completely paralysed and they were so surprised that they miserably failed to hit back in causing any enemy casualty worth the name. Most of the UAR's planes were destroyed on the ground it elf.

Even supposing UAR did bring down a few planes then how would they prove that those belonged to USA? In any clandestine operation like this it would be customary to change the markings of the planes and all efforts would have been made to identify these as belonging to Israel. All the participating Israeli planes were originally supplied by foreign countries and

Israel did not possess any plane of their own manufacture. Therefore it would be impossible to prove whether a particular plane actually belonged to Israel or to a foreign country. Regarding the pilots, they could easily don Israeli uniform. Moreover, there were no dearth of American Jews either in USA or in Israel. Hence a complete camouflage to the minutest details was possible. The only other way that detection could have been made was by indentifying any plane Israel did not possess and yet participated in the operation.

From all reliable sources it was known that Israel did not possess any planes which had the fuel capacity to come all the way to Cairo to bomb and return, making a turn round of 1000 miles. Israel's Mysteres and Mirages could not do it. The only planes which could do it were Skyhawks and Voughts but little information was available of Israel ever possessing these. In certain sections of the press it was claimed that they had reliable information regarding the

last-moment transfer of nearly 500 planes from USA to Israel. The authenticity of this report is questionable since so many planes could not have been despatched to Israel without the knowledge of anybody else. Unless of course it was meant that the transfer was made only on paper and these planes took off on their mission in aid of Israel directly from aircraft carriers of the Sixth Fleet or bases controlled by USA. If this was the case then it would be tantamount to USA's participation in West Asia War. On the other hand if Mysteres and Mirages refuelled in Sixth Fleet aircraft carriers or at bases controlled by USA, then also it could not be accepted that USA was really neutral.

Another Doubt

Another pertinent question which comes to the mind of knowledgeable public. Did Israel originally possess so many planes to be able to make such a large-scale attack on so many places at the same time? It is preposterous to think that the Arab's intelligence network was so poor that they did not have the slightest idea regarding this essential information about the enemy's air strength. No country ever prepares for a war without having the basic knowledge of enemy's fighting potential. The fact was that the unexpected and sudden influx of planes from an external source to the Israel Air Force was beyond UAR's comprehension. It is anybody's guess as to where and how these planes came to assist Israel. Because of this unforeseen and last-moment aid, the UAR's air defence was completely put out of gear. UAR was never prepared for an attack of such magnitude.

Then all these attacks came from the west. It is but natural that UAR never expected any major air raid from that side. The Air Force authorities of UAR must have considered the air capabilities of Israel and knowing the air power of Israel they had ruled out that Israel was capable of making any attack of appreciable magnitude from the west since their planes did not have the fuel capacity. But then UAR

did not appreciate the possibility of USA's incognito participation. Hence UAR was so surprised when the attack really came from the West that their Air Force utterly failed to act and most of their air strength was incapacitated.

When the public got the idea that it was not Israel alone which was fighting the war, USA became panicky lest their under-cover actions were detected. They were afraid of world opinion and wanted to do something to save their face. The next news item that came out in the press was about the bombing of USA's Sixth Fleet ship *Liberty* by Israeli planes. Israel on her part also promptly accepted this blame and forwarded an apology for her so-called mistake. Subsequent press report showed that in the enquiry which was held in camera, the crew of *Liberty* gave evidence to the effect that there was absolutely no possibility of Israelis ever making a mistake of identifying *Liberty*. All the signs were displayed properly and this ship was located nearest to Israel and they had seen the ship many times before the attack.

Pre-arranged Affair?

Then how did this so-called mistake occur? Does it not look more like a prearranged affair? After getting all this information will the public be wrong to think that the whole affair was deliberately arranged in an attempt to prove to the world that Israel was absolutely independent of USA. They even bombed USA's ship by mistake; or in other words, there was no military communication between these two countries. Did USA really take world public as simple fools? Did they really think that a simple ruse like this could not be seen through, and that the world public was so gullible that they would believe any story USA wished to circulate? Regarding the few casualties USA suffered, it must have been considered as a worthwhile sacrifice for the maintenance of the good name of the nation.

Incidentally this is not the first time that USA adopted such strange methods to convince the

public of her innocence. Just before the escalation of the Vietnam war, USA resorted to similar tactics. On August 4, 1964 the American destroyer *Maddox* suddenly sent an SOS message stating that the Communist naval vessels had attacked her. President Johnson immediately ordered bombing of North Vietnam and justified his action solely based on this report. What subsequently happened to *Maddox* nobody knows. All subsequent reports on the subject were never made clear to the world. It is still shrouded in a blanket of silence. Naturally the public got the impression that it was nothing but a lame excuse to start the bombing of North Vietnam.

The public has got accustomed to hearing statements of leaders of USA, especially in connection with Vietnam which subsequently proved to be nothing but blatant lies. The world has lost confidence in the truthfulness of the statements of the present leaders of USA. Eminent journalist and writer Felix Greene has quoted numerous examples of these false statements in his famous book *Vietnam; Vietnam;*.

Therefore, USA's repeated claim of remaining neutral in the West Asia war has failed to convince the world public. Similarly, one could note many instances of nefarious activities of CIA and the atrocities committed upon the members of National Liberation Front of Vietnam, commonly known as Vietcong. Public therefore knows the *modus operandi* of USA and the world would believe that USA is capable of adopting any unfair means if it suits her. One wonders when will USA realise that her efforts to hoodwink the public by such antics only betray her Mr. Hyde face more clearly.

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The Drain and the Influx

GADFLY

INDIAN leaders, a hundred years ago, were agitated about the 'drain' of resources and of capital. Some of them used the 'drain' theory to facilitate the inflow of British capital. Today, a hundred years afterwards, our leaders and leader-writers are terribly worked up about a different drain, popularly called 'The Brain Drain.' One is not sure if some of them intend it to be a plea for a larger import of foreign brains than we have had till now.

A self-confessed brain drain 'scholar' has put forth the plea, in a passionate way: "I do not think that only Indian scholars should work in India. Foreign scholars should work in India, should be encouraged to work in India, should be encouraged to work even at disproportionately large salaries that are sometimes offered to them. Foreign scholars should be encouraged to settle in India, or at least stay for several years and work there". (Seminar 92, pp. 24-25).

Another scholar from the Indian School of International studies has crooned the same idea less frenziedly but more suavely persuasively: "If India could offer (suitable) positions to foreigners, the going out of Indian brains could perhaps be balanced by the coming in of foreign brains". (ibid, P. 16). We refrain from any 'value-judgement' on this scholarly plea: scholarship has its due privileges, legitimate freedoms and, above all else, its own well-publicised untainted scholarly interests!

Gadfly is the pen name of a group of Delhi University teachers.

Available statistical guestimates show that scientifically or technologically trained Indians abroad may be between 20 and 30 thousand as against several lakhs of them working in India, out of whom, upto 1961, 18.6 percent were mal-employed and 10.4 percent were unemployed. These percentages may have increased now as a result of the annual increase of about 80,000 science and technical graduates and post-graduates from Indian universities. Out of the 11,215 scientists registered abroad by 1963, 48 percent returned to India by the first quarter of 1966. The increase in exodus from the Scientists' pool by this time last year was a little over 10 percent. On the basis of these figures, it is estimated that the nett brain drain may be between 4 and 5 percent. Obviously, the replenishment rate is much higher and faster.¹ So much so that, the brain drain seems to consist in not so much the brains that are drained away from India as the brains that are drained away in India including those that drain away into articles about brain drain.

Reasons

Reasons advanced for brain drain, that is, brain drain from India, are many and various ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the ideal to the carnal.

A British journal's theory that "Brains go where brains are valued for intellectual as well as practical achievements"²—(let us not forget the contra-example of J.B.S. Haldane in this context)—the lack of proper equipment and facilities in India

for specialised work, the disparity in status between the scientist and the bureaucrat, the bureaucrat's lack of understanding for scientific matters, the politician's indifference to science, the lack of scientific background in our superstitious traditional society, the law's delay and finance's refusal to grant adequate foreign exchange for equipment, the sea of troubles between seniors and juniors in scientific and technological institutions, the craze for foreign degrees and their absolute necessity for careers in India however worthless the degree holder himself may be, the very tempting salary scales outside India, especially, in the advanced western countries, the foreign spouses of Indian scientists, and, so on, are supposed to account for the brain drain from India.

And the blame, which for some unknown reason is never laid roundly but only squarely, is laid on the Indian society, and the government and the scientific institutions. Never does anyone blame private enterprise and industry for not absorbing more scientists and technologists although they can. The reason is evident: privacy and freedom of enterprise are sacrosanct and inviolable. What private enterprise does is its sacred private business; what public institutions and government do is the brain drain experts' business.

All the same, let us, too, contribute a few reasons for the

1. For these figures, see Rahman and Rau: Occasional Pamphlets series: No. 2 published by C.S.I.R., as also *Times of India* dated January 1, 1967, Commentary by P.R. Gupta.
2. *Science*, October 1, 1965.

so-called brain drain. The educated middle class has been Constitutionally independent and personally individualist; but some of them, for career's sake have been attitudinally servile, sorry, appreciative of the whites not so much of the east as of the west of Europe. None can say they are unpatriotic; they are cosmopolitan so long as cosmopolis means the 'free' West. The post-war boom in Foundations, mostly American, have offered incense to facilitate these servile people's worship of the West. Foundation scholarships and projects and their more or less easy availability to the intelligentsia of the underdeveloped countries have given an intellectual spur to the brain drain. The aspirants for and the recipients of these wind-fall bounties have had so much commitment for scholarship and science that they disbelieved, ignored or denied the unstated extra-academic political motives of the Foundations.

The Gift Money

Foundation gift-money, although conveniently overlooked by the brain-drain experts has immensely tempted brain drain. Even the highly indignant scholar-signatories against the proposed Indo-US Foundation either have gone abroad on Foundation and Project money or are actively hankering after it. The lure of money could be successfully concealed under the name, advanced study, when people go to the advanced countries. But, when they go to other underdeveloped countries, motives like more money, easy success and careerism could be scarcely covered up. Nor, for that matter, could these motives be hidden by love of scholarship when people go to Western countries for doctoral or post-doctoral research which can as efficiently be done in India. For, to do research on Indian history, politics, or sociology, on Urdu poetry, Hindi language, Bengali novel or Sanskrit poetics, on the economics of Salt Satyagraha, Khadi or Cowdung, on Indian mortality or mythology, or on similar other 'scholarly' subjects, one need not go outside India, except to make

money and get easy success abroad and at home.

As can be sympathetically predicted, the drained scholars never admit these motives. On the contrary, there is, at least, one scholar who staunchly advocates brain drain to the advanced countries for a kind of scientific and intellectual rejuvenation and renewal, ostensibly in order for those scientists and intellectuals to be more effective in their performance at home in India after their return, and strongly pleads for liberalisation of leave rules and regulations. (Seminar 92, p. 21)

There are other scholars who not infrequently threaten to make their personal contribution to brain drain as though India would irretrievably topple down into a cosmic abyss without their holy intellectual presence. Queerly, the Presidential award for an unproved scientific hypothesis has virtually acted as an incentive to the awardee's personal contribution to the brain drain. In view of these facts, there is no substance more than the sound in the 'Brain-drain' cry or in the generous attribution of this "anguished cry" to "Indians who are willing to return but find the conditions unsuitable". (ibid, p. 31).

Experts on 'brain drain' define it as the 'flight', 'migration' or 'emigration' of scientists, engineers, doctors, technologists, experts and intellectuals from India to other countries, leaving India deplete of talent.

Detrimental

Large-scale or, in some cases, even small-scale emigration of trained people is certainly detrimental to the interests of the Indian people, even if not all the emigrated 'brains' are Einsteins and Chandrasekhars or Flemings and Subbaraos. Most emigrants do only certain types of repetitive work in the same way as a draughtsman, a machinist, a carpenter or a motor driver does. This is not to suggest that their work has no qualitative difference or that repetitive work is inferior and semi-useless. Repetitive work sustains and consolidates 'original' work and leads to more original

work. The emigration of people trained for such work, no doubt, creates gaps and difficulties. That, of course, would mean that not merely the drain of 'brains' but also that of 'hands', is equally harmful to the interests of the Indian people, assuming the 'brains' and 'hands' can have proper employment. But the brain-drain experts, in their spiritual preoccupation with 'brains', never touch upon the subject of 'hands' that have migrated or are migrating to England; Canada and various other countries. For them, 'brains' are statistically more easily measurable than 'hands' are countable. In other words, the terrific obsession with brain drain conceals the supreme indifference to the 'hands'.*

Brain Drain in History

Historically, there has always been voluntary, inspired, organised or forced brain drain from India. The reputedly most humane emperor Ashoka sent some of the best brains he could find to other countries to do missionary work for Buddhism. He did so without protest. Maritime trade flourished through long sojourns of the brainier traders. Nearer our times, when a Naoroji or an R.C. Dutt spent years outside India, nobody thought of them as drained brains. Still later, 'brains' were not only forced by the British rulers to go abroad but also were exported or encouraged to smuggle themselves out of India in order to promote revolutionary activities against the British rule in India.

All these centuries, hands have been emigrating to Europe, Middle East, Africa and to Far East. European gypsies are known to be of Indian origin. There were no protests then; nor no claims for them now. The Indian people have all along survived the brain and hand drains. They may have had temporary hardships because of emigration. But they were, fortunately, not obsessed with 'brain' or 'drain'. With confidence

*Only P.R. Gupta barely touches on this problem in his Commentary in *Times of India*, January 1, 1967.

and patience they replenished the loss of talent, skill and intelligence from among themselves, more quickly or less, and marched on along the high road of history. This process is happening today also. The base of a country, its people, fills all gaps, feeds all needs, and replenishes itself, notwithstanding any drain or obsession with it.

Peculiar Logic

Some brain-drain experts have a peculiar logic, all very personal. On the one hand, they rationalise the brain-drain as an 'unofficial Indian ambassadorial mission abroad, and, on the other, in all seriousness, suggest the 'cure', ways and means of preventing it. This logic seems to be the climax of the brain-drain farce and its seriousness, the mock-seriousness of the burlesque. Leaving aside the logic however, if any country does take adequate incentive and compulsive measures to prevent brain drain—as, indeed, the socialist countries have had to—the brain drain experts would be in the forefront of remonstrance and demonstration against the 'totalitarian' measures,* although not much of either was visible when the Free US refused passports to Einstein and other brains even to visit innocuous India.

Such an enlightened awareness as the brain drain experts' never, not even for once, sheds light on the internal brain drain in India. Here we are not referring to scientists who are bogged down in administration; nor are we referring to the brain that drains away in seminars that serve no purpose, in committees and commissions that produce voluminous parchments of futility, in journals that profiteer on political frustration and personal titillation, in mink-coat style exposure parliamentarism that sprays words and saliva without much distinction, and in similar other higher nervous activities which at best cause fleeting titters and, at worst, mischief of a misleading nature. Even such brain drain as this can be justified as providing negative education and comic relief in an otherwise politically aimless life in

India. Besides these and similar not so impalpable diffusion of brain, energy and precious money, there is another, positively harmful, internal brain drain.

Our stated national aim is to achieve a "socialistic pattern of society" or socialism through increasing public sector economy and strengthening it. In pursuance of this aim, various public enterprises have been set up, and engineers and technicians have been and are being trained at public expense in various technologically advanced countries.

In return for the public money invested on them, as also for the achievement of the national aim, these trained people are morally and legally bound to work in and strengthen public sector enterprises.

But 'free' private enterprise realises the far-reaching political consequences of the public sector economy and seeks to make it inefficient so that the inefficiency could serve as an argument of pressure against public sector. One very effective way to make public enterprise inefficient is to drain away the trained and talented technicians into private industry through various tempting allurements including some extramoney benefits. By doing this, private enterprise can simultaneously make itself more efficient, too.

Significant Silence

Since 'improvement of one's prospects' is an inviolable principle of free democracy, the trained men in most cases are allowed to drain away into private industry, even into foreign private industry like petroleum, sometimes much before their contractual period, without any penalty or indemnity.

These drained brains, no doubt, remain in India but only to defeat the national aims and policies and to strengthen private enterprise at public expense. We are not passing any moral judgement on this migration or migrants from public into private and foreign private industry. But this phenomenon can best be described as internal brain drain, which is a greater danger to the interests of the people of India.

Instead of working to realise the national aim of socialism or socialistic pattern, it works against it by weakening the efficiency of the public sector and by concurrently promoting and strengthening private enterprise.

A similar internal brain drain takes place when retired or resigning civil servants, judges and military officers join the ranks of private enterprise and use their knowledge and influence to the detriment of the public sector. This internal brain drain like internal hemorrhage has fatal consequences. But the brain drain experts are significantly silent about it.

UN Level Problem

Equally are they silent about a still greater danger that we have been and are going to be subjected to. And that is Brain Influx. Until now, brain influx has been the result of various bilateral agreements brought about by pressure and persuasion, between underdeveloped India and the developed west. Now it threatens to become a world level, that is, a UN level problem. The sinister implications of a UN solution to the so-called brain drain should not be treated with indifference or inalertness.

According to a brief news item, the UNESCO is going to study the problem of 'brain drain' in developing countries and has allotted 18,000 dollars for the purpose in its budget for 1967-68. Its memorandum on the project, as quoted by PTI, reads: "One of the problems confronting member States is the loss of qualified personnel through migration to other countries. On the basis of information and studies assembled in 1967-68 a plan will be drawn up for execution in 1969-70 to help member States to deal with this problem". It is reported that "Particular attention will be devoted to the connexion between the phenomenon of 'brain drain' and the educational systems and scientific organisation of the countries affected by it". (The

* For an oblique hint at totalitarianism, see N. Kagal's column in *Indian Express*, February 23, 1967.

Statesman, June 2, (1967). This project will, obviously, enable large scale foreign, most probably, American brain influx into India under cover of UNESCO, as is often the case.

Brain Influx does not merely mean the inflow of trained foreigners but also involves the inundation of the country with ideas which are positively pernicious and harmful to the country and pose a greater danger to the interests and sovereignty of the Indian people. Brain Influx, like the CIA is an outfit of American imperialism wearing an intellectual and ideational garb in the interests of establishing, sustaining and promoting neo-colonialism in the erstwhile colonial world. It offers material and mental friendship, generosity and munificence to the intellectuals of the developing countries and wins their sympathy, gratitude and admiration.

Ideation

Imperialism exports its ideology through ideation. Ideology is the theoretical expression of class interests and is more easily recognisable as such than ideational material. Ideational activity not only preaches but poses as the acme of commonsense, rationality and objectivity. It is concerned with and practises scrupulous veracity to facts and details and not with their unperceivable interconnections, and the law of the causality that underlies them. Its sacred scholarly business is to retail facts but not to analyse them; for, after all, facts are experienceable while anything else is unknowable. It upholds the subjectivity of objective facts and the relativity of ideas and so, facts become mere ideas and ideas become material facts. Its scientific method consists in assumptions, hypotheses and frameworks.

The desired conclusions follow facilely from them. Thus it is empirical, pragmatic but never unduly optimistic about the knowability of the world. It preaches the importance of 'means' so as to practise and fulfil its own 'ends' unfettered. It knows progress to be a nineteenth century hoax and skepticism to

be the distinction of healthy intellect. It is not exactly cynical but values cold facts as facts and does not deceive itself with 'value-judgements'. For, values are relative, unverifiable, and therefore suspect. It proves the validity of its attitude by invoking 'modern' theories of science and philosophy, the theory of indeterminacy and the uncertainty of events, the statistical variation of physical occurrences and the breakdown of communication. It presents logical or linguistic analysis and solution as the real solution of all problems plaguing the world. It confirms theories by other theoretical proofs, by referring to a Pierce, a Wittgenstein, a Carnap and even to a Sartre, of course, the Sartre that was not tainted by Marxism, Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam.

While these theories are presented as firmly dependable, all earlier theories like causality, and principle of Necessity, are represented as mere superstitions.

Ideation is all in favour of as specialised a specialisation as can be devised, and so, it builds special models to suit specialised conclusions. On the basis of this acute knowledge, it specialises in broad generalisation and generalises all species. It represents the resultant speciousness and half-truths as genuine eternal truths.

For this activity, it devises its own suitable and special but 'objective' and most impressive 'technical' terms and vocabulary. With these, it conquers the intellectuals of the underdeveloped world including the Marxist ones,

and makes 'scholars' and 'doctors' of them, fully committed *only* to their own intellect and intellectual 'objectivity'.

In short, it makes them intellectual heroes practising belief in individual intellect and faith in 'scholarly' reason. This intellectualism in its turn breeds in them a personal 'conviction' that their individual achievement in the realm of intellect and their individual occupation of high positions can tilt the society towards results their intellect has decided to be desirable.

Thus ideation promotes *individual* pragmatic, that is, opportunistic careerism and leads the 'underdeveloped' intellectuals into social inaction and into mistaken social action. Or, it renders them thoroughly ineffective for any social action. In consequence they isolate themselves from the people and the main stream of people's movement, relegate themselves to career jobbery with the ever so obliging help of the Foundation lure of material and intellectual blandishments, and, finally, are converted into salesmen of ideas that breed social inaction and even anti-national, anti-people action. This is a very ideal intellectual atmosphere where imperialist ideology and aims can effectively fulfil their unholy mission.

These are the *general* features of Brain Influx and its weapon ideation. The specific details of its technique, methods of operation and its immediate aims need to be gone into in detail. To be warned of ideation is to be armed against Brain Influx.

Read India's Agrarian Structure

A Study in Evolution

by

Sulekh C. Gupta

Rs. 2

A Mainstream Publication

Scandal of Urban Housing

VIKRAM

TEN thousand shanties having come up in the Capital in a week, makes startling news. One is left wondering if the country has an urban housing policy at all.

Delhi has the privilege of having a Master Plan, and a regular town planning department. But that is no substitute for a proper housing policy. The minimum requirement of a housing policy is to progressively provide increasing number of people with shelter. Can our policy-makers boast of any achievement in this direction? True, quite a few housing starts are reported every year, and the figures of capital formation in housing are rising. But in face of the growth of urban population in the city as in the country at large, the gap between the requirement of houses and their supply is threateningly widening.

Due to faulty policy of urbanisation, both in respect of allowing big towns becoming bigger and the thoughtless lack of policy regarding house construction, the new dwellings now being constructed not only serve out a limited purpose, but also complicate the longterm solution of the urban housing problem. The official policy pursued with regard to housing makes a mockery of all claims to be democratic or socialist-oriented.

There have been a few fragmentary studies on the cost of developing land and of providing civic amenities in different classes of towns in the country. These studies have proved that the cost of providing similar facilities would decrease as we move from big metropolitan cities to smaller towns. Keeping this fact in view, there should have been a definite policy of urbanisation and distribution of employment opportunities in the country. That

could have not only saved a large amount of public funds for investment in more productive avenues, but could also add to the stock of houses in the country.

An embargo on the expansion of towns beyond a certain prescribed limit could save the urban population from many hazards and social tensions. And then there is the so-called fifth dimension of urban planning, namely time. A proper social planning of cities can affect large savings on that account. Estimates have been made of the time lost in commuting distances by workers in cities. The figures are simply staggering, and call for immediate attention in a civilized society.

In a poor country, where millions are half-starved, clothed and live in what a foreigner has described as "dog huts" the posh, country house type bungalows in the hearts of big cities represent vulgarisation of public morals. And this goes on with the active connivance of a government which claims to be interested in establishing a socialist society.

It is a truism that the pressure on urban living space should go on increasing. The town planners in their detached way go on prescribing rational densities of population in different areas, and veer round to conclusions that in the existing cities in the near future there will be absolutely no space to live. They even advise the bifurcation of big government quarters to keep up the balance of densities as well as permit the vertical growth of cities. But when it comes to carving out plots, the needs of the elite are given undue importance. How else could one explain plot sizes of one thousand square yards and above in congested areas upon which new constructions are coming up.

Do our planners expect that in another twenty years these, 'U' type, marble houses, where densities of population are the minimum would be expropriated and demolished to give way to the construction of utility type dwellings?

There have been a few low-income-group housing schemes. Smaller plots are carved out to be sold to low-income-group people in Delhi. But often it is found that the availability of land is not sufficient to realise the dream of owning a house for the poor. The building material costs are so high, and the demonstration effect of the luxury type houses regarding style of construction so oppressive, that a man of ordinary means dare not enter the bargain.

According to a number of studies, a large number of houses that have come up in Delhi and other urban areas during the last few years belong to the luxury type in which the cost of construction ranges between Rs. 25 per square foot to Rs. 35 per square foot. Thus our housing programme is largely meeting the accommodational needs of the elite and the poor continue to be in slums, if not shelterless.

In a democratic socialist society one could expect a minimum of three-pronged policy regarding urban housing

First, a ceiling on plot size; Second, pre-planned, standardised housing Plans; and

Third, standardisation of building materials.

To cut down the cost of construction, a building corporation may be started with a revolving fund. A few studies conducted under the aegis of United Nations have shown that there can be a saving of as much as 10 to 15 percent on construction costs, if houses are built on a mass scale.

Training Up Indian Revolutionaries

SHAUKAT USMANI

INDUSKY Kurs, the military academy for Indian revolutionaries set up at Tashkent, was a symbol of fraternal assistance that the new land of Socialism extended to the fighters for Indian freedom against British imperialism.

But when one read anything about the Indusky Kurs from the pen of M.N. Roy, one cannot help feeling that he did a great disservice to the Muhajireens but to the Russian efforts at helping Indians winning their country's freedom.

Many accounts have appeared about the Indian Hijratees that they had left India simply to procure arms for the freedom of India. And they, failing with King Amanullah, had proceeded to the Soviet Union for the same purpose and aim.

And here in Tashkent when they arrived they found that there was an Indian gentleman appointed by the Communist International (COMINTERN) as the head of its Eastern Section. This man was domineering and very obtuse in his outlook. A Hindu Sabha leader or a Jan Sanghi would perhaps have behaved better in many respects if he had the good of Indian freedom at heart.

I am not relating here the heated exchanges several of us had with him because of his rude personal behaviour and his imperious claim that he was the sole accredited leader appointed by the Comintern to look after and guide the work of the Indian revolution.

He had denounced every

Muhajir, and there is not one but many authorities who have stated that these Muhajirs had played a revolutionary role in fighting against their own co-religionists—the Amir of Bokhara and the Turkoman reactionaries in September-October 1920.

Every one of these Mahajireen who had fought and taken up pen in later years in describing the events of the 1920s has described faithfully as to why he and his comrades took up arms against the Amir of Bokhara and the counter-revolutionaries. The writer also has mentioned this in his first book about the trip *Peshawar to Moscow** that fighting for the freedom of Bokhara we had considered as fighting for our own freedom, and that it was a fight for the freedom-loving people all over the world. Our attitude was quite in conformity with our principles. We had set out from homes for the freedom of India; was the freedom of Bokhara less dear? And this was the argument that we had used in confronting the remaining Muhajireens who had refused to join us.

Incidentally, it is only fair to mention here that while thrown into prison in Turkoman we were fed on the same kind of food that the Turkomans themselves used to take—and this was their treatment of the 'slaves'! But compared to this when we entered the British prisons in India we longed to be the prisoners of the Turkomans rather than to be the captives of a 'civilised government' which treated the freedom fighters of India worse than Indians treated their cattle.

Let us now come to the Indusky Kurs. It was late in November 1920 that almost all the Indians then in Tashkent agreed to join

the Indian Military School. Duties were assigned. The writer first, and then Rafiq Ahmed were deputed to Andijan to co-operate with the Kashgari revolutionaries living in exile in that place. Rafiq came almost about the time of the winding up of the work in Andijan.

The Indian in charge of the work here was M.P.T. Acharaya whom the writer joined in late November. Here in Andijan there was a very brilliant Russian comrade by the name of Rashkolnikov. He was working as liaison between the Kashgaris, Indian Committee and the Turkestan Turkbureau. He was a well-read scholar of Marxism from whom the writer learnt much about the Russian Revolution and theory and practice of Marxism.

After the evacuation of the Muhajireen to the Indusky Kurs, the India House at Tashkent—the Indusky Doma—became virtually the property of Maulana Abdul Rab, M.P.T. Acharaya, Amin Siddique (Rab's Secretary) and one Farooq—none of whom had seen the rigours of life as the Muhajireen had done.

And in the Bokhara House where resided M. N. Roy, his American wife Evelyn, Abani Mukerjee and Shefiq, the Secretary of the newly-formed Communist Party of India and Shuelmann, regular meetings were held where Goldberg, Tambakov (later on known as Tampakov) used to come and discuss the history of the Russian Revolution. As a matter of fact Goldberg was the first Russian who had

* Unfortunately the author has not got this book now. It was published in the end of 1967 in a slipshod manner and heavily edited by publishers. It was proscribed by the British Government in India.

The first two instalments of Shaukat Usmani's interesting memoirs appeared in MAIN-STREAM, July 1 and 8, 1967

given to the Muhajireen a vivid picture of the October Revolution. He himself had played a conspicuous part in it.

And there was Tevil, who later on became a Secretary in Stalin's Secretariat in Moscow and was in charge of Indian affairs in it.

M.N. Roy has been very uncharitable to almost all the Indians he came across in Tashkent and later on in Moscow. And in his various contributions to the Indian press there are grotesque mis-statements. We all respected him as an elderly Indian revolutionary (although he ended this career serving the Anglo-American cause during the World War II).

Inaccuracies galore occur in Roy's writings. Take for instance this piece from *Radical Humanist* April 25, 1954 :— "In 1919, the Indian Khilafat Committee, which made then common cause with the Indian National Congress to fight British Imperialism, issued a call to the Indian Muslim youth to leave the country and go to Turkey to join the army of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, which was fighting against British Imperialism in defence of the Khilafat."

The Hijrat was decided upon in April 1920, to be precise, on April 18, 1920 at a Conference in Delhi on the Afghan King's invitation in that year, and not in 1919 as Roy writes.

There is too much use of the capital alphabet, "I" in Roy's statements and writings. And he has denigrated each and every one. Take the case of Acharaya and Abdur Rab. Their main fault was that they demanded from Roy that he should not squander the money entrusted to him by Comintern but form a Committee through which to spend it. Acharaya has made many allegations against Roy in his writings. And it was Acharaya and not the Muhajireen who had demanded the formation of the Communist Party of India in Tashkent.

It will serve no useful purpose to continue quoting from Roy's writings to show he has belittled Acharaya, Bhupen Datta, Luhani and Virendra Chattopadhyaya. (All these names will occur again

in this narrative later).

Suffice it to say that as M.N. Roy was put in charge of the Indian work by the Communist International and was the virtual head of its Eastern section at Tashkent, all the Muhajireen accepted his leadership in the interest of advancing the cause of Indian freedom.

Honesty requires here that we should state that the Indian freedom would have been nearer by several years if there were no internecine quarrels between the Roy-Mukerjee-Sheffique group on one side and the Acharaya-Rab group on the other. And later on between the *Berlin Group* on one side and the Roy triumvirate on the other.

The Russians have to be exonerated on all accounts. The Comintern can be charged only with bungling but not with negligence.

The Russian comrades would bear out the writer that Roy was asked to go to Afghanistan and then from there descending into the tribesmen's territory, to start propaganda work. He refused on the ground that the Pathans would kill him. And this was also a topic of talk amongst the Muhajireen too who wondered how such a leader as Roy could be afraid of anything.

When we assert that the common place all over the world looked to the new Socialist country for guidance and help in achieving freedom then one should go back to the newspaper files of the period and read IMP-RECOR (*Internal Press Correspondence*, published by the COMINTERN) and one would find how the Soviet Union was in earnest in helping the down-trodden countries to win back their lost freedom.

Even the feudal regimes looked up to the Soviet at the time for succour. Here is the testimony of the first Ambassador of Afghanistan who saw Lenin on October 14, 1919 and addressed him in these words, "In extending my hand to you, I express the hope that you will help the entire East to free itself from the yoke of European Imperialism." And the same desire was expressed by the Muhajireen exactly a year after, in Tashkent.

Moreover, no historian should forget the aid Soviet was rendering at the time to Kemal Turkey in its fight against the British-inspired Greek invasion, and also the Soviet Union driving away the British army from north of Iran after they had crushed the Deniken-British forces in the Caucasus in 1919-20 period.

These were the things which would have inspired any freedom loving man, and created a sense of expectation that the Soviet Union would also support those still fighting for their freedom.

In Tashkent there were truck loads of literature in Turkish, Persian and English. The Eastern Section of the COMINTERN had a room stuffed with such literature and the youth of the place used to devour these like anything. The pamphlet of M. Bakat Ullah (a Minister in the famous Raja Mahendra Pratap's Provisional Government) in Persian and Turkish with the caption *Islam and Socialism* was the Bible of the Persian-knowing Indians and Turkestanians.

Tremendous energy for building up and unprecedented enthusiasm to help India regaining her freedom was visible in the Russian and other nationalities of the area. Youth volunteered to fight for our cause. And this was what kept the Muhajireen bound to the Soviet ideals although they had not yet grasped the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

It was this policy of the Soviet that had made possible for the Indian revolutionaries to build up a link with the Kashgari freedom-fighters (at the time having their headquarters at Andijan) and to investigate new routes for a march on India after the Afghan Government had refused permission to the Red Army to pass through that country to help the Indian revolution. This is no figment of imagination. Some accounts of the period would bear the writer of these lines out.

And with these ambitions of marching on India the Muhajireen had joined the Indian Military School at Tashkent and elected some to go to Moscow and learn something about the science of Revolution.

Army and Politics

VED GUPTA

SRI Lajpat Rai has written a stimulating article (*Mainstream* June 17, 1967) on Army and Politics. He draws much from Latin American experience alone and uses his conclusions to condemn Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan for his recent Press conference in Delhi. But experiences of France, Burma and Pakistan, definitely go a long way to show that there are grave and fundamental errors in his analysis and conclusions. His condemnation of J.P. is equally erroneous, as it is based on misunderstanding of the cause-and-effect relationship on the one hand, and on the other, in complete disregard of the context in which J.P. was speaking.

Sri Lajpati Rai holds militarism responsible for political instability, corruption and under-developed state of Latin American economies. In the light of this conclusion, the author accuses J.P. of encouraging militarism in this country by corroding patriotism of our jawans and officers, which in its turn will not only destroy the fabric of democratic life in this country but will also lead to its economic and political degeneration.

Two Questions

To begin with, one may ask two important questions: what do we mean by militarism? What is its record in the post-war world? As the post-war world is characterised on the one hand by the disappearance of the 'classic era of imperialism', on the other, it may be safely called an era of military coups, especially from the point of view of under-developed nations. This renders it difficult to review the complete record of military interventions in politics.

But it may be fair to find answers to the questions raised above from the experiences of countries such as France, UAR, Burma and Pakistan.

De Gaulle, Nasser, Ne Win and Ayub Khan need no introduction today. To these Generals, the army was a means to a political end. They have achieved political power because:

(1) they have traits of good administrators acquired from their professional training;

(2) they have disciplined and organised armed forces at their command. Also, the political and economic conditions then prevailing in their respective countries along with the politicians at the helm of affairs made it possible for the army to intervene in politics.

No Active Role

But military intervention in politics at one stage does not amount to militarism. Present-day governments of France, UAR, Pakistan and Burma cannot be called militaristic. President Ayub did away with martial law as soon as it was possible. He got the new constitution enacted, the central theme of which was 'basic democracy.' He no more draws his lieutenants from military staff. On the contrary, bureaucrats, lawyers and 'Islamic Pundits' constitute the source of his power. Similarly, in France, UAR and Burma, military is no more the source of power. In other words, military do not play any active role in maintaining law and order in the country and in the day-to-day affairs of the government.

Before De Gaulle assumed power, frequent changes of govern-

ment was a constant feature of French politics. The question of Algerian independence proved to be a decisive factor in the fluctuating fortunes of various governments. As a result of the Second World War the economy of France was completely shattered. Who can deny that political and economic stability of France has been brought about and that the Algerian problem has been solved by De Gaulle.

Progressive Leaders

Similarly, ever since Ayub Khan came to power in 1958 in Pakistan, political instability (frequent governmental changes) became a matter of the past. It may be a shock to those who attribute economic degeneration to militarism to note that the rate of growth of Pakistan's economy has been much higher during 1958-66 as compared to the rate of growth during 1948-57. Also Nasser and Ne Win having filled the vacuum in UAR and Burma respectively, stand as outstanding examples of progressive leadership.

In the light of the above, it may be fair to conclude that militarism even when understood in the narrow sense of the term has not resulted in political instability, economic degeneration and rampant corruption. On the contrary, military intervention has started by cleaning up the society and has resulted in political stability and economic regeneration.

It has been asserted that neo-colonialist powers have employed militarism as an instrument to secure their ends especially in the 'third world' of developing nations. In fact, the story is not that simple. Apart from a few excep-

tions, the Western outlook of the Generals assuming power in developing nations, their pro-West policies and continuous support of the West to their regimes, even when these regimes happened to be unpopular is the logical outcome of the colonial past. In this regard, Nasser's regime must be noted as the outstanding exception.

One may pause here for a moment and ask a very pertinent question. Why have the neo-colonialist powers having long and continuous democratic tradition at home lent support to the so-called militarism in various parts of the world? Experience has taught them that it is the people who make and mould their nation and democracy is but an empty word if people do not believe in it and people do not live upto it. Democracy as understood in the West has certain pre-requisites and when these pre-requisites are absent the stage is set for military intervention.

Only in this context J.P.'s recent press conference has relevance. The Sarvodaya leader said that if there were no constitutional or political alternatives to ensure political stability at the Centre"....there is only one

organised force which can fill in the vacuum—the army." Lest he may be misunderstood, he hastens to add: "I am not suggesting that the army should do it. I will regret such a situation being created. But if political parties do not have enough sense to prevent such a situation from arising I would not blame the army for stepping in. After all, our Jawans and officers are patriotic people and cannot see the country going to pieces." (*The Times of India*, May 5, 1967)

This extract alone is sufficient to give a clean bill of health to Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan. To point out that in the absence of constitutional methods, military may step in is not to argue for military intervention. Listing patriotism of jawans and officers as a factor which may compel them to step in is not to corrode their patriotism. To point out, in the wake of searching analysis, that the conduct of various political parties is based on their narrow selfish interests and does not reflect an objective approach to national issues, does not amount to encouraging political and economic degeneration of the country.

If one makes an impartial and objective analysis of J.P.'s statement, the obvious conclusion

would be that the Sarvodaya leader has timely warned of the possible consequences of the prevailing situation in the country. J.P. has just performed the task of that wise man who interpreted for King Belshazzar the writing on the wall which came true only the next day.

Some recent developments render his warning plausible. After the Chinese Aggression the size of the army was tremendously increased and conflict with Pakistan steadied this trend. In the recent past, the military has been used quite frequently to restore order in various cities. Lastly, the patriotism and discipline of military Generals present a glaring contrast to the divided house of corrupt bureaucracy and quite a few selfish politicians seeking their own ends.

It may be said that the threat of army intervention is real and not imaginary. But the challenge can be met by timely action. It would be unrealistic to hope for anything from the reactionary elite. Only the strong and united Left can save the country from disaster, by filling in the vacuum because the coalition of J.P.'s dream may never come true.

INDIAN INTELLECTUALS PROTEST GREEK ECONOMIST'S IMPRISONMENT

TWENTYFOUR leading Professors of Universities of Delhi, North Bengal and Burdwan and allied institutions have criticised the arrest in Greece of Prof Andreas Papandreou whom they described as a consistent fighter for democracy and a very distinguished economist.

Mr. Papandreou, son of a former Prime Minister and himself an ex-Cabinet Member, was arrested after the recent coup d'etat in Greece.

The protest statement says : "We have learnt with dismay the news of Professor Andreas Papandreou's arrest following the military royalist coup and the suspension of the constitution in Greece. Besides being a consistent fighter for democracy Andreas

Papandreou is a very distinguished economist, and as fellow-economists we have consistently admired his intellectual contributions.

"Before joining the Cabinet, Papandreou was the head of the Centre for Economic Research in Athens and made outstanding contribution towards planned economic development in Greece. Newspaper reports indicate that his fearless opposition towards militarism in Greece has endangered his liberty and possibly his life.

"While we are under no illusion that the present military regime in Greece would be influenced by our protest, we feel nevertheless that it is our duty to express our strong condemnation of the

militarists' design on this distinguished intellectual".

The signatories to the statement are : P.N. Dhar, A.M. Khusro, Dharm Narain and P.C. Joshi (Delhi Institute of Economic Growth); Amartya Sen, S. Chakavarty and Arjun Sengupta (Delhi School of Economics); Ashok Mitra (Chairman, Agricultural Prices Commission); Thomas E. Weisskopf, M. Datta Chaudhuri and Kirit S. Parikh (Indian Statistical Institute); Ajit Kumar Biswas (University of Burdwan); P. Chattopadhyay, Ranji K. Sau, N. Krishnaji and N.K. Chandra (Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta); S. N. Basak, J. N. Bagchi, K. K. Basu, K. Chakrabarty, S. Chakravarty, A. Chaudhuri, N. Dasgupta and J. C. Debnath (University of North Bengal).

Taya Zinkin's Sketches

Challenges in India by Taya Zinkin (Year of Publication : 1966,
Price Rs. 25, Publishers: Chattoo and Winders, London)

IN the last few years many books have been written about India. Taya Zinkin differs from the other writers in having, if not an intimate knowledge, at least knowledge which extends over a greater period of time. As the wife of an ICS officer, Taya Zinkin has spent most of her life in this country and seems to know 'everyone who matters.' This is both the strength and the weakness of her reporting.

Most of those who are today in important positions in the government were probably her husband's colleagues or juniors and through them she has access to information on the working of democracy here. It is inevitable that the credence she gives to the ICS, an esoteric set which has always been remote from the mainstream of Indian life, should interfere often with an objective assessment of personalities and situations.

Her bias is evident in her assessment of both Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. She tends to blame Nehru and the political leadership for planning having gone awry but glosses over the contribution of the civil services to the mess. The rot that has set in is not only due to corruption and incompetence at the political level but more due to gutlessness and selfishness in the services, especially at the higher levels. For instance, she blames politicians for making H.M. Patel a scapegoat in the Mundhra affair ignoring the fact that he was indicted by no less than Vivan Bose and Justice Chagla. she is full of praise for Shastri who, for all his integrity and flexibility, remained in power for too short a time for anyone to make a correct assessment of his capabilities and judge whether he would have succeeded where Nehru failed in solving India's gigantic problems.

The most significant chapter is on steel-making in India. Taya Zinkin has done adequate spade-

work and has followed the growth of the three steel plants from their inception. Of the three Bhilai alone has done well and the credit for this she has given entirely to the Russians rather than to the Hindustan Steel Construction Corporation. Her findings are an indictment of HSCC which in nine years changed its Chairman six times and secretary seven times—all civil servants without any idea of steel-making, who never stayed long enough in their posts to learn.

Another interesting chapter is on the co-operative venture at Anand by Gujarat peasants. The spectacular success of the Anand Cooperative holds out the promise that given the correct leadership the Indian peasant is fully amenable to change and progress.

She lights up different facets of Indian political life—the utter inanity of the Indian bureaucracy whose attack on corruption takes the form of sermons jotted down for the edification of the contractors. The ineptitude of Sri Nanda fighting corruption was very much like the familiar tilting at windmills. Ministers at a Congress session making use of Birla's sumptuous hospitality and at the

same time paying lip-service to the concept of socialism; cars built for VIPs while the blind eye is turned on the shoddy general run of mill production; the industrialist who engineers a breakdown in his factory to sell scarce materials in the black market : the Muslim landlord hiring Hindu goondas to drive out Muslim tenants in the bustees to get vacant possession for building luxury flats and offices—all these are facets of life touched upon.

Her long years in this country have given her a sympathetic insight into its problems. She understands the ways and customs of the people and is quick to discern social changes. But there again—the emancipated women or the angry young men she meets belong to a small minority even in the urban upper classes, and what is true for that class will take a long time to become true for the rest of the country.

Government's entry into the economic field in a big way has been not only due to the doctrinaire views of some Ministers but because bureaucrats have a vested interest in the expansion of the bureaucracy. It is not planning but utterly inept implementation that has hurt India's progress.

While Taya Zinkin has certainly produced one more eminently readable book, she has only succeeded in presenting a variety of sketches which do not add up to a whole.

—P.C.

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*Thou hast brought
the distant near
and made a brother
of the stranger*

Abinorannath Yagor

Message

on

INTERNATIONAL

TOURIST

YEAR

THIS year, India, along with other member-States of the United Nations, is celebrating the International Tourist Year.

By a resolution passed on November 4, 1966, the UN General Assembly reiterated that "tourism is a basic and most desirable human activity deserving the praise and encouragement of all peoples and all governments". It also emphasised "its useful role in the educational, cultural, economic and social fields."

The General Assembly specially referred to the importance of the designation of the International Tourist Year "in fostering better understanding among peoples everywhere, in leading to a greater awareness of the rich heritage of various civilizations and in bringing about a better appreciation of the inherent values of different cultures thereby contributing to the strengthening of peace in the world."

India is interested in promoting travel to this country from all parts of the world as well as in creating an awareness of tourism within her borders.

It is no mere question of earning scarce foreign-exchange by making greater efforts at attracting foreign tourists, important, as this may be. Equally important is to introduce our country with its many-splendoured culture to the millions in other countries and offer them the hospitality that a visitor at our doorstep always deserves.

For our countrymen, too, our motherland with her far-flung grandeur and rich heritage gathered from the days of antiquity needs to be made known; her cultural entities have to be made familiar; her majestic scenic beauties have to be made a part of our everyday consciousness. In one word, India has to be introduced over and over again, to her own millions.

This is the message of the International Tourist Year for us in India.

Tourism and New India

KARAN SINGH

Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation

THAT a serious journal of opinion like *Mainstream* has decided to bring out a special tourism supplement on the observance of International Tourist Year is a measure of the increasing realisation that tourism has an important role to play in our economic growth.

In the last two decades the whole concept of tourism has been revolutionised, and whereas previously it was the preserve of a small number of affluent people today millions of human beings drawn from all walks of life participate in international tourism. What is more, since the end of the last war, tourism has played a remarkable role in building economic prosperity in a number of countries, notably Spain, Yugoslavia and Japan, apart from the traditional tourist countries of Western Europe and North America.

In India the importance of tourism is being increasingly realised, and this has been reflected in the new Cabinet formed by Srimati Indira Gandhi after the recent elections in which for the first time a separate Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation has been set up.

Two Aspects

As I see it, tourism has two main aspects. On the one hand is the necessity of encouraging foreign tourists to come to India in ever increasing numbers, thereby augmenting much-needed foreign exchange resources. Last year, only about 1.6 lakh foreign tourists visited India, which is less than one per cent of the foreign tourists received by a small country like Yugoslavia. Ours is a marvellous country with a superb spectrum of tourist attractions including the mighty Himalayas, magnificent sea-beaches, wild life and hunting facilities and winter sports. Added to these is a rich artistic and cultural heritage which can boast of some of the world's most beautiful monuments.

With these advantages it should be possible for us to attract a very much larger number of foreign tourists to India, but this can be done only if we are able to strengthen the tourist infra-structure. This includes among other things air services into India, scheduled as well as charter; improved airport terminal facilities; considerably expanded hotel

accommodation; surface transport by road and rail specially designed for tourists; package tours, entertainment and shopping facilities. It is now my endeavour to build up this infra-structure at all levels, so that by the end of this Plan period we are able to reach a target of half a million foreign tourists.

Home Tourism

Tourism, however, should not be looked upon merely as a means for earning foreign exchange. It is also an integral part of our effort to provide a better life for our own countrymen. In this context home tourism is very important, and this also has a special role in strengthening national integration. Of course, the facilities provided for foreign tourists will also be available to our own people, but in addition there are three aspects to which I intend to give special attention.

Firstly, is the provision of moderately-priced hotel and hostel accommodation, so that people who do not belong to affluent sections of society can also take advantage of tourist facilities.

Secondly, I am particularly anxious that our workers in large industrial undertakings should get the opportunity to go on tours and holiday camps at minimum costs. I feel that a beginning should be made in our huge public-sector undertakings, and that each such enterprise should run at least one holiday home in the nearest hill station where its workers can go on vacation. During a visit to the Soviet Union some years ago, I was deeply impressed by their workers' palaces, and although it will obviously not be possible for us to undertake this on the Soviet scale, I do feel that a modest beginning needs to be made.

Forging Integration

Thirdly, I am particularly anxious that our younger generation should have more opportunities to travel and see their country. This will forge national integration where it is most required—in the minds and hearts of our youth. Travel will help to break down narrow regional and linguistic prejudices and can form an important part of our whole educational system.

For this purpose, I would like to see established a series of youth hostels all over the country, specially in places of tourist interest, which should provide our young men and women opportunities to live at very little expense. Indeed, our mountains, specially the Himalayas provide superb opportunities for excursions and hiking and I am anxious that our plans for tourist development should lay special emphasis upon this aspect.

Human Fellowship

To sum up, therefore, I would say that I look upon tourism as a factor of prime importance in

building the new India of our dreams. I welcome the opportunity that I have been given to make some contribution in this regard, and I am anxious that public opinion in this country gets increasingly tourism conscious, which is one of the prime purposes of the International Tourist Year.

From an even a broader point of view, international tourism—cutting across barriers of race and religion, creed and ideology—helps to strengthen human fellowship in a world torn by strife and disorder. It is thus a passport not only to internal prosperity but also to international peace and understanding.

Hotels and Tomorrow's Travel Vista

M. S. OBEROI

Member of Parliament

BREATH-taking advances in travel technology will, in the immediately foreseeable future, completely revolutionize the patterns of tourism the world over.

For the first time India's policy-making tribunals have shown a positive awareness of the tremendous importance of tourism by according it a high-priority status. Again, for the first time, tourism has been entrusted to the exclusive charge of a full-fledged Cabinet Minister. Until recently tourism was a relatively minor appendage to the portfolios of Ministers of Government who held assignments supposedly more important. It seems that the Government, at long last, has realized that the country can no longer afford to neglect tourism without peril to its economy.

I do not hope that the Government's belated, though welcome, recognition of the enormous significance of tourism will be reflected in an ampler measure in the policies of Government both at the Central and State levels and that the constituents of the industry would be made available ways and means to

promote tourism so that it occupies the place due to it in the country's economic milieu.

The time ahead of us is a time of great challenges and of equally great opportunities. The challenges that technological advances in aviation which the "Jumbo Jet" and supersonic aircraft will create in the tourist plans in India are tremendous and so are the opportunities. The fantastic speed in the air and resultant passenger movements will require an entirely new approach to the development of tourism in this country. It must have sufficient accommodation to cope with the massive movement of passengers which high-speed and high-capacity aircraft will create.

Tourist Explosion

A tourist explosion is likely to occur in the not too distant future. The tourist outfit we have in this country is not adequate to meet the situation. A complete change in the complexion of travel will create many problems for those engaged in hotel business in this country.

The Boeing Aircraft Company manufactures one Boeing aircraft every day. This means that in one year 365 additional aircraft, each carrying 150 passengers, would be put into service from one aircraft manufacturer alone.

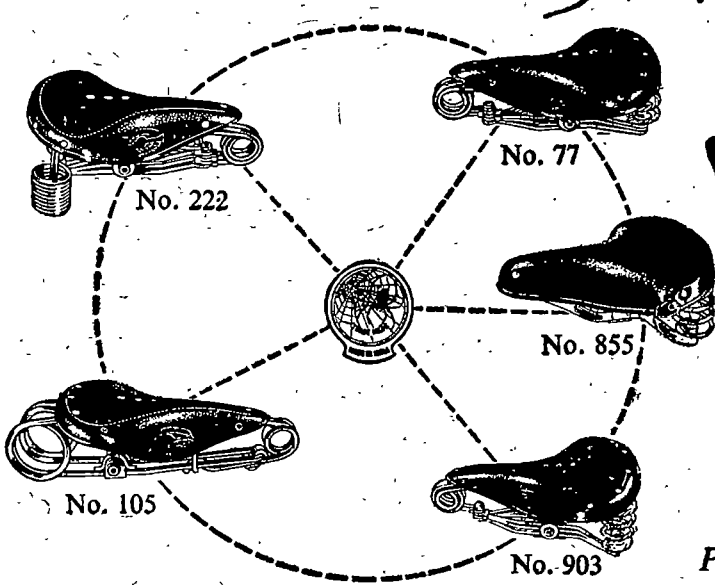
In 1970, the Boeing Aircraft Company will introduce for commercial service the Boeing 747 which is being referred to these days as the "Jumbo Jet". Although this aircraft is subsonic, it will carry 490 passengers. Can you imagine what would happen if two Jumbo jets each carrying 490 passengers land at any of our major airports? Not only are there not enough facilities at our airports for this sort of traffic but the position of hotel facilities would be utterly chaotic. This might not happen until 1971 or 1972 but are we planning sufficiently ahead to meet the coming demand?

The new type aircraft are going to completely change travel tempos. It is taken for granted that with the introduction of Jumbo jets air fares will be considerably reduced. This will create a completely new market, and people who cannot afford to travel today, will be travelling in large numbers in a few years from now. If India is to take full advantage of this tourist boom, we must have sufficient hotel accommodation and other facilities. We will have to start planning earnestly right now as to what steps the hotel industry must take. We have to build hotels, and build them fast, in all our tourist centres.

Hotels cannot be built overnight and, therefore, we as an industry must start planning from today as to what steps we should take to meet this challenge.

Now is the time to act and act fast. The industry must gear itself to the needs of the jet age and keep in alignment with the developing travel tempo.

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Prime Needs of the Hotel Industry

RAM PERSHAD

THE hotel industry in India has been taking rapid strides during the last one or two decades. There has been progress in every direction—in the matter of bed capacity or guest accommodation, guest comforts and conveniences, the variety of cuisine and entertainments to suit variegated tastes. There has also been a perceptible increase in the number of hotels and at almost all levels, though some people feel that there exists a hiatus in so far as hotels for the middle-income group are concerned.

The industry has been progressing or making advances mostly on its own. It has made use of the rich experience the leading hoteliers have gained through their visits abroad and as a result of contacts with foreigners. But whereas the progress has been satisfactory, it cannot be said that it has had adequate support from the Government.

To give an example, the industry has not yet been given a Hotel and Restaurant Development Loan Fund, which is its most prime need, despite the fact that it has been pressing for it for almost a decade and the Tourist Department has unreservedly backed its demand. Not long ago, it may be mentioned here, the Hotel Standards and Rate Structure Committee recommended a revolving loan fund of Rs. 10 crores, but the Government has not so far thought it proper to take action in the matter. The Cabinet Committee for Tourism did discuss this issue at a meeting last year, but it is regrettable it did not take a favourable decision. However, there are favourable indications now and, according to Dr. Karan Singh, Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Rs. 5 crore fund is in the offing.

The industry has always given the example of the Shipping Development Loan Fund, which did so much to help the shipping industry find a better footing. If the shipping industry can record enviable progress with the help of a loan fund, there is no reason why the hotel industry cannot.

There is little doubt that the Industrial Finance Corporation and the State Finance Corporations advance loans, but such loans do not benefit the hotel industry to the extent they should. The quantum of help offered covers only up to 50 per cent of the fixed assets of a hotel, such as land, building and machinery,

but it excludes items like furniture, carpets, crockery and cutlery. As the latter form a sizable part of the total investment of a hotel, the assistance available in effect works out to 35 to 40 per cent of the overall cost.

The hotel industry has been tackling its problems creditably. It has been doing its best to augment hotel accommodation and fill other voids, but it is facing many problems and handicaps. It cannot, to give an example, get sites or lands at reasonably cheap rates in order that it can build more hotels. It has been clamouring for this particular facility for a long time. It is obvious that it will not be possible to make any headway in the sphere of accommodation if the industry is not allotted lands at reasonable rates and at places which are central and can commend themselves to tourists.

The hoteliers have to contend with many handicaps. The Government, for example, is not allowing them to import cabaret artistes which, in the situation of today, may go a long way to afford the tourists the type of entertainment they are used to. The tourists, no doubt, like to see Indian dances but cabarets as well. Here, I may quote the example of Japan where the hotels offer art at its very best, both of the western and oriental variety. In fact, they blend their own art with that of the west and produce results which are really spectacular.

The industry has also been clamouring for relaxation in prohibition rules. This is very necessary if we have to make the stay of tourists worthwhile in India. Whatever our sentiments or national outlook on the use of liquor, we have to be considerate and broad-minded in the case of foreigners. They must be allowed a facility that they are used to. It is all right to have separate rooms for tourists in hotels, but that does not serve the purpose. The tourists must be allowed to drink with their meals or otherwise in the manner they are used to.

The industry, speaking in a general way, has not been accorded the status due to it. It was only a few months ago that the Cabinet Committee for Tourism made a recommendation to recognise it as an export industry. An export industry it positively is, for it helps the country to earn the much-needed foreign exchange. It has been asking the Government for some incentive in regard to import licences. The

The author is the President of the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Associations of India.

Cabinet Committee decided that hotels should be granted import licences to the extent of 5 per cent of their foreign exchange earnings, while some export industries are being granted licences to the extent of 20 per cent of their foreign exchange earnings. It should not be forgotten that India earns Rs. 23 crores out of tourism and the contribution of the hotel industry is virtually half of it.

To me it appears that one of the most paramount needs of the tourist trade—and the hotel industry is an important segment of the tourist trade—is an autonomous tourism board. In fact, the present writer and the chief of the travel trade emphasised this fact very clearly in a joint memorandum to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, not long ago. The board, we suggested, should be intimately connected with the Government and may be headed by a known public figure. We can achieve more fruitful results by taking this step instead of creating corporations which serve nobody and are a kind of drain on the national exchequer.

I am happy there has been some change in Government thinking in recent months. The incentives Mr. Morarji Desai announced in his Budget speech are most welcome, though they represent only a limited

extent recognition of what the tourist trade has been struggling for. It is really laudable that the Government has chosen to accord the hotel industry the status of a priority trade. Mr. Desai also proposes to "provide for initial depreciation on hotel buildings constructed after March 31, 1967, in an amount of 25 per cent" and "allow a carryforward of unabsorbed benefit of the tax holiday relating to the assessment year 1967-68 onwards up to 8 years from the commencement of business. This, again, is salutary and this is bound to help the hospitality industry a good deal. The industry, however, keenly awaits what the new promised relaxations will be and what incentive will be given.

The hotel industry is gradually coming of age. It is already miles past the take-off stage and on the verge of attaining dizzy heights. According to experts, our hotels compare well with the hotels anywhere in the world. Besides, they are comparatively cheaper or inexpensive. It is imperative, in view of all that has been said above, that the industry be given the type of support and encouragement it expects from the Government. It is, for its own part, ready to do its best. But all-embracing results can be achieved only if it has the full support of the Government.

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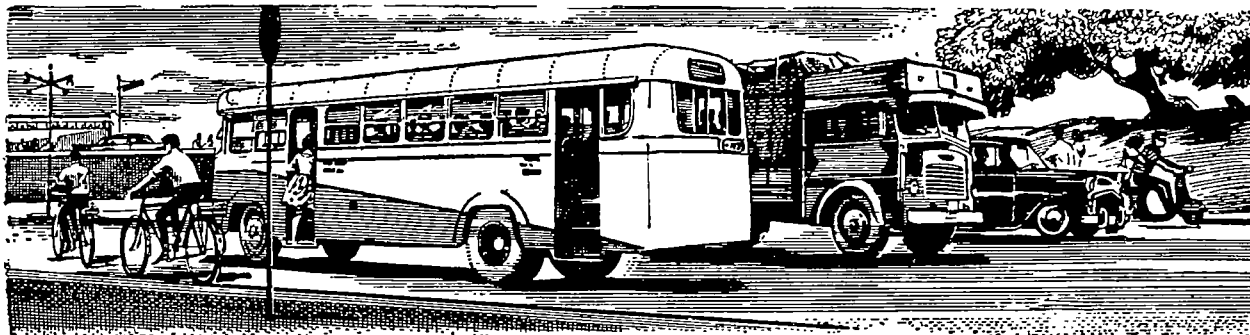
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Position at the				Position at the			
Unit	Beginning of first plan 1950-51	End of third plan 1965-66		Unit	Beginning of first plan 1950-51	End of third plan 1965-66	
AGRICULTURE				TECHNICAL EDUCATION			
(i) Production				(i) Intake capacity			
(a) Foodgrain	Lakh tons	29.00	44.69*	(a) Degree level	Number	60	670
(b) Oilseeds	Lakh tons	0.80	0.56	(b) Diploma level	Number	—	1180
(c) Cotton	Lakh bales	0.90	1.74	(ii) Technical and professional colleges	Number	8	32
(d) Sugarcane (Gur)	Lakh tons	0.53	0.68				
(ii) Agricultural colleges				INDUSTRIES			
(a) Intake capacity	Number	—	410	Small scale Industrial units registered	Number	16 (1956)	5863 (1966)
(b) Agriculture colleges	Number	1	4	Loan Advanced to Small scale units	Rupees	1,22,500 (1954-55)	1,18,95,349 (1964-65)
(iii) Total wells	Number in lakhs	6.16 (By the end of 1955-56)	7.52 (By the end of 1963-64)				
IRRIGATION				ROADS			
Area irrigated (Gross)	Lakh acres	28.93	51.41	Total mileage	Miles	11371	18909
Power				HEALTH			
(i) Firm power available	M.W.	7.5	106	(i) No of medical colleges	Number	1	5
(ii) Localities electrified	Number	32	1233	(ii) Primary Health Centres	Number	—	230
CO-OPERATION				(iii) Family Planning Centres			
(i) Co-operative Societies	Number	4908	22,571	(a) Urban	Number	—	55
(ii) Membership	Number in lakhs	1.99	14.33	(b) Rural	Number	—	232
(iii) Percentage of rural families covered	Percentage to total	1.5	33	(c) Mobile	Number	—	23
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT				(iv) Dispensaries	Number	143	215
(i) Rural population served	Percentage to total	—	100	(v) Hospitals	Number	223	320
(ii) Panchayats	Number	2475	7388	(vi) Inpatient beds	Number	4996	11775
(iii) Panchayat Samities	Number	—	232	WATER SUPPLY			
(iv) Zila Parishads	Number	—	26	(i) Urban water supply schemes completed	Number	5	71
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY				(ii) Rural Piped water supply schemes completed	Number	—	94
(i) Veterinary dispensaries	Number	88	127	LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT			
(ii) Veterinary hospitals	Number	57	204	(i) Intake capacity in craftsmen training institutes	Number	—	4168
GENERAL EDUCATION				(ii) Labour Welfare Centres	Number	6 (1954-55)	29 (1965-66)
(i) School going children				(iii) Employment provided	Number	9012 (1957-58)	1,49,387 (1965-66)
(a) 6-11 years	Percentage to total	14.8	54.0	TOURIST TRAFFIC			
(b) 11-14 years	Percentage to total	5.0	21.0	Foreign Tourists	Number	1500 (1955-56)	25,200 (1965)
(c) 14-17 years	Percentage to total	1.7	10.0	Income from foreign tourists	Rupees in lakhs	5	50.4
(ii) Educational Institutions				Home Tourists	Number in lakhs	6.5	12
(a) Primary Schools	Number	4336	19038	Income from Home tourists	Rupees	1975 (lakhs)	2.40 (crores)
(b) Middle Schools	Number	732	1756	ELECTIONS			
(c) High Schools	Number	175	398	Total number of votes polled		1952	1962
(d) Higher Secondary Schools	Number	—	336	Assembly		32,61,442	54,06,350
(e) Colleges	Number	32	88	Parliament		35,26,957	54,15,561
(f) Universities	Number	1	3				

*Based on four yearly moving average from 1962-63 to 1965-66.

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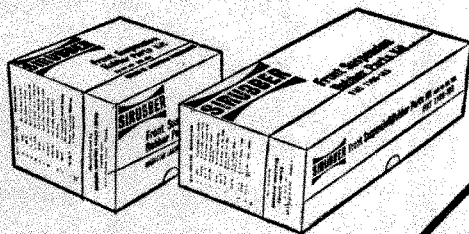
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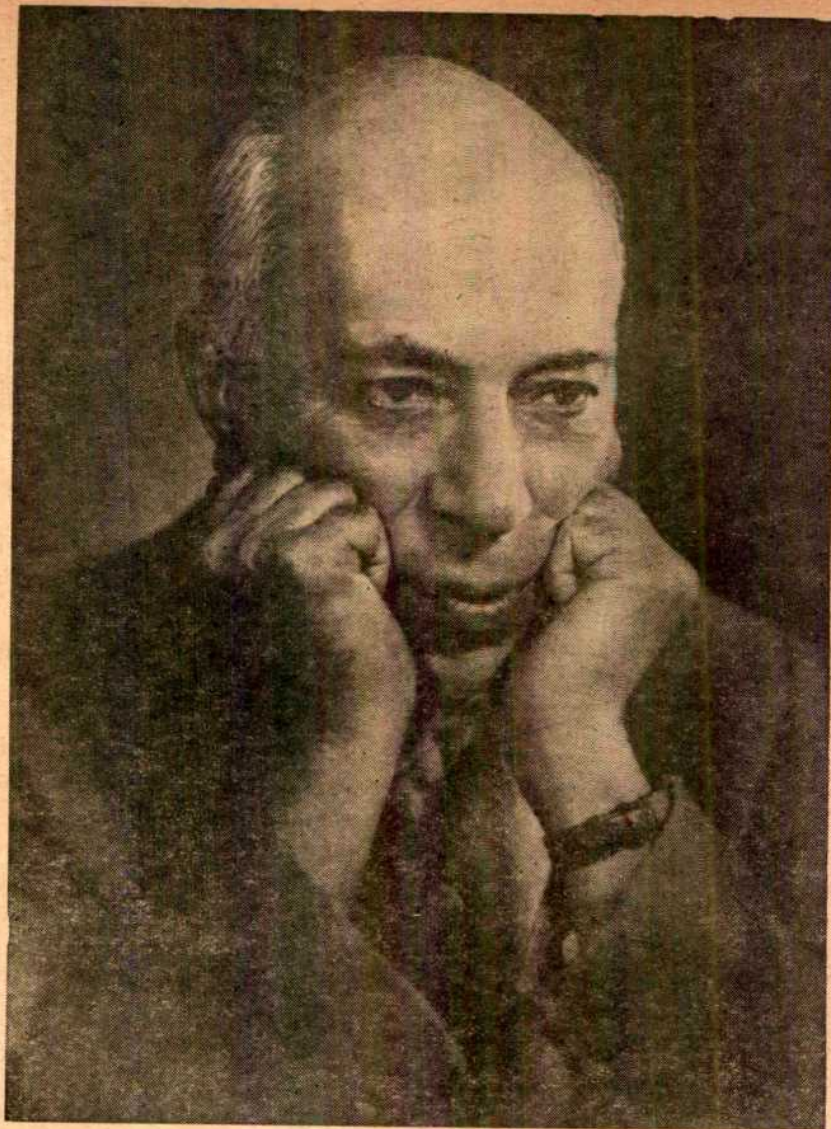


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Jawaharlal Nehru

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CHINA: THE RIGHT APPROACH

THE Government has done well to set its face against calculated attempts to import hysteria into the question of India's relations with Peking, despite the perverse, primitive provocations indulged in by the ruling clique in China. In fact, except for the deplorable incident on June 16 resulting from a momentary lapse on the part of the armed guard at the embassy gates, India's resentment over the ugly incidents in Peking has been expressed with dignity.

As all the spokesmen of the Government of India have made clear repeatedly, international relations cannot be conducted on the basis of anger but only on the basis of the long-term national interest. In this context the Government's refusal to be provoked into taking a false step on the issue of Tibet is commendable, although the Western-inspired pressure for revocation of the 1954 agreement on the subject will undoubtedly be kept up and increased steadily.

The way our diplomats have been and are being harassed and humiliated in brazen violation of all norms of international behaviour is certainly intolerable. Any people with a modicum of self-respect can only react to such doings with profound resentment to such atrocious conduct. At the same time, India has great traditions to maintain and cannot afford to retaliate in the notorious Red Guard manner. We simply cannot descend to the level of the Red Guards or the politicians who are egging them on without permanently damaging our reputation for correct diplomatic behaviour, which Sri Chagla has wisely appealed to the people to help maintain in this period of agony. Sri Chagla's appeal became necessary because of the presence in this country of reactionary elements which would like to make use of every opportunity to embarrass the Government and push it firmly into the Western camp. China's

misdeemeanour is a boon to such elements, and it calls for the utmost exertion by all those who value our national traditions to prevent such elements from whipping up frenzy among sections of the people whose anger is likely to get the better of their fair judgment when instigated.

The question of future relations with Peking must receive the most careful consideration. In such consideration two important factors have to be borne in mind by those entrusted with the handling of our international relations: first, that despite even worse provocation many countries, including the Soviet Union and Britain, have not severed diplomatic relations with that country; and secondly, even during the worst crisis between India and China—during and after the aggression of 1962—we decided, rightly, not to break ties altogether.

Jawaharlal Nehru firmly refused to oblige the insistent Western Lobby which at that time had set up a mighty howl in favour of a complete break with Peking. The same kind of campaign has now been mounted once again in the belief that the present Government, not being as strong as one with Jawaharlal at its head, can be made to yield. Government spokesmen, including the Prime Minister, have happily shown awareness of the fact that the long-term national interest precludes any hasty action in this respect.

The main point to remember in this context is that, whatever may be happening at the moment, our fate and future are more closely tied up with those of the people of China than with those of the Western Powers and satellites. The present is an unfortunate and annoying phase in the long and chequered history of China, but it is clearly a passing phase: the age-old wisdom of the Chinese people is bound to assert itself sooner or later. At the moment it does seem that we can do little by way of influencing events or developments in China; but it would be wrong to conclude that this will always be so. China is facing many major internal political and economic problems and these are bound to be reflected in many forms, some of which the outside world, including us, will find quite disagreeable. But it would be unwise to base what are essentially long-term decisions on a temporary aberration.

It may also be well to remember that diplomatic relations are more easily broken than reforged. Peking's present rulers may for their own reasons want to force India to take a wrong step; there is no reason why we should play into their hands. Our relations in a sense are with the people of China, and our hopes for the world are based on the ultimate coming together of the two great peoples: this is in our true national interest. Nothing that will make this process difficult should be permitted to happen, even though the imperialist powers may feel pleased for the time being if we take a false step.

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PLAYING PEKING'S GAME

FROM Sinai to China, India's foreign policy has been passing through one ordeal after another. The Red Guard hooliganism which has become a distinct feature of Peking's diplomatic acrobatics produced reactions in New Delhi some of which despite their spontaneity had to be disowned by the Government as well as a large body of public opinion as militating against national interest.

The Chinese outburst came as a total surprise to New Delhi. This is all the more so because it was known that an important section of opinion in the Capital was seriously considering whether some moves could be taken to open a dialogue with Peking. This was an issue on which interestingly enough the Prime Minister was pleading for a positive approach despite the known opposition of some of her lieutenants like Sri Dinesh Singh. One could hear the explanation among responsible sections in the Foreign Office that if the USA could talk to China at Warsaw, why should there be any objection to India talking to China quietly at the ambassadorial level at some capital where both countries have accredited representatives. The fact that Sri C. S. Jha would soon be posted as India's Ambassador in Paris led to some amount of speculation about probing the possibility of quiet diplomacy there with his opposite number from Peking.

While it is true that the angry incidents in Peking do not necessarily destroy the scope for such ambassadorial level talks—some would say that the present Sino-Indian tension only heightens the urgency for such talks—there is no gainsaying the fact that the bitter events of the last few days have come as a setback to such prospects. In fact, the Red Guard rampage has only strengthened the hands of those in New Delhi who stand for a tough line with China.

Why did Peking launch this sudden campaign against India? This is a question which is being widely asked in the Capital. Many theories are heard about it but the almost insurmountable difficulty is that nobody seems to have any clear idea about the happenings in China, what forces are in command and what they stand for. The enigma that is the China of the Cultural Revolution makes it difficult to hazard any guess.

However, the most plausible explanation current in New Delhi is that Peking is irked by the fact that India has won the praise of the Arab countries for having taken an anti-imperialist stand in their support in the West Asian crisis. For the Chinese rulers this amounts to virtual repudiation of their thesis that India has gone completely over to the US camp, and so by creating new tensions, they are interested in provoking us into a situation in which they can 'prove' their case that India is essentially a stooge of the West. There seems to be no other explanation for the working up of tension over the Raghunath affair: in normal circumstances even a government with an unfriendly posture would not have in such a case gone beyond the demand for the recall of the diplomat concerned.

Viewed against this background, the current clamour for the rupture of diplomatic relations with China provides an excellent example of national anger being mixed up with national interest. What has come as a surprise to many is that a whole spectrum of public opinion as reflected in Parliament has gone in for this confusion: not only the pronounced pro-West elements belonging to the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh—which have never deviated from the Western line of playing up the Chinese bogey to provide the alibi for a line up with the US—but even the accredited representatives of

the Left ranging from Sri Madhu Limaye to Sri Dange did not take up the case against the diplomatic break with China.

Inside the Congress Parliamentary Party powerful pressure is mounted for a break with China, and here too, it is the Right which holds the initiative while a good section of the centrist opinion has been swayed by this demand. To this school of hawks, the most conspicuous is Sri Dinesh Singh while Sri Chavan does not seem to lag behind. Sardar Swaran Singh was noticeably bold in holding on to the basic position of India's foreign policy and could differentiate between the immediate provocation and the long range interest of foreign policy. Up to the time of writing, the Prime Minister seems to acknowledge the invalidity of the demand for a diplomatic rupture with China: this is a no mean achievement when one takes into account the powerful forces ranged against such a line.

It is measure of the weakness of the forward-looking forces that barring Smt. Gandhi and Sardar Swaran Singh (with Sri Chagla before him) there is hardly any objective, dispassionate approach to the question of China. While nation-wide indignation at the Red Guard antics has evoked goodwill for India among the Afro-Asian and socialist diplomatic circles in New Delhi, the demand for the break of diplomatic relations with Peking has hardly been appreciated. Rather, responsible sections of New Delhi observers point to the fact that while it is easy to snap such diplomatic ties, it becomes extremely difficult to restore them. Secondly, it is not India alone which has been subjected to such insensate humiliation. The Soviet Union, a much more formidable power, has been subjected to worse indignities, and so have been many non-Communist States. And yet none of them has chosen to

retaliate by snapping diplomatic ties. Thirdly, even USA, a powerful adversary of China, which has persistently refused to extend diplomatic recognition to her, has been compelled to go in for official talks with the Chinese representatives at Warsaw; and if the USA implacably hostile to China, could carry on talks with Peking, it is idle to argue that the continuation of diplomatic relation with China has many virtues which can only show at a later stage. Lastly, the existence of a Chinese diplomatic mission in New Delhi does not in any way impinge on the national self-respect of this country.

What seems to be missed in the Capital is that Peking would only be too happy if New Delhi obliges it by breaking diplomatic relations. In her present mood, China does not seem to think that she has anything to lose by snapping diplomatic ties with India. Rather, she is banking on the calculation that once New Delhi takes the initiative for such a step, she can proclaim before the

world—particularly the Afro-Asian world—that India is one of the few countries which have followed the American lead in refusing to recognise China. In the euphoria of the latest H-bomb explosion, this will provide good meat for the Chinese leaders' smear propaganda against India.

THIS practice of falling a prey to Peking's propaganda strategy and thereby undermining our own standing in the world could be seen even on minor issues in the last few days. The extraordinary Chinese action in stripping an Indian Embassy official of his diplomatic status—an unheard-of conduct under international law—only helped to highlight the crudities of present-day foreign policy of China. One would have expected that the counter-measure from the Indian side would be to declare a Chinese Embassy official *persona non grata* with the demand for his immediate recall, since such a step is in

conformity with time-honoured diplomatic convention and has been followed by both USA and USSR even in the worst days of their cold-war confrontation. But responsible Foreign Office heads preferred to follow the Chinese precedent and thereby let this country lose a valuable scoring point against Peking, and in the eyes of friendly countries abounding in sympathy for the Indian case, nothing was left to distinguish our policy except the infantilism of tit-for-tat.

With a powerful case on its side, there is no need for New Delhi to play the Chinese game. But that was precisely what happened when after the ruffian demonstration by the Red Guards against Raghunath at the Peking airport, counter-rowdiness was allowed to be staged by the Jana Sangh demonstrators at the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi, whose extravagance compelled the Government to officially deplore the incident in its note to Peking. Few in the Capital believed that Jana Sangh goondaism was merely an expression of pent-up national feelings; rather it was taken as a dangerous move to discredit and coerce the Government. Representatives of many friendly countries—by no means sympathetic to the Chinese barbarities—were found to be wondering why India was allowing her good case to be spoilt by such uninhibited hooliganism.

The failure of the Home Ministry authorities in stopping the violence of this Jana Sangh demonstration has been widely commented upon in the Capital. Sri Morarji Desai, who has never concealed his distaste for the Chinese behaviour, was found to be quite critical of the police inaction before the Chinese Embassy; and on this, the Prime Minister could not congratulate Sri Chavan at all. The episode has undermined Sri Chavan's reputation of being firm in dealing with disorder, even if it has won him some kudos from the Jana Sangh circles.

June 20

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Case of The Indian Diplomats

ASWINI K. RAY

THE recent wave of popular indignation over the Red Guards' barbarous behaviour, against the Indian diplomats in Peking, is understandable; its manifestations, by and large, bereft of the usual excesses to which excited crowds in India are given to indulge. One only hopes that the restraint, appreciable as it is, is not due to any lack of enthusiasm. For purely emotional reasons, every nationalist Indian is bound to feel outraged at the humiliation of a fellow Indian and more so in the case of our country's representative, to an extent, independent of the causes of the humiliation.

However, whereas at the level of the street, excitement has been spontaneous, the reaction it has produced inside the representative chamber has ranged from eloquent silence to calculated opportunism. The contrasting pattern of the reactions, if nothing else, is a pointer to the innate virtue of the common man and the correctness of the reaction of popular "will" based on an admixture of horse sense and peasant cunning, as opposed to the cool calculations of political operators.

Out of the din and bustle of parliamentary (often, not so parliamentary) protests, have emerged a few facts, which, in their implications, highlight the motive of those who seek to exploit the situation to their own advantage.

There were two main demands resulting from the discussions in the Parliament: (i) snapping up of diplomatic relations with Peking; (ii) stoppage of the pleadings for China's entry into the United Nations.

Both the demands were based upon the simple assumption

that we were showing China a favour by pursuing the two policies. The rationale behind the policy would have been little if they were so. The fact that the Government of India rejected both the demands is a refutation of such self-righteous assumptions.

But in trying to justify the "correct" China policy of the Government of India, the Foreign Minister, who is not particularly known for his diplomacy, revealed more than he meant to convey. The statement he made about the usefulness of our embassy in Peking as a "window" to send "vital information" will go down in history as the most innocent exposition by a Foreign Minister only matched in its innocence by the explanation of President Eisenhower during the U-2 plane incident, when he justified espionage as a customary international practice.

But, since our embassy would continue to send such "vital information", whose effective applications we have yet to witness, a few questions naturally come up, may be, sparked off by the present series of acts and reprisals.

Since collection of vital information has to continue on a reciprocal basis, one must be very sure that we gather atleast as much, if not more, than we let out. The question becomes most relevant in view of our diplomats' known predilection for "tourist attractions", and a corresponding lack of such attractions on the part of the Chinese.

Bad diplomacy, in this sense could be worse than no diplomacy at all, as has been proved in the present case of Indian diplomats in Peking. The resentment against the Chinese beha-

viour has been a happy hunting ground for the lobbies in the Capital to be active; and, of all the lobbies, the Tibet Lobby has been able to cash in most. The long-transpired "rethinking" of India's Tibet policy has been announced by the Foreign Minister, well-timed with the anti-Chinese euphoria.

While it is impossible to comment upon the new Tibet policy, without knowing the precise direction of the re-thinking, a comment on the timing of the announcement for the rethinking becomes relevant. The time to announce a new policy, in the midst of popular indignation may just about be sound political expediency; nothing beyond that. Such a vital change in the Government's policy, implying enormous multiplier consequences, needs thorough public debate, in a cool temper, for which the present atmosphere is most unpropitious. After all, the demand of a democratic foreign policy for public debates of policy decisions is not just a political expediency to be observed in form; but, a basic commitment whose intrinsic merit has to be accepted. To try to sell the sop of one's desire at a time of convenient direction in public opinion, can arise out of an infallibility to which our Government is not entitled, either by performance or by popular support.

This fact makes it clear, that, at this time of maximum difficulty and minimum hopes in the internal sphere, any vital change in the Government's foreign policy must be substantiated by reasons of absolute indispensability. Otherwise the onus of proving our peaceable intention will lie on our Government.

Peking And South-East Asia

AN ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT

A major element in the emerging economic pattern of the countries of South-East Asia is the relation between mainland China and the economically powerful, experienced and flexible community of Chinese emigrants who have settled in this region. In fact, the economic and political potential of the Chinese emigration in the countries of South-East Asia can become the decisive factor in the struggle for the consolidation of these countries; alternatively they can become the prop for Peking's hegemony in this world area. That is why the subtle political nuances in the relation between Peking and the Chinese emigrants cannot be disregarded by any student of South-East Asia today.

China's leaders themselves prefer to keep a tight lid on the nature of their relations with the overseas Chinese whom they consider as an instrument of political and economic domination of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Position of Chinese Capital

The Chinese emigrants control a significant portion of business activities in South-East

Asia. In the post-war years, the assets of the Chinese in the economies of the countries of South-East Asia have grown considerably compared with the pre-war period.

This has been due in no small measure to the movement for national freedom which has dealt a serious blow at the Western business concerns in this region. The Chinese entrepreneurs who had been on good terms with the national governments, in many instances occupied the positions of the ousted colonisers.

According to the estimates for the late 1965, Chinese capital investments in the countries of South-East Asia were (in millions of US dollars):

Malayasia and Singapore	1,000
Thailand	600
The Philippines	400
Indonesia	300
South Vietnam	50
Burma	50
Total	2,400

The Chinese hold strong positions in the countries of South-East Asia especially in the sphere of both internal and external trade, in particular in rice and proces-

sing industries. Despite all sorts of restrictions imposed on them and even a ban on land sales, the Chinese businessmen have invested large capital in plantations, suburban vegetable growing and in fisheries. They control a large portion of handicraft industries, finance a significant volume of internal and external transports and are very active in banking and insurance. They own the largest number of community services. Of late, they have penetrated into the processing and mining industries of the Asian countries.

Steps taken by the national governments of these countries in the past few years to out Chinese businessmen from foreign and home trade have hardly yielded the desired results. By means of bribery of high-ranking officials, establishing pseudonational companies and creating mixed ones employing local businessmen, the Chinese entrepreneurs have almost reduced to naught all these curbs imposed by these governments.

Besides such repressive measures against local Chinese businessmen are being taken mostly

in those countries where the Chinese emigrants comprise but a small part of the population. In the countries where there is a large stratum of the Chinese population (Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand) the national governments are unable to restrict Chinese business activities since the latter have a significant influence on the economic policies of these countries. That is why relations between the Chinese emigrants and the local population vary from country to country.

In Indonesia the Chinese minority preserves a rather stable position despite the fact that the property of some Chinese corporations had been confiscated in 1959 and 1963. The large-scale campaign planned against Chinese village peddlers, among whom pro-Peking sentiments are very strong, has also flopped. Until very recently, the Chinese businessmen had occupied very strong positions in the country's internal trade. They had been responsible for one-fourth of the entire volume of foreign trade.

The Chinese emigrants also played an important role in the plantation economy, community services, transport and the processing industry. Even after the October 1965 events—when the leading role of the Chinese in the abortive coup in Indonesia as exposed and steps were taken to curb Chinese business and other activities — they still control local trade and many other branches of national economy.

In Burma, where the Government has taken a number of measures against foreign companies, the Chinese businessmen are sitting tight waiting for more opportune times. Foreign observers note, however, that there is a rise in the contraband currency operations between Burma and Thailand, Cambodia and Singapore, in particular the smuggling of Chinese capital.

In Thailand the influence of the Chinese emigration is indeed very great in spite of some res-

They also carry out most of the internal and external trade operations. In the past few years the Chinese investors have been responsible for about one-fifth of all capital investments in Thailand's economy. This has been possible mainly because of the fact that the Chinese businessmen have succeeded in bribing the top-ranking Thai Officials and have thus established an understanding with the country's elite.

Despite serious impediments placed in the way of Chinese businessmen in the Philippines, they still enjoy fairly favourable conditions for their activities. The Chinese are answerable for 20 per cent of all new capital investments which were made in the Philippines in the period 1949-1963. The Chinese have large assets in the Philippines in textile, metallurgical food, cellulose and other industries.

In Malaysia and Singapore, the Chinese command strong positions in trade, tin industry, rubber industry and in the growing of pineapples as well as in banking and insurance. Neither the Government of Malaysia, nor that of Singapore have been able to do little to curb the activities

of the Chinese businessmen since the economic welfare of these two countries largely depends on their activities.

An analysis of the activities of the Chinese emigrants in the countries of South-East Asia convincingly demonstrates that in spite of official bans, Chinese businessmen have numerous illegal and semi-legal channels for transferring their profits to other countries, especially to mainland China.

On their part, the Peking leaders do their utmost to encourage an influx into their own country of the Chinese capital from abroad and help the Chinese residents scattered all over Asia to obviate the obstacles created by the local authorities. The co-operation between Peking and the exploiting elements of the Chinese emigration clearly shows that with all its revolutionary fulminations, the Chinese Government actively participates in the exploitation of the people of South-East Asia and has no compunction in backing the prosperous overseas Chinese who aspire to steps into the shoes of the colonisers of yesterday.

(To be Continued)

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Peking's World Network

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NAGARJUN

A Perspective Publication

CSIR: Wanted A Bold Leadership

P. K. NAIDU

IN the anxiety to reverse the dynamic process in the CSIR, many things are sought to be done in the name of economy. It is unfortunate that there should be withholding of investments on the plea of economy instead of investing for advancement of production.

It is precisely for this very reason that men of vision and initiative are needed to man this great complex instead of small men with narrow horizons, over-cautious to the point of being bereft of initiative and callous to the social dynamism that surrounds the scientist in India today. Decentralisation or administrative procedures has been the keynote for advancement of science and it was the cardinal tenet for Professor Bhatnagar who built up the CSIR; efforts in the same spirit were made by the previous Director-General of the CSIR. Today, it is again the administrators who appear to decide what should be done in the National Laboratories, and how it should be done. There are several circulars to the Directors of the National Laboratories which not only irritate and hamper the heal-

thy activities of scientists but also will soon lead to some very awkward situations. Already some protests are believed to have come up and considerable resentment prevails.

It is not only the internal organisational irritations that the scientists have to face which go against all the declarations of the Government regarding working conditions of scientists but the policy statements made on such matters as technology and brain-drain that are contrary to the Government's declared policies. Whichever party is in power at the Centre or in the States the technical services are to be maintained. And if new elements fostering demoralisation are introduced within the scientific community in the country and among Indian scientists working abroad, then it becomes increasingly difficult to raise and improve their output. Some administrators may not like all the accepted policies but it is necessary to make the changes with proper discussion in the appropriate bodies instead of either sabotaging them or changing them by dubious methods.

Some of the changes proposed through questionable procedures are not only harmful to the scientists and technologists and hamper their useful activities but destroy whatever institutional developments that have been initiated

in the CSIR. The very fact that a committee was appointed to report on the reorganisation of establishments under the CSIR was kept a secret till the day the decisions were announced (yet not officially) shows how things are sought to be pushed through by bureaucrats behind the back of the scientists. While the full story of the Nihar Ray committee was told in the last article of this series (*Mainstream*, May 27, 1967), there are many other interesting details about it which are now coming to light. Dr. Ray who was appointed the Chairman of the Committee "to examine the question of integration of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre and the Publication and the Information Directorate of the CSIR) into one organisation", was not an impartial investigator. Long before his appointment to head the Committee, he wrote to Dr. Atma Ram, Director General of CSIR, as early as January 7, 1967 that "I would like to record that in my considered opinion the two organisations should be integrated into one." Soon after this, it was he who was asked to preside over this body "to examine the question of integration" of the two organisations! This way, the facade of an impartial enquiry was managed while decisions were virtually taken before the setting up of the Committee

This is the concluding article in the series. The earlier articles in this series appeared in Mainstream, April 29, May 6 and 27, 1967.

itself. It may be the Ministers are busy with problems of party survival but the scientists as a community should be able to express their views dispassionately on these matters.

The committee members, generally prominent officials, industrialists and scientists with multifarious activities and interests may find it wise to keep silent on such matters in view of mutual convenience and accommodative spirit.

The Malaise

The malaise with the institution of committee functioning in our country is due to the extra-academic means adopted by the men in power to give legalistic baptism to their personal whims. If one wants to condemn an organisation, the administrator chooses a group of people who do not like the Director of that organisation. If extension of the empire of the same director is the aim another set of persons is chosen. Yet if the matter is likely to face objections from effective sources it is kept secret until the stamp of a committee of sufficient authority is obtained. It is thus all the more necessary to expose the discussions and decisions to a wider section of the professional people and unless the Government can evolve a system to do so it is impossible to build up any healthy scientific tradition. Science has not flourished in any society where falsehood and dubiousness are ways of life. Even science is not free of such practices in India.

In the CSIR the proposed changes in consultation rules and

to leave science and science policies to such individuals. That is surely not the way the Scientific Policy Resolution of 1958 is to be implemented.

Dr D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission in his Shri Ram Institute Founder Memorial Lecture for this year has stressed the need for a fresh look into the role of research agencies like the CSIR, since a body like this suffers from proliferation of its activities and also from the difficulty of proper evaluation of its achievements. Dr Kothari has pressed for a Science Report to be submitted regularly to Parliament dealing not only with the progress of science but with important questions of science policy as well. In fact, the CSIR itself could be invested with the task of preparing such a report provided it is guided by people who have clarity about the content of a national science policy.

Ours is perhaps the first country in the world to have a Ministry of Scientific Research under the Prime Minister himself, (Nehru was in its charge when it was set up). The adoption of the Science Policy Resolution by Parliament in 1958 also marked a milestone in the advancement of the cause of science and technology in a developing country.

India today has seventy-four universities, institutes of technology and other bodies for science training. In 1965-66, nearly 4.5 lakh students were enrolled in science courses at the graduation level and above. It is not only necessary to know what is happening in terms of money spent, how the research is being organized, how the young scientists are being engaged but also necessary to know what are the areas in which our science policy and training are making an impact. Are these areas significant and essential; or, should we divert our very limited resources to other areas which could be useful in the national interest and also lead to a purposeful contribution to science itself?

Here is the question of providing the much-needed leadership to a body like the CSIR. It is not a question of having a personnel in charge with a good academic and research record: what is wanted is a courageous leadership capable of bold decisions and completely untrammelled by awe of the bureaucracy. Without such a leadership, the fine edifice of the CSIR threatens to stagnate into another government department and thereby deepen the crisis in science policy itself instead of helping to find a way out.

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West Asian Crisis and The French Left

SCHOFIELD CORYELL

THE outbreak of Arab-Israeli warfare has given the Gaullist regime one more occasion for refusal to fall in step completely with the United States' global strategy. At the same time, it has thrown up one more obstacle in the path of developing Left unity in France.

The attitude of the Gaullist regime has been consistent with its fundamental aim of promoting specifically French business interests and French prestige in the face of encroaching American world-power. De Gaulle—who is striving in his diplomacy to outlive the bitter legacy of the Algerian war and the Suez crisis of 1956—hopes to maintain friendly relations with the Arab nations, but at the same time wants to keep on good terms with Israel, whose airforce is equipped almost exclusively with planes furnished by the French Dassault plants.

De Gaulle's Declaration

De Gaulle refused to condemn Egypt for its action in closing the Gulf of Aqaba, and declared, in a special emergency Cabinet session, that "the problems raised by free navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, the situation of the Palestinian refugees, and the relations among the neighbouring countries in the region, should be settled by international discussions leading to an agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council." The French Government explicitly rejected the idea of common action by the "Maritime Powers" to force open the Gulf of Aqaba, and stated that "the first to open fire would be considered as the aggressor." On the outbreak of fighting, France suspended

arms deliveries to the belligerents.

The large French Communist Party endorsed this stand by the French Government, but made it clear that this did not imply a blanket approval for the entire orientation of the regime's foreign policies. The Party organ, *L'Humanite*, has been devoting editorial after editorial to the role of the American oil interests and the CIA and has consistently defended the official position of Nasser that the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba was necessitated by a threatened US inspired Israeli invasion of Left-leaning Syria, which had just made the Iraq Petroleum Company and ARAMCO pay some of their debts. Responding to charges of "anti-semitism", the Party organ made it clear that Israel's right to exist could not be denied, but pointed out that "it is the rulers in Tel-Aviv who compromise the existence of Israel. The real interest of the Israeli people is to end the policy of allegiance to Washington and to make an effort to establish peaceful relations with the neighbouring countries."

Consistent Attitude

This position clashed sharply with that adopted by the CP's electoral allies of the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left, a recently-created union of the Socialist Party, the Radical Party and the small Socialist Unity Party. This group issued an official statement on June 3 which sided unreservedly with Israel and violently stigmatised Nasser for closing the Gulf of Aqaba and refusing, together with other Arab leaders, to recognise the existence of Israel. The

Federation regretted the "precipitation with which the UN Secretary General gave satisfaction to the Egyptian Government by withdrawing the UN troops."

This attitude of the French Social-Democrats—whose leaders are Guy Mollet, Chairman of the Socialist Party, and Francois Mitterand, the Federation's Presidential candidate last year—is, in fact, quite consistent. After all, it was Guy Mollet himself who was Premier in 1956 at the time of the Franco-British-Israeli invasion of Nasser's Egypt, which had just nationalized the Suez Canal.

Gaullists Criticised

As at the time of the Suez crisis, the French Social-Democrats find themselves once again in the company of the ultra-Rightists and fascists (well-known for their virulent anti-semitism) who are filled with nostalgia for the old-style colonialism and regard the forces of Arab nationalism as the principal enemy. It was symptomatic that the moderately Leftist daily *Combat* carried on its front-page last week a passionate defence of Israel from the pen of the ultra-colonialist Jacques Soustelle, the champion of "Algerie Francaise."

The openly fascist *Aspects de la France* criticised the Gaullists for their anti-Americanism and expressed the desire for American intervention against Nasser: "Whenever the Communists and their allies display an aggressive will, who else but the United States can make them turn back?" For the French ultra-right-wing, Arab nationalism, when turned against Western interests, is equated with "Communism."

On Agriculture In The Fourth Plan

JAGANNATH MISHRA

AGRICULTURE has been from times immemorial, the primary and basic industry of India and will continue to hold that position in the foreseeable future also. For feeding the growing population of the country and as a provider of raw materials to the expanding industries, which cater to the home and export markets, agriculture should receive priority in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The role of agriculture in the Fourth Plan will be a crucial and pivotal one to attain self-sufficiency even in an adverse year and at the same time to allow for an increase in the per capita consumption on the basis of an annual increase in population by 2.2 per cent and also provide for a safety margin for lean years. This should be the aim of the planners and in this connection a production figure of 120 million tons of foodgrains has been mentioned in the Fourth Plan. If the existing levels of nutrition, admittedly deficient at present, are to be increased further to better energy requirements, not only the present, but further increases in the present dietaries will have to be envisaged.

On the basis of trends of production of the major agricultural crops over the last 15 years, the PPD (Perspective Planning Division) had estimated that output of 90 million tonnes of foodgrains could have been expected in 1965-66 if weather conditions had been normal. In fact, because of the drought, production was down at 72.3 million tonnes. Now if the rate of growth of the past 15 years is maintained in the Fourth Plan, and if there are normal weather conditions, the food-

grains production will be 106.2 million tonnes. This would be far below the target of 120 million tonnes fixed in the Draft Outline. So if the projected targets for agriculture in the Fourth Plan are to be reached, it is clear that past trends of output will have to be appreciably improved.

According to the PPD's calculation the total material inputs in agriculture which were of the order of Rs. 1890.4 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 2403.1 crores in 1965-66, must go up to Rs. 3521.5 crores in 1970-71 if the Fourth Plan targets are to be realised. The inputs from manufacture in this total of inputs have to rise from Rs 66.7 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 171 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 549.5 crores in 1970-71. The study gives estimate, derived from an input-output exercise, of the requirements of the major agricultural commodities. For this purpose, the commodities are classified according to their end-use, to underline the sectoral balances in the Plan, and the imports of foodgrains and of processed agricultural products.

In the sphere of production, the two important factors that emerged out of the experience of planning in our country are the hectic nature of agricultural production from year to year and large measure of uncertainty about prices. These may be due either to uneven emphasis on different aspects of the economy or lack of a co-ordinated approach or both. The approach to our developmental problems has been lopsided in this way. An integrated price policy is important for steady improvement in the level of production as well as economic conditions of the agricultural community.

We, however, could not evolve a definite policy either because there were extra-economic con-

siderations entering it or else, we do not have the wherewithal. Superimposed on these two limitations was the question of inflationary pressure which has given an upward spurt to prices of the essentials of life but more particularly food. The demand for food was growing due to improvement in incomes and through it the desire to consume more and better. It may be said that the approach to the problems of agricultural production was ad hoc, we have not evolved any concentrated policy about prices and productivity.

In view of the growth of population and allowing for some improvement in consumption standards, the demand for foodgrains at the end of the Fourth Plan is estimated at around 120 million tonnes. At the end of the Third Plan, production could not be more than 80 to 82 million tonnes. Shortfall in relation to original targets of the Third Plan makes the task of attaining the levels of output required by the end of Fourth Plan especially difficult.

The agricultural programmes for the Fourth Plan have to be formulated in terms of (i) a systematic effort to extend the application of science and technology, (ii) creation of more favourable economic environment, (iii) strengthening of machinery for extension and community mobilisation for agriculture, (iv) assuring adequate supplies to the maximum extent possible in areas with irrigation and assured rainfall where there are fair prospects of achieving rapid increase in production.

In the Fourth Five Year Plan agriculture will be faced with the problem of increasing productivity through proper allocation of investment within the

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sector. The problems of mobilisation of saving from the rural sector will assume greater importance during the Fourth Plan on account of the expansion of the public sector. The problem of creating appropriate organisation and agencies for increasing agricultural productivity and mobilising savings from the rural sector will assume a greater importance and urgency during the Fourth Plan. Here we concentrate in examining these three problems in the Fourth Plan.

In China the percentage of investment in agriculture industry has been higher than that in India. In the allocation of investment, industry has all along received a precedence over agriculture and both received greater emphasis than other sectors. In India, with a different political system, it is of course not possible to squeeze other sectors (which include social services) so much as in China; however, it is possible in the light of the Chinese experiences and our own to step up the percentage of investment both in Agriculture and Industry having a precedence over agriculture.

The next task to be faced in the Fourth Five Year Plan is that of increasing productivity in agriculture through an appropriate investment allocation policy within the agricultural sector. The Japanese experience during the period 1881 to 1921 is very relevant in this connection. The Japanese situation then was more or less like our own now, with average farm-holding of two to three acres consisting of a number of minute fields scattered over a wide area. In spite of this there was a great spurt in agriculture productivity during the period 1881 to 1921. The index number of area of six major crops rose from 100 in the period 1881-90 to 121 in 1911-20; yield rose from 100 to 146, and production from 100 to 177 during the same period. This gain appears to have been achieved primarily on account of liberal use of fertilisers and improvement of rice strains. The changes in technique were adopted to the condition of Japanese agriculture. The innovations were all land saving and their nature

was such that they could be applied effectively to every small farm. The capital required to bring about those improvements was relatively small compared to the increase in output obtained. Seeds of superior variety were evolved which responded favourably to increasingly heavy doses of fertilisers and were distributed through a network of seed propagation farms covering the whole country. By all these methods the farm output increased by some 75 per cent and the output of farm labour nearly doubled with relatively little capital.

Our effort in this direction has not been impressive. An increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2.5 per cent per annum which has been achieved so far is not sufficient to support any large plan of economic development. In drawing up the Fourth Plan, to the extent possible the aim must be to ensure inputs such as would support increase in agricultural production at a rate of not less than five per cent per annum. Even this rate of growth will not be adequate in all respects. The existing gap in supply is considerable and, with all the efforts that may be made, the possibility of unfavourable weather conditions cannot be disregarded. It is important that the plan for agriculture should remain sufficiently flexible to permit larger effort wherever there are prospects of achieving a break-through or wherever greater intensification is feasible.

In this sense the resources provided for agricultural development in the Plan are to be regarded as a general frame within which the most intensive effort has to be organised. At whichever point it may be possible to strengthen this effort, the aim should be to make the necessary material and financial resources available. It should be emphasised here that the physical targets to be achieved in agriculture have to be built largely from below, through detailed work in the States, specially at the district and block levels. There should also be proper selection of schemes so that optimum allocation of investible resources may be possible.

Attention should also be paid to evolve such technique as can be adopted in the present state of rural economy.

Another task that has to be faced during the Fourth Five Year Plan is the mobilisation of savings accruing in the rural sector by an increase in productivity. This is necessary for the expansion of public sector, for reducing the propensity to consume in the rural sector where it is very high, and to ensure a transfer of the surplus food accruing in agriculture sector to other sectors to secure a balance between demand and supply of food.

In India the public sector is expanding. In the first Plan, the investment in the public sector was projected to be 52 per cent of the total investment but actually it was only 48.5 per cent. In the Second Plan the investment in the public sector was projected to be 61.3 per cent of the total. But taking the savings and investment habit and pattern of the Indian economy into consideration, the actual investment in the public sector was probably 55 per cent of the total. The investment in the public sector in the Third Plan was about 60 per cent of the total. The expansion of the public sector further in the Fourth Plan will necessitate greater efforts at mobilising real savings from the economy. The major difficulty hitherto has been the inability to tap the savings from the rural sector of the economy. It has been estimated by Professor K.N. Raj that while Government taxation has probably taken away 40 per cent of the increase in income in urban sector, it has only tapped only 14 to 15 per cent of the increase in rural income between 1952-53 and 1960-61.

According to the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the per capita tax is uniformly and distinctly high in urban than in rural areas.

The whole emphasis of taxation will now, therefore, have to shift from industrial and urban income to agricultural income, and to this extent the States will have to bear the brunt of the additional mobilisation programme in the Fourth Plan. Unfortunately, the scheme of federal

financial management has been such that errant States that have been in heavy arrears on the mobilisation front and run on overdrafts seem to be tampered for political and other considerations.

A substantial part of plan investment is directed towards the agricultural sector, yet it is this segment of the economy which has consistently escaped its responsibility in sharing the development financing burden. Even if one-fourth of the agricultural incomes representing miscellaneous sources of income and another one-fourth representing the incomes attributable to 75 per cent of the farming population in this country with less than 10 acres of land were excluded; 7 to 8 per cent levy on farm incomes will meet as much as Rs 450 crores a year. Both land revenue which is based on history rather than on current economics, and the instrument of an agricultural income tax can be justifiably exploited by the States to impose this modest burden on a sector that has been the greater beneficiary of plan development.

In India it would be necessary to siphon off a part of the increase in productivity in agriculture not only to finance the public sector but also to prevent it from being consumed. Professor Raj has suggested certain measures to mobilise savings from the rural sector by way of taxation. He suggests that land tax should be doubled on all holdings above five acres. This measure will not affect about 75 per cent of rural households who own about 17 per cent of the total area of land. Bigger landowners who seem to benefit most from an increase in agricultural productivity will only be affected by this measure. He also proposes to tax on agricultural rent which may amount to ten per cent of the gross produce of the tenants. He also supports the case for a surcharge on land holdings above five acres under commercial crops with adjustments for different kinds of commercial crops. To make these taxes acceptable to the rural population a part of the yield

from these taxes should be spent locally on local development projects.

The most important task that is to be faced however, is the development of suitable agencies and organisation to increase agricultural productivity.

This involves in the main two questions: the question of having suitable agencies for popularising the improved agricultural techniques in the countryside and the question of having a suitable agrarian structure to absorb these techniques. Agencies have already been created for rural development through the establishment of Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks and Gram Panchayats. But as the Fifth Evaluation Report on the working of the Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks shows, they have not been very successful in arousing popular enthusiasm for the acceptance of the new techniques and practices in rural areas. It is now proposed to transfer the responsibility for programme and of its relationship with wider aspects of development planning and execution of the programme, to the representatives of rural population.

This is a welcome move and there is no doubt that when this democratic decentralisation occurs, there will be more popular enthusiasm for the rural development schemes and greater measure success in their implementation. In Rajasthan and Andhra steps have already been taken in this direction and it is expected that other States will follow their examples.

The Gram Panchayats can also be utilised for the implementation of development programmes. A large number of States have established Panchayats. But they are yet to play their vital role in the development of the rural community.

The major difficulty however lies in the evolution of an appropriate agrarian structure which will have the capacity to absorb superior techniques. Measures were taken during the First Plan period to abolish intermediaries in land and to consolidate the holdings. In the Second Plan period tenancy reform progressed to give security of tenure to the

tenants. Besides this a ceiling on agricultural holdings is sought to be imposed to reduce the inequalities in the distribution of land. These measures are likely to increase substantially the number of small-peasant owners and aggravate the problem. But this is regarded as a preliminary steps towards the reconstruction of the agrarian economy. The ultimate objective laid down in the Second Plan is co-operative village management, and co-operative farming is regarded as a preliminary step in that direction.

In India, large-scale transition to co-operative farming in the near future is not possible without recourse to coercive methods. The individualist tradition is very strong here. There is great inequality in the distribution of land which land reform measures may reduce but cannot eliminate. There is no chance for consolidation of holdings to take place through voluntary methods and there is not enough capital to absorb all the surplus labour from agriculture through a process of rapid industrialisation. So co-operative farming can, now, only be tried in a limited scale in some areas where favourable psychological and economic condition exist. It may be extended to other areas in course of time when the ground is ready.

In the short run it would be better to start with individual farming with service co-operatives. Population pressures and small holdings are no great obstacles for realisation of higher yield per acre if proper credit, marketing and purchasing facilities are provided through co-operatives.

What is essential is that provision of credit should be related to the production plan of each farm, and to marketing. Their success would be further ensured if the State purchases surplus foodgrains from the co-operatives at prices fixed in advance and remunerative to farmers. If necessity arises, farmers with uneconomic holdings should be forced to form co-operative farming societies and the surplus family labour may be given employment in local development works.

Notes on Hindu-Muslim Unity—II

SAJJAD ZAHEER

I have tried to show in the first part of this contribution (*Mainstream* June 17) that the problem of national unity—and Hindu Muslim unity was its main plank—was inextricably bound with the development of mass revolutionary struggle of our people as a whole for political, economic, and social emancipation. I have also tried to show that the national bourgeois leadership allied with feudal elements, was incapable and unwilling to weld our people together, and lead them forward into revolutionary channels because of its narrow class interests.

Only such a movement could have carried in its sweep the mass of Muslim peasantry, concentrated in the main in Western Punjab, Eastern Bengal, Sindh and the North Western Frontier Province—the main areas which now constitute Pakistan. Unfortunately the Leftist forces at this time were too weak to displace the Rightist leadership.

If this failure on the economic and political field was dismal and tragic, in the social and the cultural field, it was even more so. British rule had brought in its wake the machine age, the railways and telegraphs, large-scale machine industry, elements of modern education and science

and liberal democratic ideas to our country. The imperialists united the country and gave it administrative unity to further their own political and economic interest—the ruthless exploitation of the people and the economic resources of our vast and rich land for the benefit of the British ruling-class. It was necessary for them to keep India industrially underdeveloped so that British industry might make super-profits from the Indian market. And although in Britain itself liberal democratic ideas, rationalism, the scientific outlook and the ideas of socialism had spread, in India, the British fostered and encouraged fissiparous tendencies; obscurantism; irrationality and cultural and educational backwardness—in fact all those tendencies which we had inherited from our feudal or even tribal past, which divided and inter-divided our people into antagonistic religious and caste groups. Nevertheless imperialist economic, and administrative necessities led to the growth of those new social forces also—the new intelligentsia equipped with modern and democratic outlook; the new industrial classes—the bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat—which combined with the vast and impoverished peasantry and the fast growing army of landless labourers were to prove the grave-diggers of British imperialist rule in India.

Cultural Renaissance

The cultural renaissance of modern India began in the later half of the nineteenth century precisely in the strongest citadel of British imperialism—Bengal,

more exactly in the new city of Calcutta. Social reform, a rational outlook, repudiation of outmoded and injurious customs and habits and superstitious beliefs, modern liberal education, the idea of the equality of man, the assertion of Indian national personality, through the assimilation and appreciation of the enormous treasure house of Indian cultural heritage, the growth of modern literature in Indian languages, were the main characteristics of this cultural renaissance. That this cultural renaissance morally and spiritually equipped and fortified the Indian people as a whole to uplift themselves and struggle against British imperialism and for a life of democratic freedom is undeniable.

Inadequacies

But it is necessary also to look at its inadequacies and shortcomings if we are to understand why we could not prevent the tragic partition of our country and why Indian national integration is quite a vast, difficult and complicated problem which remains to be solved in India, as well as in Pakistan—and on the solution of which depends the development of friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries—and the healthy, normal democratic development of India and Pakistan both.

It should be admitted that Indian cultural and educational renaissance was tainted from its very beginning with what has come to be known as revivalism both Hindu and Muslim. In a country where out of our population of about 400 millions in the

This article is based on the author's contribution at the Seminar on India and contemporary Islam held last month at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. The first part of the article appeared in last week's Mainstream, June 17, 1967.

earlier decades of the twentieth century, every fourth Indian was a Muslim, how could these two major communities be united to live together and to struggle together for national independence and for building a democratic and modern society in free India, if the one aspired to build and revive a society based purely on Hindu religion and traditions and the other on Islamic religion and traditions, whatever those two traditions might be? In our long history, beginning from the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa cultures, we have mixed races and peoples and cultures more varied and numerous—the Dravidians, the Aryans, the Huns, the Sakas, the Arabs, the Turks, the Pathans, the Parsees and recently a comparatively small number of Europeans—than perhaps in any other country in the world.

Our History

Our history is a history of invasions, wars and conquests and defeats between the incoming foreigners and the indigenous populations; it is also a fascinating panorama of the growth of cultures and civilisations acting and re-acting on each other and our people as a whole developing the art of life and living at once rich in its variety, colourfulness and creative assimilation of disparate and even antagonistic elements.

It is open to modern Indians to study the history of our disparities, our internecine clashes and bloody conflicts, of those tendencies and forces which in historic times divided and separated us; but it should be impermissible to maintain or even to glorify whether in the sphere of culture or religion or history or even day-to-day living the separateness whose elements, owing to the backwardness of our society, still exist amongst our people.

As a matter of fact the reactionaries go even further. They not only glorify the separateness, they distort history, to serve their very mundane class interests. For example the purely political civil war between the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, and the Mahratta hero Shivaji is

painted by some historians as a conflict between the Muslim and the Hindu, whereas the fact is that Aurangzeb's numerous and long military campaigns were directed more against the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, the Muslim Pathans of the North West; and that a major portion of the Imperial Moghul army consisted of the Rajputs and was led by them; that Aurangzeb, a bigot though he was, knew very well to separate religion from his political affairs. And similarly, Shivaji's navy and artillery was manned by Muslim seamen and soldiers and he had the utmost respect for the religion of his Muslim countrymen. Innumerable examples of gross distortion of Indian history by revivalists and narrow and medieval-minded Hindu and Muslim historians, scholars and publicmen can be given. The nationalism of Lokmanya B.G. Tilak was not altogether *Indian*—but *Hindu* nationalism; even the fervent patriotic cult of Bengali and Maharashtrian revolutionary terrorists took its mystic inspiration from Hindu mythology, and the edge of the cult of Shivaji and Maharana Pratap was directed primarily against the Indian Muslims.

Distortion

Many of our historians (R.C. Majumdar and Vidyalkar amongst them) talk in terms of India being under foreign administration for one thousand years (counting 800 years of Pathan and Turkish rule, and 200 years of British rule as the total period). Although, of course, whatever the faults of Muslim feudal rulers of India, they having settled in this country and having cut off their links with Central Asia or Afghanistan had become Indians in every sense of the term. This outlook permeated our literature also. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Anand Math* and the song *Bande Matram* eulogised the Sanyasi revolt against the Indian rulers of the Muslim faith and consequently this and similar literature could not be expected to rouse the patriotic sentiments of the Indian Muslims. It is no wonder therefore that this kind of litera-

ture and historical and social understanding bred and foster communalism and separation of the worst sort. The logic of this position led to the formation of organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, and more recently to the development of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and its off-shoot the Jan Sangh. It was in 1935 at the Ahmedabad session of the Hindu Mahasabha that V.D. Savarkar an ex-revolutionary and president of the Hindu Mahasabha, propounded the wrong two-nation theory before Jinnah and the Muslim League had accepted it. And Bhai Parmanand another leader of the Mahasabha wrote in 1938:

“Mr. Jinnah argues that there are *two nations* in the country. If Mr. Jinnah is right and I believe he is the Congress theory of building up a common nationality falls to the ground. The situation has got only two solutions. One is the partition of the country into two and the other to allow a Muslim State to grow within the State” (emphasis added).

The theories of Guru Golwalker, leader of the RSS, that only Hindus should be considered as Indians, and all other Indians, including Muslims, Parsis and Christians who believe in other faiths are outside the pale of the Indian nation, are well-known.

A parallel development took place among the Muslims of India. Hali and Iqbal both in their poems bemoan the lost glory of Islam which was in reality the inevitable destruction of the Muslim empires and kingdoms in India and elsewhere (Western and Central Asia and North Africa and Spain) mainly through the inner contradictions of rapacious feudalism, which they in fact were. It is significant that the first sparks of Muslim nationalism and anti-imperialism rose among the Indian Muslim intelligentsia at the unhappy predicament of the Ottoman Turkish Empire in the first decade of this century. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana

Mohammad Ali, Dr. M. A. Ansari as also the anti-British Ulema of the Deoband school roused the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian Muslims because the Western imperialists were attacking the Turkish Empire during the Tripolitan and the Balkan wars. It never occurred to these gentlemen, that the Ottoman Empire itself was, like its neighbouring Tsarist Empire, a vast prison-house of nations—of the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Rumanians, and above all their fellow Muslims, the Arabs; and that these unhappy peoples also deserved at least a word of sympathy. Even in the Urdu fiction of this period the novels of Abdul Halim Sharar, and the *Fisana-e-Azad* of Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar (imbued as this Kashmiri Pandit of Lucknow was with the prevalent Muslim sentiments of the period) fantastic stories of heroic exploits of Muslim generals and warriors against Christian “infidels” have been told.

Waliullah

Permit me to make mention here of the cult of Shah Waliullah of Delhi, the eminent Muslim theologian of the period of decline of Mughal Empire (died 1762). Not being a theologian, I am not competent to express an opinion about his theological eminence, nor with the validity of his criticism of the decadence of Muslim nobility. But the political effects of his teaching led to nothing else but the futile effort to re-establish a reformed Muslim feudalism. When put into practice a century later by his followers, it led, on the one hand, to a struggle against the Sikh rule in the Punjab—helping thereby the British imperialists who, therefore, encouraged it; and on the other, to an unsuccessful attempt to establish alien rule among the Pathan tribesmen, ending in the tragic fiasco of Balakot. I am amazed that my learned friend Prof. K. A. Nizami, in his erudite paper read in this Seminar does not see this fundamental fact and attributes the defeat of Mujahid in the North West frontier to

their “ignorance of military technique”, and “to their inability to handle human material”. The British imperialists in the twentieth century were equipped with the latest of military technique, including aerial bombing. They also knew the art of bombing the Tribal maliks and creating disunity amongst them. And yet neither they nor their Moghul predecessors nor the Pakistani rulers today have been able to subdue and enslave the valiant Pathan tribesmen simply because these fight in their own mountainous land and for their national freedom.

Glorious Role

We find, however, that the Ulema following the Waliullahi school of thought did undergo certain changes in the later period, changes which were the healthy result of force of circumstances and the realities of the Indian situation in the nineteenth century. I refer here to their glorious role in anti-imperialist uprisings in Bihar and Bengal, and in the great Rebellion of 1857, and later in the Non-cooperation of Khilafat movements. Again as an offshoot of this movement we find that the ideas propounded by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi went beyond mere anti-imperialism; and impressed by the achievements of the Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917, Maulana Sindhi developed theories which might be termed “Islamic socialism”.

I find also, that some young Maulvis of the Deoband school have found their way into the Communist Party of India and one Maulavi sits now in the Indian Parliament on the benches elected from the heartland of the nationalist Muslim area of the U.P., Amroha-Moradabad.

This, however, is still a minority tendency. In other Muslim religious schools also this tendency is manifest. I refer, for example to Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who presided over the first conference of the Communist Party of India held at Kanpur, who was a leader of Kanpur's industrial proletariat, and who even when he joined the Muslim League wanted that its funda-

mental objective should be to establish a socialist Republic in India. Hasrat Mohani was also one of the founding members of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association. In his religious beliefs he was a devout Sufi of the Chistia School. Among the younger scions of the Firangi Mahal school of Lucknow also the Leftist socialist ideology has penetrated.

In conclusion I wish to state that the vested interests in our country will not and cannot succeed in weaning the Indian Muslim masses and the Muslim intelligentsia from the path of democratic, secular, scientific and socialist advance, which the Indian people as a whole have placed before themselves as the path of their economic, political and social advance. They will learn more and more from the experience of life, and from world developments that in the present epoch of science and rapid development of technology when the imperialist system has broken down, a great majority of the erstwhile colonial peoples of Asia and Africa have gained their freedom and one-third of the world is socialist, that is the only correct path of advance, of material and spiritual fulfilment for mankind as a whole.

Long Process

The process of this understanding might be long and arduous, and serious ideological battles might have to be waged for the triumph of the democratic and socialist ideology against obscurantism and revivalism and cultural and social separatism when the Muslim masses realise that these are the instruments of the exploiting classes to weaken and divide the progressive forces of the Indian people as whole as the Muslim peoples of Algeria, Egypt and Syria and as the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia and Caucasia have already done they will struggle and participate more and more for the new social ideals. The best traditions of the history and culture of Muslim peoples of the last thirteen hundred years would inspire them to do this.

(See Author's Note on Page 35)

Fourth General Elections In Rajasthan

A Political Analysis

K. L. KAMAL

A probe into the intricate labyrinth of the tradition-ridden feudal state of Rajasthan struggling its way into modernity offers an unique opportunity for examining the capacity of political democracy to effect social and economic change.

A brief study of the politico-socio-economic background of Rajasthan may be of great help in understanding the Rightist challenge which is essentially the outcome of the Fourth General Elections in the State.

The princely states of this area were largely untouched by the impact of British India. The absence of any widespread movement challenging the traditional order prior to independence prevented experience in intensive political organization and activity.

Secondly, the immediate and sudden extension of the franchise to all adults where little formal political organization existed before is in sharp contrast to the development of party organization in the Western democracies, where the gradual extension of the franchise had been the rule.

Thirdly, Rajasthan had not been under a common administration prior to 1949 and this had encouraged the development of politics along regional lines paralleling the boundaries of the old princely states.

Fourthly, land ownership, prior to independence, coincided with caste divisions and the politics

of the jagirdari abolition, thus, demonstrates a significant change in the basis of political power within the new political system.

Fifthly, Rajasthan is unlike many other former British Indian provinces where the tradition of a strongly-built Congress party had continued in the form of dominant one party states. Being divided into a number of princely states, the different political groups could not be systematically organized and co-ordinated so as to give rise to a well-developed and fully integrated political party.

Sixthly, the erstwhile Hindu rulers of Rajasthan claimed to be the custodians of Hindu Dharma and Sanskriti and this has helped the rulers to win the confidence of the masses in a traditional society where religion, naturally is a force to be reckoned with.

Seventhly, Rajasthan has

witnessed political instability particularly before Sri Sukhadia's rise to Chief Ministership on November 13, 1954. The Congress suffered badly at the polls in the First and the Third and the Fourth General Elections. Although only the Congress has remained in the saddle the impression that it left on the mind of the common man has been that it may not succeed in giving a stable administration.

Lastly, the common man has been suffering from acute hardship which arose, among other causes in the transition from feudal and an agrarian social order to a mercantile one. The idea of a socialist society remained a distant hope but the old one remained firmly clinging to it and many people in this traditional society, who were not convinced of the rosy future looked back nostalgically to the old days under the rule of the princes.

The Three General Elections

TABLE I : 1952

Parties	Seats won	Percentage of seats	Percentage of votes
Congress	82	53.7	39.8
Socialists	2	1.1	4.3
P.S.P.	—	—	—
Communists	—	—	0.6
Jan Sangh	11	5.8	5.8
Swatantra	—	—	—
S.S.P.	—	—	—
R.R.P.	24	12.6	11.4
Kisan Sabha	—	—	—
Independents & others.	41	26.8	28.1
Total Seats	160		

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TABLE II : 1957

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Seats won</i>	<i>Percentage of seats</i>	<i>Percentage of votes</i>
Congress	119	67.6	44.9
Socialists	1	0.6	2.5
P.S.P.			
Communists	1	0.6	3.0
Jan Sangh	6	3.4	5.4
Swatantra	—	—	—
S.S.P.	—	—	—
R.R.P.	17	9.7	9.9
Kisan Sabha	1	0.5	0.6
Independents & others	31	17.6	33.6
Total Seats	176		

TABLE III : 1962

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Seats won</i>	<i>Percentage of seats</i>	<i>Percentage of votes</i>
Congress	88	50.0	40.0
Socialists	2	1.1	1.5
P.S.P.			
Communists	5	2.1	5.4
Jan Sangh	15	8.5	9.2
Swatantra	36	20.4	17.2
S.S.P.	5	2.8	3.8
R.R.P.	3	1.7	2.0
Kisan Sabha	—	—	—
Independents & others	22	12.5	20.9
Total Seats	176		

Tables I, II, III show the party position in the Three General Elections. The tables—First and the Third show the ruling party in a bad shape. From a study of the Table No. III it is clear that the rightist parties, namely the Swatantra and Jan Sangh, without any electoral adjustment, could capture as many as 51 seats in a house of 176 members and secure 26.4 per cent of votes. It is also clear that as the political parties became more articulate and organised, the number of the Independents gradually declined.

II

Two facts need be taken into consideration in connection with the Congress position in the State politics. Firstly, internal disorder and disunity deserve a special reference. The controversial man of Rajasthan politics, Sri Kumbharam Arya although, a member of the Sukhadia Cabinet, was in a faint mood. He was now

overtly a dissident leader and among those who joined him were the Rajput leader and a Minister, the late Maharaja Harish Chandra of Jhalawar, Sri Ram Karan Joshi, Sri Shobha Ram (both ex-Ministers) and Sri Jwala Prasad, Secretary, Congress Legislature Party.

Although the Arya group lost to Sri Sukhadia twice in the organizational contests in the months preceding the General

Elections, the former did not concede its defeat. The Arya group not only left the present body but also formed Janta Party while charging the Chief Minister with 'perpetuation of misrule by manipulation and that the Congress had become a governmental party and not a People's Party.' The new party was now determined to overthrow the Sukhadia government.

Secondly, the Swatantra-Jan Sangh-Janta Party electoral alliance was the greatest landmark in the recent politics of Rajasthan. This alliance constituted a great force to be reckoned with and the most formidable challenge to the Congress.

The extent of this challenge is shown in the table IV.

The electorate did not vote Congress to power. The Congress was slightly weakened as compared to its successes in the First and the Third General Elections during which it faced the debacle although its percentage of votes increased. The electorate although strengthened the Rightist parties, namely the Swatantra and Jan Sangh, it did not give them the verdict to rule even in collaboration with the elected members of the Janta Party who contested as Independents.

The Congress which faced the electorate was what till recently was known as the Sukhadia group. Sri Kumbha Ram Arya, Maharaja Harish Chandra, Maharajkumar Brij Raj Singh, INTUC Vice-Presidents Sri Bhagwat Singh Bhandari and Sri Ganga Lahri Parikh, Sri Ram Karan Joshi and scores of other leading Congressmen with their supporters had left the ruling party. At least 100

TABLE IV : 1967

<i>Parties</i>	<i>Seats won.</i>	<i>Percentage of seats</i>	<i>Percentage of votes</i>
Congress	89	46.20	41.44
Swatantra	49	26.63	22.45
Jan Sangh	22	12	11.61
S.S.P.	8	4.34	4.76
Communist (M)	—	—	1.15
Communist (R)	1	0.54	0.95
P.S.P.	—	—	0.81
Republican	—	—	00.16
Independents	15	8.15	16.66

Congressmen fought against the official Congress nominees. The Congress also could not draw upon the unattached legislators as in 1962 because of the fact that most of the Congress dissidents contested as Independents and this also helped in eliminating the chances of any sizeable number of other Independents getting elected.

The election results have also proved that the electorate of Rajasthan has no respect for the Communists. All the 21 candidates of the Communist Party (Marxist) have been defeated and

only three of them could save their security deposit. The General Secretary of the Rajasthan Committee of the CPM, Sri Mohan Poonamia was among those who have lost their security deposits. The CPI (Right) also did not fare well. Only one of its 20 nominees has been elected. The General Secretary of the State Committee of the CPI (Right) Sri H.K. Vyas also forfeited his deposit.

All the six Republican nominees for the Assembly have also been defeated. None of them could save his deposit.

TABLE V
Division-wise Party Position in the Assembly

Divisions	Total of Seats	No. Cong- ress	Swatan- tra	Jan Sangh	SSP	Com- munists	Indepen- dents
Ajmer	75	27	28	9	5	1	5
Bikaner	19	11	1	1	1	—	5
Jodhpur	38	19	16	1	—	—	2
Kota	16	2	2	11	—	—	1
Udaipur	36	30	2	—	2	—	2
	184	89	49	22	8	1	15

TABLE VI
Strongholds of the Parties as per Assembly results
(Districts)

Districts.	Congress Total No. of Seats Contested	Seats won
Udaipur	13	12
Chittorgarh	7	6
Bhilwara	8	7
Jodhpur	8	6
	Swatantra Party	
Jaipur	17	11
Pati	7	5
	Jan Sangh	
Kota	8	8
	S.S.P.	
Bharatpur.	10	4
	Independents	
Churu	6	4

TABLE VII
Division-wise Party position in Parliamentary Seats

Party	Seats won	Divisions returning the candidates				
		Ajmer	Jodhpur	Bikaner	Kota	Udaipur
Congress	10	3	2	1	—	4
Swatantra	8	5	3	—	—	—
Jan Sangh	3	1	—	—	2	—
Independents.	2	1	—	1	—	—

Udaipur District in particular from where Sri Sukhadia hails and the Division in general, has been the stronghold of the Congress Party. Despite the fact that the leader of the Swatantra Party Maharaval Laxman Singh who also became the leader of the combined anti-Congress Opposition comes from Udaipur Division the Congress chances could not be threatened. Even in his own erstwhile Dungarpur State over whose destinies he presided over for a long period the Congress captured three out of four seats. The Maharaval himself emerged successful severely battered.

What is surprising is the Congress success in Jodhpur District. Despite the combined Swatantra-Jan Sangh-Janta Party threat in addition to the influence of Raj Dadi, the Congress captured not only six out of eight Assembly Seats, it also won the Parliamentary Seat. The Party success in Ganganagar District where it captured seven out of nine seats is also noteworthy. Ganganagar District is a predominantly Jat area where the influence of Jat leader Sri Kumbharam Arya was considered to be formidable; but here too the Congress hold had not weakened. Jodhpur, the seat of traditional-feudal influence, could not reverse the Congress chances.

Jaipur continues to be the stronghold of Swatantra owing largely to the traditional influence of the princely order with Maharani Gayatri Devi in the vanguard. But this time the Party could bag only eleven seats out of seventeen whereas in 1962 it had captured as many as fifteen seats. The percentage of votes polled by the Maharani in the Parliamentary constituency was also substantially reduced and her defeat in Malpura Assembly constituency was a major setback for the Maharani and her party. Her defeat amply demonstrates the fact that the princes are no longer invincible and the princely order is losing its traditional influence although it is not extinct. It also means that the princes will have to do something more than banking upon their traditional image. But this time the support to the Swatantra has broadened and its

hold on the Nagaur, Pali and Jhunjhunu districts has increased. But this has less to do with its performance during the last five years and owes more to the anti-Congress sentiments and the formidable Swatantra alliance with the Big Business Houses.

Kota is the seat of the Jan Sangh. It is remarkable that Jan Sangh captured all the eight Assembly seats in this district and both the parliamentary seats in the Division.

Udaipur, Jaipur and Kota districts are the strongholds of the Congress, Swatantra and Jan Sangh respectively. Churu is the seat of Independents who belong to the Janta Party while Bharatpur district has returned SSP nominees in a good number but surprisingly enough, on the princely support of the Maharaja.

The success of the parties in the above districts in particular and many other districts in general has much to do with activity or

inactivity of the princes in their respective areas. While the leanings of the Udaipur rulers on the Congress side have to some extent, contributed to its success, the anti-Congress activity of the Jaipur and the Kota families strengthened the Swatantra-Jan Sangh alliance and particularly the rôle of the former led to major Congress reverses.

The election campaign this time was conducted in the tradition of the past political struggles in the country especially those directed against the British rule since the First World War. The strong hand of the British and princely power, as well as the inability of the Praja Mandal leaders of the different Princely States of Rajasthan to come together for prolonged activities hindered the growth of well-knit political organizations that might have covered the major part of the population of this part of the country and helped to carry out a long-

term strategy providing for successes as well as reverses. In the absence of a strong organization or long-term plan, political activities tended to concentrate around a few prominent personalities who, rather than a body of followers or the masses, played the decisive rôle in the campaigns. Since political movements had to rely on upsurge of emotions, among the people, mass passions had to be aroused to a high pitch by whatever means, not least by provoking atrocities and courting martyrdom. This time the Opposition parties in arousing and inflaming the mass passions left the Congress miles behind. The ruling party was on the defensive while the Opposition grew aggressive. The Congress although now installed in power emerged out of the elections severely battered and the Rightist opposition although strengthened could not feel jubilant since it could not be voted to power.

Congress And Democratic Socialism

M. M. KHULLAR

AFTER centuries of political subjugation India started her career as an independent nation in 1947. The Constitution proclaimed India a Sovereign Democratic Republic in 1950. Its Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated our goals which laid emphasis on equality and social justice. The AICC session at Ajmer in July 1954 declared the establishment of a coöperative commonwealth and a Welfare State as the objectives of the Congress Party.

We moved a step forward when in January 1955 the following resolution was adopted at Avadi: "In order to realise the objective of the Congress as laid

down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State policy of the Constitution of India planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a *socialistic pattern of society*, where the principal means of production are under *social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up* and there is *equitable distribution* of the national wealth".

Banking

Then followed the resolutions at Bhubaneshwar which attempted to spell out the essential ingredients of Democratic Socialism. In the Congress Manifesto issued on the eve of the Fourth General Election, a pointed reference was

made to social control over banks.

In the Congress Working Committee Resolution passed on May 12 a mandate seems to have been given to the Government for bringing about social control of banks, inclusion of general insurance in the public sector and progressive takeover of the export and import trade by State agencies. All this is meant to accelerate the country's march towards Democratic Socialism. The Committee has further recommended the working out of a national policy of public distribution of foodgrains, particularly to the vulnerable sections, organization of consumer coöperatives to cover urban and rural areas for the supply of essential commodities at fair prices and the adoption of positive steps

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for the provision of minimum needs to the entire community and as a first step the promulgation of a socialist charter for children to ensure the provision of high-protein food and such other amenities as could be arranged in a phased programme.

The Committee also condemned conspicuous consumption and referred to the compelling need to impose limitations on urban income and property. The Government has been advised to adopt concrete measures to prevent racketeering in land in urban areas. The Committee also emphasized the desirability of implementing tenancy reforms, and a rural works programme.

Other aspects covered were credit for agricultural labour against personal security or assets, effective implementation of minimum wage legislation for agricultural labour, a national programme of wells, conservation of water and utilization of scientific methods for the supply of drinking water in rural areas and ending of privileges other than privy purses enjoyed by ex-rulers.

In the general discussion on democratic socialism the various planks mentioned were : *equality of opportunity, non-concentration of political and economic power, and orientation of production for social purposes.*

Disparities

It appears that nothing striking has been added to existing literature and documents including the Constitution which could convince the common man that a big leap towards socialism is imminent. Democratic socialism essentially means a democratic form of Government coupled with an economy organised on socialist principles. So far the country has only had a frustrating experience, and the vision of an egalitarian society has become more distant and blurred. Resolutions have been at variance with performance. The findings of the Mahalanobis Committee, and the Monopolies Commission and the revelations made by the Hazari report clearly point to increasing concentration of wealth and economic power and

widening gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Control over funds has been identified as the principal weapon with the business houses to build up their industrial empires and extend their influence in different spheres of production. We should not, however, forget that the Governmental policies of assisting and promoting industries and supplying industrial finance have strengthened Big Business instead of decentralizing and widely distributing economic power.

Cracks in Our Structure

The inevitable and necessary burdens of planned economic development and increasing usurpation of economic power by a small minority of rich people has brought to the forefront the cracks and contradictions of our present structure and organization. The situation seems to be no different from the one visualized by Harold J. Laski in 1935 when he observed: "What is now clear is the vital fact that the class relations of our society have become incompatible with the maintenance of social peace. They have brought to light the contradiction between our power to produce and power to distribute in a way that makes a great paradox of our time—our poverty in the midst of potential plenty—intolerable to those who have to pay the price for it."

An objective assessment of our past experience indicates glaring shortfalls in regard to equitable distribution of wealth and economic power, whereas in the sphere of production the Government seems to have made reasonable headway as far as its share in the reproducible tangible wealth and volume of investments in the public sector are concerned.

Nehru had envisaged political democracy as a means to economic democracy. Growth of monopoly and privilege was in his mind the anti-thesis of economic democracy or socialism. At the All-India Congress Committee session at Jaipur in 1953 he observed: "Monopoly is the enemy of socialism. To the extent that it has grown during the last

few years we have drifted away from the goal of socialism." Much earlier, in his *Glimpses of World History* he had pointed out that, "Democracy, if it means anything, means equality; not merely the equality of possessing a vote, but economic and social equality." Unfortunately, we have not yet gone beyond equality of vote because reducing the economic distance between the various strata of society is something in which, in spite of our best efforts, we have failed. Here the core of the problem is the institution of private property because glaring inequalities arise through ownership and control of property where even progressive taxation does not seem to have made a satisfactory impact. In this sense, nationalisation or effective social control is an imperative in regard to which there should be no hesitation or remission on the part of the State authorities.

What Gandhiji Said

Harping on Constitutional rights in order to preserve privileges and vested interests is inconsistent with the ideals of democratic socialism. Writing in *Young India* in 1930, Gandhiji recognised "the presence in our midst of indigenous interests that have sprung up from British rule, the interests of monied men, speculators, scrip-holders, land-holders, factory owners and the like."

Gandhiji further observed that it should not be difficult for them to see that the holding of millions (of rupees) is a crime when millions of their kith and kin were starving.

The talk of 'liberty' on the part of privileged sections of the community is essentially a means to preserve their privileges to the extent that freedom of combat among unequal forces invariably results in adding to the strength of the powerful. In the words of Laski, "The liberty of capitalist democracy is essentially an aristocratic conception. It is an attempt to deny the right of Government to invade certain spheres of behaviour in which the dominant members of society wish to be left alone." In these

circumstances, there should be no difficulty or hesitation in recognising the truth that liberty operates only upon the plane of equality, otherwise it is a name of 'noble sound and squalid result.' Again, unless the State intervenes in a big way, "the slow erosion of capitalism is not dramatic enough to have an intense or wide effect in a short space of time. From this angle, clearly, the obvious technique of anyone who desires to change the existing class structure of society in these countries lies in the fullest possible exploration of the constitutional opportunities they offer" (Harold J. Laski.)

Progress Blocked

If necessary, the Constitution should be amended to selectively curtail certain rights to the extent that free exercise of such rights blocks progress towards the goal democratic Socialism. Even in democratic societies, activities and propaganda that go contrary to the fundamental beliefs of the society are not tolerated. For example, to propagate the Communist ideology in the United States provokes hostility on the part of Government and its network of specialized agencies. There should be no doubt in our minds that democratic socialism is a fundamental belief of Indian society. The transitory or crucial phase through which the nation is passing today warrants that we evolve a concept of *historico-relative non-essential freedoms*—which should comprise the freedoms in the sphere of production, consumption, trade, accumulation of wealth, press and platform and hobnobbing with foreign agencies and powers—which the country, holding its national interests supreme, can ill afford as these may, in the present situation, internally or externally jeopardize or compromise the interests of the Indian people.

Confronted with growing concentration of wealth and economic power as well as a few other challenges in respect of food, prices, unemployment, balance of payments and foreign indebtedness, it is necessary that:

(a) there should be *growth of the public sector* for speedier development and as a counter-vailing power;

(b) there should be restriction of the *historico-relative non-essential freedoms* that tend to bring about lop-sided growth or inhibit growth or otherwise impair the sense of mission, unity of purpose and national solidarity. For instance, these freedoms will include the liberty to produce terylene wear, transistors, television sets, cosmetics and the like when essential commodities are in short supply; the freedom to hoard, speculate and trade in foodgrains when there is starvation in parts of the land; the freedom to indulge in conspicuous consumption when vast masses of people are groaning under poverty; the freedom to preach secession, spread foreign propaganda, practice fanaticism in politics, connive at political instability through foreign money and intervention when the country needs national unity etc., and

(c) there should be limitation on the rule of money in intelligent opinion formation and its articulation vis-a-vis the highest authority or organ of State.

Misgivings

This would imply that money is made to play a progressively declining role in the control of education, press and legislatures. If inescapable, the Government must not fight shy of measures such as nationalisation of education, bringing about proper balance in the ownership and control of the press and publications and a statutory reduction of election expenses to the minimum.

When news or policy statements do not reach the public in true perspective, there are misgivings and misinterpretations that tend to cloud judgement and vitiate the climate necessary for implementation of radical or bold programmes. According to Laski, "the power to weight news in a particular direction is the power to prevent that material from reaching the public upon which rational judgement may be based." Sri R. C. Dutt

in his *Minute of Dissent* to the Monopolies Commission Report has cited the ability of Big Business to influence public opinion through their predominance in the press as one of the important social consequences of concentration of economic power. As such, there is no question of making a fetish of freedom of press that puts the State in the position of having progressive policies but adopting defensive postures.

Approach

For the accomplishment of the tasks set out it is necessary that apart from creating the right type of climate for furthering the goals of socialism the Government should launch various legislative measures and at the same time seek the cooperation and participation of the masses through mass education. Unless there is voluntary and uniform adoption of social discipline characterised by due and unquestioned acknowledgement of the supremacy of national interests, we shall only be adding to the chronicle of fumbings and failures. The State and the vast mass of people must rise above casteism, regionalism and parochial consideration and ceaselessly and relentlessly march forward to carve out the rightful place for India in the comity of nations.

It is this collaboration, coordination and fraternity between the common man and the State which will set the tone and climate for the practice of democracy which will be socialist in content. The proclamation of a Socialistic Pattern of Society as the goal of economic policy and its frequent reiteration does not alter the situation of socialism being lost in the meshes of individual freedom, freedom of private enterprise, freedom of the press and the like. Thereby neither socialism nor democracy percolates to the common man.

The decision of the Congress Working Committee adopted in May last to set up liaison bodies between the organisational and parliamentary wings is most welcome. The Congress Party has the mass base, while the

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Educational Reconstruction—II

Towards Equalisation of Opportunity

ANJANI K. SINHA

“SOCIAL and national integration is crucial to the creation of a strong united country, which is an essential precondition for all progress,” says the Report of the Education Commission¹.

It also points out that the problem of social and national integration “will have to be tackled on several fronts, including education.” The Commission thinks that education can play a very significant role in it by (1) introducing a common school system of public education; (2) by making social and national service an integral part of education at all stages; (3) by developing all Indian languages; and (4) by promoting national consciousness.

The Common School

The Commission rightly thinks² that it is the responsibility of the educational system to bring the different social classes and groups together and thus promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society. It also takes note of the fact that the present system of education is not playing this role. In spite of doing so, it “is tending to increase social segregation and to perpetuate and widen class distinctions”³ by keeping a large portion of the good school “beyond the means of any but the top 10 per cent of the people”⁴. The Commission calls this position “undemocratic” and warns “the top 10 persons” that “by segregating their children

they prevent them from sharing the life and experiences of the children of the poor and coming into contact with the realities of life.” “These evils, the Commission believes, can be eliminated by moving towards the goal of a common-school system of public education where access to good education will depend “not on wealth of class but on talent”.

No democratic individual will have any difference with the Commission in so far as it calls for the establishment of the common school which would satisfy the average parent “so that he would not feel the need to send the children to expensive school outside the system”⁵. Nor will he deny that the system of public schools “has no valid place in the new democratic and socialistic society we desire to create.”⁶ But he will simply regret the fact that the Commission has not fully exposed the disadvantage of having two systems of education side by side, not has it gone into the details of the organisation of the common school system. Chapter VI of the Report which deals with equalisation of educational opportunity is completely silent on this issue.

Public Schools

It is a known fact that public schools, like Rajkumar College at Rajkot and Raipur, Mayo College, Ajmer, Scindia School, Gwalior, and dozens of such other institutions were opened during the hey-day of the British Raj for the education of princes and nobles only. Later on, some other schools were started which kept their doors open to the children of the officers of the Defence Services only. These

schools catered to the needs of only a limited section of the society and helped it in keeping itself segregated from the common mass. Mahatma Gandhi was one of those who had no illusions about the role of public schools. In reply to a letter addressed to him by Mr. Smith-Pearse of the Indian Public School Conference he stated categorically: “The English Public School is no pattern for India”⁷. The English headmasters of these schools who were thoroughly convinced of their responsibility to produce “sufficient men of character who can be trusted with positions of responsibility”⁸ thought that Gandhiji was not ready to listen to reasons. As one of the headmasters wrote, “we have got to realise that Public Schools in this country have got to be run and maintained in spite of Gandhiji and his followers, although in point of fact a lot of Congressmen do not agree with him. Actually I have two or three sons of Congressmen in this school”⁹. The letter was written in 1939 when only a few Congressmen were keen on sending their children to such schools which produced “sufficient men of character.”

The system of Public Schools and English Schools not only continued to exist but expanded like anything not because of the attitude of the headmaster quoted above but because more and more Congressmen and other people who grew rich in the post-independence period realised the need of segregating their children from those of the common people. Even the middle class people began to aspire to send their children to such schools. They

This is the second article in the series by the author who is a Lecturer in English, Patna University. The first article appeared in last week's Mainstream (June 17, 1967).

thought, these schools gave a polish to the boys "which insured for them entry into an influential section of society".¹³ As a result, we have twenty times as many students—that is about twenty thousand of them—going to English-type Public Schools as in the days when the Britishers ran a few of them for the sons of princes.

Besides this, there are about two hundred and fifty Anglo-Indian Schools which follow the same pattern. Of the Seventy thousand students at such schools, about 90 per cent are Indians. These figures do not include other private schools where the medium of teaching is English. This phenomenal rise in the number and popularity of English Schools has surprised even the Britishers. "On almost every front the image of the British Raj is fading", wrote Mr. Cyril Dunn, in a special despatch to *The Observer*, but "from the moment we walked into the Bishop Cotton School, Simla... it began to appear that in one sector at least Englishness is now being promoted in India more actively than ever before".¹⁴

The Uprooted and the Upstart

As Mr. Cyril Dunn reports, some of the best young Indians have certainly best absorbed notions of Western humanism and the simple idealism that gave rise to the British Labour Party, but, instead of providing leadership to the country (and ability they were supposed to imbibe in Public Schools), they "seem themselves as a lost generation, with no effective future imaginable in their own land.... They guess that the real leaders will draw their virtue, not from the British past, but mainly from Indian sources, as was briefly made manifest in the small person of the late Mr. Shastri."¹⁵

This legacy of the British Raj has produced youngmen who feel that they are a separate tribe. Not only that. It has almost completely monopolised a new avenue of employment, the field of commerce. To quote Mr. Dunn again, "most of them (that is, these leaders) are heading towards new opportunities in Indian commerce, where the British

tongue and the British manners are necessary attributes in firms, covering all India and reaching out abroad, where the big money is made".¹⁶ That is why the people of the big business community have found it worthwhile to have their children educated in such schools.

Privileges, not Talent

The Public Schools and other English-medium schools of the type are, thus, creating a new set of people who are assured of their place in big business concerns, not because they are talented but because their parents are in a position to spend more money than others. Out of twenty six residential Public Schools about which information could be available, one charges more than Rs 5,000 per year, two charge between Rs 4,500 and Rs 5,000, six between Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 4,500, nine between Rs. 3,500 and 3,000, four between Rs. 3,000 and 2,500 and one between Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 2,000 annually. Three schools which charge less than Rs. 2,000 annually are run by the Ministry of Defence and are, therefore, on a different footing. Of all these schools, only two offer free studentships to some, four offer partial scholarships and two offer scholarships awarded by different endowments. In seven schools some students are sent on Government of India merit scholarships and in four on scholarships awarded by State Governments.¹⁷

There are two points which deserve special attention. First, the number of scholarships available at such schools is so meagre that it cannot facilitate all talented students to be educated there. Secondly, even if a boy is sent there on merit scholarship, he is made to feel inferior because he cannot match the privileged students who are in majority in such institutions in their snobbishness and such other things which are considered to be an essential part of their tradition.

Had the Public Schools and English-medium missionary Schools created only one difficulty—that of segregating the rich from the poor—that could not have been so harmful as they are because of the additional impor-

tance given to the products of such schools at the time of employment. I wish the Commission had tried to find out how many such children who are educated in ordinary schools get entry into the Commissioned Defence Services.

The Public Schools and English-medium Schools have, in most of the cases, sufficient resources and facilities to help their students develop their personality. But because of the outlook of the school authorities even this aim is not achieved. Not only that they keep themselves aloof from the mainstream of the life of the country, but also that they still lay emphasis on the Western culture and bourgeois outlook. That is inevitable. To hope them to change their ways is to look at the problem from a non-scientific point of view.

The recent fall in the standard of education imparted at the general schools is, to a very large extent, because of the fact that the elite and the vocal section of the society does not send their children to such schools and is not, therefore, directly interested in their development. Such people feel satisfied by sending their children to Public Schools, Convents, English-medium Schools and such other institutions. Those who fail to get them accommodated in any such institutions run after what is called the "teaching-shop". The general schools are left for the have-nots and the down-trodden.

Uniform School System

No democratic individual can hope to see the existing social differences minimise if the luxuriously built private schools are allowed to exist side by side with the over-crowded and out-dated schools run by the Government. Only when the schools meant for the children of the privileged people are closed, they will open their eyes to the awful reality around the general schools and be willing to find out resources for their development. The democratic opinion should, therefore, raise its voice for uniform system of education where children of all classes will have equality of opportunity for their deve-

lopment. This uphill task cannot be solved simply by opening a few government-owned Public schools and Central schools. It may be noted here that in Central schools (run by the Ministry of Education, Government of India), students are admitted not on the basis of their own merit, but on that of their parents (that is whether their parents are in Defence Services, Central Services, etc).

Free Studentships and Scholarships

The Commission hopes to move towards the equality of educational opportunity by aiming at a point when all education will be tuition-free. It recommends the immediate abolition of tuition-fees from all government, local authority and aided private primary and elementary schools. It suggests a phased programme to abolish tuition fees at the secondary stage and to provide tuition-free education to all needy and deserving students by increasing the proportion of free studentship to 30 per cent of the enrolment. It suggests the award of scholarships at the primary, secondary and university stages. It works out schemes for the award of national, vocational and loan-cum-merit scholarships. Some general suggestions have been made to provide books and transport facilities (especially in the countryside) and to establish day-cum-study centres and lodging houses for those who need them.

All these are welcome steps. The democratic individual has to see to it that they are faithfully implemented. Otherwise, one agency of the government may increase the number of scholarships and the other may choose to adjust its own deficit by decreasing the number of scholarships it has been awarding. The University of Patna, for example, has been annually spending Rs. 55,000 over merit scholarships and Rs. 25,000 over the Poor Boys' fund at colleges and University Departments. But the Deputy Controller of Accounts (Finance Audit) Government of Bihar, has recommended a cut of Rs. 30,000 per year "since a large number of students are receiving scholarships

from the Education Department, Welfare Department and Central Government."¹⁷

Similarly, the University Enquiry Commission, Bihar, has recommended that Patna University should 'tap' new resources of income by considering "the possibility of enhancing the fees."¹⁸ If this is the indication of how the Commission's recommendations are going to be implemented, the dream of moving towards equalization of educational opportunities can never be realised.

Fees According to Parents' Income

The real issue is, undoubtedly, the pervading poverty of the country. But should we accept defeat and wait for the day when the basic problem of poverty and differences in background will be eliminated by economic progress?¹⁹ (And can poverty be eliminated so long as the vast majority of people remain uneducated and ignorant?) It is true that the *per capita* annual income is not more than Rs. 250, but it is also true that there are parents who do not mind paying Rs. 4,000 per year to a public school. Whatever the financial status of a student, he has to pay an equal amount of fee when he goes to a college or to a Government-run school. Cannot the democratic public opinion insist on such a system of payment which is in proportion to the paying capacity (that is the income) of parents, and not in accordance with the class in which a student is reading? Cannot the same principle be applied while realising hostel-fees and mess-charges from boarders?

Such a scheme would be very beneficial to the students who have to depend entirely on scholarships. I have been in close contact with about a dozen such students who topped the list at various university examinations but had to struggle hard throughout their student life, partly because the amount they received as scholarships was not sufficient to pay off their monthly bills, and partly because even that amount was not paid in time. Every year we come across such brilliant students whose parents

incur debt at a high rate of interest or sell their land to pay a fat amount of money at the time of their admission. Even if the principal knows such students, he cannot help them from the Poor Boys' fund till they are admitted.

Hostel Facilities for Talented Students

The Commission has talked a lot about the talent-search and about special schools for talented students. Without going into the desirability of separating such students from others, I would like to draw attention to another point where we need immediate help. If the Commission is really keen on helping talented students, the best way is to put them in hostels, where they ought to be given all those facilities which are needed for their allround development. I have known several such students who had to work so hard at home that they found no time to do their homework. Their parents could not afford to give them time to prepare their lessons. In cities, where most of the people

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13. Mr Cyril Dunn, "The Lingering Twilight of the British Raj", *The Observer*, (Sunday Colour Supplement), April 16, '67.
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16. Source: *A Handbook of the Indian Public Schools* (March, 1964). A friend has informed me that the charges have gone considerably up since that Publication of the Handbook.
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19. Such an attitude has been shown by Mrs Lakshmi Menon in her article on "The Education Commission and Equalisation of Educational Opportunity", in *NIE Journal*, November, 1966.
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Nehru and Marxism—A Rejoinder

MOHIT SEN

DR. M. S. Shastri (*Mainstream*, May 27, 1967) has written a stimulating article on the relation between Nehru and Marxism. But there are grave and fundamental errors in his analysis and conclusions which cannot be allowed to pass without contradiction. The basic theme of the article is summed up in the concluding sentence where the assessment is made that history one day would prove "that like Lenin, Nehru has also contributed to the thought and leadership of Marxists all over the world".

Novel Evaluation

This certainly is a novel evaluation. But not all novelty is real and originality can also, often enough, be nothing more than eccentricity. The author is not claiming that Nehru did as much for India and the world as Lenin did—a rather startling claim that would be ! He is making an even bolder claim that Nehru was a Marxist and a creative Marxist at that on a scale and at a level comparable to Lenin. This, one says with all due respect, is to thoroughly misread both Marxism and Nehru.

One can agree or disagree with Marxism but there should be no lack of clarity as to what its fundamentals are. One cannot claim to be a Marxist and not accept the philosophy of dialectical materialism. One cannot be a Marxist and not accept the conclusions of historical materialism. One cannot claim to be a Marxist and not accept, therefore, the fundamental causative role of class struggle in historical movement. Finally, in modern times one cannot claim to be a Marxist and not accept the leading role of the working class and of the need for political power of the working class and

its allies as the essential prerequisite for the construction of socialism.

In his letter to J. Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852) Marx admirably summed up the *specific* contribution he made :

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove : 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*" (Emphasis in original).

Development of Marxism

The further development of the theory and practice of Marxism led to the analysis by Lenin of imperialism, the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement in the era of world socialist revolution and the principles of the organisation of the party of the working class. In our own epoch there has been still further development of the method and theory of Marx through the new experiences of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism, the full flowering of state-monopoly capitalism and the non-capitalist path to socialism. We are confining ourselves here to the field of the practice of socialist revolution, which, incidentally, has, naturally enough, been the point of concentration for the

Marxist theoreticians over the past seven decades or so.

Procrustean Approach

It would be a Procrustean approach to either fit Nehru into all these developments or vice-versa. It should also be pointed out that Nehru himself never claimed to be a Marxist, though he did say he was deeply influenced by its outlook. The peak point of that influence was in the last years of the 1920s and the first six or seven years of the 1930s. In *Whither India?*, *Autobiography* and *Glimpses of World History* we certainly find the mind of Nehru veering round and tacking close to Marxism. But even then it was more the fascination of intellectual illumination, of vision and of a basic programme. The other side of the medal—a specific type of class organisation and a particular kind of mass revolutionary movement—never attracted him too much. And, even in the shining years of his practice he never claimed—and nobody yet has claimed on his behalf—to be even attempting to push the Indian movement for freedom in the direction of changing its character to make it a fit instrument for the transition to socialism. The question of the collective affiliation of the mass organisations of the workers and peasants to the Congress (Faizpur, 1937) proved to be a flash in the pan.

A turning point in his ideological development comes with the Subhas-Gandhi controversy and the extraordinary vacillation and, essentially, anti-Subhas stance he took in the pre-and post-Tripuri Congress developments in 1939. In an article he wrote at the time (which is insufficiently studied by the analysts of Nehru but used by Dr. Shastri) entitled *From Lucknow*

To Tripuri (1936-39), he stated : "I decided to devote my energies towards bridging the gulf between the old leaders and the new socialist group. To some extent I was for this task as I had intimate contacts with both. I was convinced that India could not do without either of these groups, and there seemed to me no valid reason why there should not be the fullest cooperation between the two in the struggle against imperialism. . .

"Broadly speaking, there are two divisions (and this has practically nothing to do with Right or Left) : those who might be called the Gandhites and those who consider themselves Modernists. . . These two broad divisions must not be confused with Right and Left. There are Rightists and Leftists in both groups, and there is no doubt that—some of our best fighting elements are in the Gandhian group. If the Congress is looked upon from the Right and Left point of view, it might be said that there is a small Rightist fringe, a Left minority, and a huge intermediate group or groups which approximate to Left-Centre. The Gandhian group would be considered to belong to this intermediate Left-Centre group. Politically, the Congress is overwhelmingly Left; socially it has Leftist leanings, but is predominantly Centre. . . .

"A time may perhaps come when the real conscious Leftists are strong enough to take charge of the Congress and run it according to their policy. Today they are not in a position to do so. They have neither the national backing nor the discipline for the job."

Two Points

Two points need stressing. First, the false dichotomy between Gandhites and Modernists helped to blur and blunt the development of radical consciousness in the Congress, it certainly was not the way in which a Marxist would attempt to analyse the situation and seek to change it.

Second, Nehru's conceiving of himself as the bridge between the "old leaders" and the "new socialist group" was an accurate self-characterisation but it can scarcely be called the approach of a scientific socialist. Certainly,

anti-imperialist unity was essential but, precisely, in order to build it, to generate mass anti-imperialist consciousness and movement, it was absolutely necessary to consolidate and develop the unity of the Left. As the builder of Left unity, Nehru could have emerged even stronger as the architect of anti-imperialist unity. You cannot dampen, even damage the Left and still imagine that you are building a mass, revolutionary anti-imperialist front—which is what a Marxist would be attempting to do.

Infantile Disorder

The argument is used, not only by Dr. Shastri, that Nehru was helpless because of the sectarianism of the Communists, the factionalism of Subhas Bose and the verbal revolutionism of many of the CSPers. These are all the characteristic features of the birth of either petty-bourgeois or proletarian socialist groups in any country of the world—the "infantile disorder" about which Lenin wrote. The function of a Marxist leader is not, therefore, to throw in the towel, refuse to identify with the Left and try to emulate *Trisanku*. If one has the sense of Marxism, one stays and attempts to mould and develop the Left itself. This is what Lenin did and what Mao did in the revolutionary period of his work. This is what Nehru never did and indeed, ideologically bolstered himself against doing.

We can trace this drift away from the intellectual conviction about the historical sweep of the Marxist outlook in the increasing vagueness and eclecticism of his post-1938 writings. *The Discovery of India, The Basic Approach, India Today and Tomorrow*—all these are testimony to the evanescence of the influence of Marxism on the mind of Nehru. This is only confirmed by the interviews recorded by Brecher, Mende and Karanjia. Marx becomes outmoded and the attractions of "modern" philosophies like Vedanta, Buddhism and paganism become increasingly compulsive! This was only to be expected and a striking confirmation of a fundamental truth of Marxism—as your function, so you become.

Non-Marxist functioning leads to non-Marxist philosophy.

As a digression, one might mention an instance or two of the opposite development. Fidel Castro was not a Marxist as he began his amazing revolution but, as he himself states, the compulsions of his action brought him to Marxism. It may well be that we are witnessing a similar development in Nasser. In his extraordinarily noble speech offering to resign, following the Sinai setback, he concludes his appraisal of the achievements of his generation by stating "More important than all this, it has placed the workers in the leadership of political action. They are always the source for new leadership carrying the banner of the patriotic and nationalist struggle phase after phase, building up socialism and winning victories". Incidentally, how very differently Nasser and the UAR leadership reacted to the grave setback in the Sinai—what unity, resolve and faith they displayed—as compared to the Congress leadership following the Nefsa debacle. Evidently, what Nehru built and what Nasser has achieved are two qualitatively different states and social systems.

Dr. Shastri agrees that following Independence what Nehru's leadership achieved in India was, at best, laying some of the foundations of an independent, capitalist economy. No more and no less. This was certainly better than the collaborationist capitalism now being nurtured by his successors in office. But to miss the capitalist nature of the development, the compromises with imperialism and landlordism, the onslaughts against the Left and democratic movement (the overthrow of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala in 1959 was the most flagrant example and represented a turning-point), the deliberate refusal to foster, much less organise, the Congress Left, is, perhaps, an even grosser error than the sectarianism of the Communist movement in the early years following freedom. In any event, how could all this be done by somebody whom our author would like to characterise as a scientific socialist? Even admitting

the sectarianism of the Indian and international Communist movement till the middle 1950s, the decisions taken and their consequences were, mainly, the responsibility of Nehru himself with, it has to be remembered, his unparalleled mass influence. Certainly, no Communist Party could have agreed to support such a course of independent capitalist development in the mid-twentieth century. The dual policy as well as the presentation of a national-democratic, non-capitalist alternative path—as outlined in the Palghat, Vijayawada and Bombay Party Congress documents of the CPI—was the only correct policy. To move from sterile sectarianism to emasculating Right opportunism would have been the height of folly.

It is true that the very path of capitalist development, along with all its reactionary compromises, has engendered the forces which will end it—the working class, toiling peasants, toiling intelligentsia and, to a lesser extent, the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie. But to give the credit for this to Nehru, as Dr. Shastri does, is just as bad as saying Nicholas

Romanov produced Vladimir Lenin!

Stating all this is very necessary to remove any illusions about the character of Nehru and his policies. This does not mean, in the least, denying that he played an outstandingly progressive role in the freedom struggle. Jawaharlal Nehru, despite his failings, did more than any other person to bring radical ideas and the concept of anti-imperialist internationalism to the national movement. Following Independence, his policies had many progressive features—non-alignment, industrialisation, growth of the public sector, friendship with the socialist countries, secularism and parliamentary democracy. Above all, his writings of the 1930s and many of his pronouncements (so very few of which were acted upon) on the necessity for socialism and progressive change in India even till the end of his life, are certainly useful to advance popular consciousness, to build links with the Congress democrats and the democratic masses following the Congress. This is of particular importance in the new period opened by the Fourth General Elections and

the ending of the exclusive rule of the Congress. But nothing can be attempted in this direction if one builds a totally false picture of what Nehru really was.

At best, Nehru could have developed into what Marxists nowadays call, a revolutionary democrat. But there were objective factors militating against this—the greater strength of the capitalist class in India as compared to other colonial and semi-colonial countries and a stronger, even if immature, working class than, say, Egypt or Algeria possessed. The petty-bourgeois intellectual in India, even if he has more scope of independent action than in developed capitalist countries, has lesser possibilities of maintaining an independent identity than in any other newly-independent states. The compulsions of choice are far stronger and, in many ways, more cruel. Nehru, in the end, chose the national bourgeoisie and sought to act as a link between it and the masses, particularly the middle strata in town and village. He accomplished much for the nation but, in a very profound sense, betrayed himself.

Need for Ideological Scrutiny

SANKAR RAY

NEHRU should be branded as a Neo-Marxist and not as a Marxist. Of course, the definition of Marxist has now been distorted. The notion that Marxism should not be taken as a dogma has fallen flat on the so-called bearers of Marxism to-day. A good number of people have deviated from Marxian lines, but specifically the same people unhesitatingly criticize others when those persons show any symptoms in order to emancipate from Marxist stagnation, that is, dogmatic adherence to Marxism.

Throughout his life, Nehru was never spiralled within that stag-

nant mesh. His own conviction that Marxism was an indispensable guide for a progressive will one day stand as universally accepted. But was he a pluralist within his socialistic set-up of mind? I should say, never. It is a fact that for him 'Marxism was only a telescope, never a microscope'. He was quite aware of the necessity of acclimatization of Marxism with respect to sociological, economical, ethnological, political and crypto theological set-up. After Lenin, perhaps no one has admitted the truth of it. G.B.S. called him 'Lenin of Asia' and perhaps he was almost cent per cent correct

in that assessment. His idea of peaceful switch-over to socialism was indirectly admitted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at their 20th Congress (1956) and now Sri Dange has, on behalf of Communist Party of India, reiterated this. Time has now become ripe enough to recognise Nehru as a pioneer contributor to Marxist thinking in the twentieth century.

But history will be the judge. After all, Lenin never took up cudgels on behalf of parliamentary democracy. Of course, the great Russian revolutionary said this in respect of Soviet Russia and he had never said that it should be

applied to every revolution. The Nehru concept of silent and invisible revolution could not be regarded as anti-Leninist. But Nehru was never in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead he called upon the middle class to take up the leadership. Should we call it as the midpoint of Maoistic concept of People's communes and leadership of working class? Because in India, middle class people are scattered. But they mostly belong to the working class and the rest of them belong to the rural strata. Secondly, the middle class of rural strata are temperamentally rationalised and hence their role will coincide with the leadership of the urban middle class. Thus he was not an inch away from Lenin's stress on the leadership of the working class. ("We must win, the majority of the working class").

In this respect, it will be convenient to quote from Lenin's *Against Dogmatism and Sectarianism in the Working class Movement*:

(1) "Marxism demands an absolutely historical examination of the question of forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to under-

stand the rudiments of dialectical materialism".

(2) "One must know how to adapt schemes to facts. Marxists must proceed not from what is possible, but from what is real".

(3) "To reject compromises on principle... is childishness".

(4) "One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise".

(5) "Marxism has always been opposed to pushing revolutions".

On all these points one has to be well versed if one cares to analyse Nehruism on a Marxian plane. But was Nehru realistic in all respects? At least his failures on major fronts do not support his dimension of realism. In that respect, Nehru was not perhaps aware of Marxian warning. But still Nehru found Lenin's caution that "compromises are often unavoidably forced upon a fighting party by circumstances". The prolonged misunderstanding among the Communists particularly in pre-independence days had not only impeded the evolution of Nehru's ideas, but also damaged the growth of socialism in India (if not build-

ing up of Socialist India).

Marx wrote: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness". Nehruism has not always admitted this basic Marxian idea. A careful study would make it clear that he was of the opinion that the individual mind which understood the nature of the collective would become the moving point in the manifestation of historical process. Conceptualising ideas as governing factors of history is definitely anti-Marxian and revisionistic too. Proponents of Nehruism would be likely to quote from Marx: 'By acting on the external world and changing it, man changes his own nature'. But Nehru's consistent banking on parliamentary democracy makes a Marxist doubtful about the purity of his understanding. Should we continue to develop parliamentary democracy even after transition to socialism? If so, will it not be harmful for the growth of a socialist state? Nehru's indecision on these points needs thorough ideological scrutiny. Before that Dr Shastri's assertion might seem to many to be too hasty a generalisation for immediate acceptance.

NEHRU MUSEUM

A Year of Good Work

"RECORDER"

RESEARCHER has not been quite fair or accurate in his comments about the scope and purpose of the Nehru Museum and Library as well as about the way the work has been organised and

done so far. I shall here deal with a few points raised in that article.

Sri B.R. Nanda was selected for the post of Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, by the Advisory Committee set up by the Government which included Cabinet Ministers. His services were given on loan by the Ministry of Railways at the request of the Ministry of Education on the usual terms. He was getting Rs. 2,000 per month in the Railway Board as far back as 1963. His present

salary is Rs. 2,100. Sri Nanda's books, *Mahatma Gandhi* and *The Nehrus*, are well known and have received high praise from competent critics and distinguished scholars the world over.

Not Arbitrary

The posts in the institution are not created and filled up arbitrarily by the Director. There is a procedure laid down for the scrutiny of the posts by the Finance Sub-Committee and their approval by the Executive Council. The procedure is

Mainstream (May 27, 1967) Published an article from "Researcher" captioned "Pomp Without Purpose" criticising the functioning of Nehru Memorial Museum. This contribution seeks to answer the criticisms and defend the record of the Museum.

strictly observed. There are selection committees for posts in all categories of staff; the one for senior appointments is headed by Sri K.P.S. Menon. Experts are co-opted on the selection committees according to the nature of each post. Except for filling of posts by loan of services of Government officials on normal deputation terms through the respective Ministries, posts are advertised and selection is made after interviewing the applicants.

Sri V.C. Joshi's appointment was approved by the selection committee for senior appointments, and was in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Executive Council. His services have been obtained on deputation through the Ministry of Education and salary fixed on the normal terms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. Sri Joshi was in the service of the Indian Institute of Public Administration as Project Director for more than three years before joining the Museum and Library. He was not the recipient personally of any grant from the Asia Foundation.

When Sri Nanda took over as Director, there was no Assistant Director from the National Archives. It appears that, Miss D. G. Keswani of the National Archives had helped in preliminary arrangements and listing of papers at an early stage, but she did not hold any post in the Nehru Museum; her services were loaned for a short time by the National Archives. She had been withdrawn before Sri Nanda joined.

The institution does not have scores of "highly paid" posts. The only two senior appointments, apart from the Director, are those of Head of the Oral History Division and the Head of Research Division, both in the grade of Rs. 1100-1600. The incumbents of both these posts are officers on deputation from other Government departments and have been given salaries in accordance with normal deputation terms. There is no Research Officer in the scale of Rs. 1,000. The Library is headed not by a Librarian in the grade of Rs. 700-1100, but by an Assistant

Librarian in the scale of Rs. 400-950. The number of books in the Library is not 4,000, but 13,000 excluding a rich collection of old newspaper files and press clippings. There are four (not six) Guide Lecturers employed to serve the large number of visitors ranging between two and three thousand on week days and four and five thousand on holidays. The pay scales for academic posts conform to those prescribed by the U.G.C. There is no post of private secretary or P.A.; there are only two posts of stenographers. No officer of the organization has any separate letter-head note paper.

Aims

The comparison between the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Gandhi Memorial Museum and the National Archives of India does not appear to be proper because of the basic differences in the objects of these institutions. The objects of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library are: (a) establishment and maintenance of Nehru Memorial Museum; (b) establishment of Library of Modern India; and (c) promotion of original research in modern Indian history with special reference to the Nehru Era.

From the beginning, the organization was planned not merely as a personalia museum, but was intended to be a living memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru by serving as an active centre of research in modern Indian history. The manifold activities of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library flow from these basic objectives. It is incorrect to say that certain programmes have been started to cover up something or the other. During the short period of its existence, this organization has gone a long way in the realization of its basic objectives despite the difficulties inherent in setting up a new institution. Within about a year's time the Library collection has touched the figure of 13,000 volumes beside an invaluable collection of old newspapers, periodicals and clippings. The Library's resources are growing fast and soon a large collection of books on

modern India will be available to scholars in the Capital.

The manuscript collection forms an essential part of the source materials which are being collected and systematically organised.

The organisation has been able to secure the deposit of several valuable collections of private papers, including those of R.P. Masani, R.P. Paranjpye, B.N. Rau, G. A. Natesan, D. D. Sathaye, C. Y. Chintamani, Sri Prakasa and N. S. Hardiker. In addition the records of the AICC and the Indian States Peoples Conference, have also been acquired. Valuable work has been done in locating Nehru's correspondence with persons in India and abroad and securing originals or photo copies of his letters. Efforts for obtaining private papers of other Indian leaders are being made and several collections have already been promised for deposit. The papers and records received so far have been arranged and listed.

The collection of photographs, numbering about 16,000, includes photographs of all Indian leaders, including Jawaharlal. All these photographs have been carefully preserved, arranged and indexed.

The Oral History project is a pioneering effort in collecting information which will be invaluable for research and might otherwise be lost to posterity. More than a hundred recordings have already been made on tape which include the reminiscences of several eminent Indian leaders. These recordings are being transcribed and will be made available to scholars for research.

The resources of the Museum and Library will be made available for research from November this year.

Repair Unit

Reference has been made to the repair unit being set up. The large collection of manuscript material and rare publications of this organization must be properly preserved and renovated. The repair of precious documents which cannot possibly be sent out for renova-

tion has to be done within the repository. The institution is setting up a modest repair unit to meet its essential needs. A machine for repair of documents is being imported, the cost of which, including accessories, is about Rs. 5,000. The foreign exchange required for purchase of this machine is more than justified by the benefits that will accrue from its use in speedier and more efficient repair of thousands of valuable documents. It may not be out of place to mention that the preservation and repair machinery installed at the National Archives (with which comparisons have been made in the article) cost several lakhs of rupees in foreign exchange.

Among the institutions which

have been thought of and proposed to be set up in the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library is the only one which is actively functioning. While the Museum wing of this institution draws thousands of visitors every day, the Library and Research Centre from November this year will be serving scholars engaged in serious work on Indian history. The field of historical research in India, particularly in the modern period is vast, much of which is unexplored. While the Record Offices of the Government, both in the States and at the Centre, have been useful in providing to scholars old government records for reference there is a great deal of untapped material

from non-official sources which the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library is bringing together to make the picture of our recent past more rounded and objective. This could not have been attempted by any of the existing institutions, for example the National Archives, which is confronted with the ever-increasing volume of Government records, which need to be systematically appraised, arranged and listed.

Jawaharlal Nehru, besides being a leader of Indian nationalism, was a serious student of history and the author of *Glimpses of World History* and the *Discovery of India*. Perhaps it is appropriate that an institution in his memory should be dedicated to historical research.

F A M I N E !

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A Mainstream Publication

PSP: Which Way?

SOMETIMES even a valuable contribution may fail to realise the desired purpose if it suffers from serious lapses. This is the feeling I carried while reading Sri C. N. Chitta Ranjan's article "PSP: Which Way?" (*Mainstream*, June 3, 1967).

Obviously, the author is eager to see that the various Left parties should exert their utmost to sort out what is common in their policies and programmes, and he is right when he says that there are many "crucial" points common to them. Therefore, a dialogue among them is not only urgently needed but it is possible too. Fully agreeing with this spirit behind the article I would however like to point out some wrong postulates in the article which go to give a lopsided view of the PSP.

Take the question of the attempts at SSP-PSP unity. The author holds that the PSP "pathetically strives to bring about unity between itself and the SSP despite the latter's rebuff." I am sure even the SSP would fear to assert that it had ever done so. This statement is not only unkind to the PSP but it puts the SSP in the wrong. It is known that a real craving for unity started in the ranks of the two socialist parties—former PSP and the Socialist Party of Dr Lohia—after the sad experience of the Third General Elections (1962).

A sort of frustration in the ranks and rethinking in the top leadership were then taking place, which compelled the two parties to look for a morale booster in the form of a unity between the two socialist parties. As a result of the rethinking while Sri Asoka Mehta drifted along with a chunk of PSP into the Congress, Dr Lohia abandoned his earlier anti-Communist positions and replaced it by the new slogan "unite all against the Congress rule". According to the then PSP leadership, this approach of Dr Lohia was "unprincipled", had nothing to do with the socialist ideology and

was a pleading for chaos in the country out of frustration. Yet the unity urge was so great that they had to dissolve the two parties unconditionally to merge into one, the SSP, in the early 1964.

However, the personal and political factors which continued to plague the united party were so overbearing that the "honeymoon", could not last for more than nine months and the PSP leadership walked out of the first Banaras unity conference in November of the same year, leaving behind again a sizeable section of the former PSP in the united party. The slogan of unity of the two parties has once again been voiced after this year's General Elections first by the SSP leaders like Sri Madhu Limaye and Sri S.M. Joshi, and favourably responded to, not without reservations, by the PSP leadership. All this is only to point out that it is as wrong to say that the PSP was "pathetically" striving for unity as that the SSP rebuffed it.

Again, it is true that the PSP adopts a "Brahminical attitude", and its "ideological purity" in a way leads it to isolation. But it is difficult to judge it harshly, despite its anti-Communist positions, when the other socialist party, the SSP, adopts the policy of uniting all parties, ranging from the Communists to Swatantra, in order to bring about deliverance of the country from the Congress and to usher in socialism. If the PSP has failed to understand this policy of the SSP and rejects it, how far could it be blamed on that count, is a moot point for every leftist in this country.

On the question of the "Links With American Lobby", I have to point out only one factual thing. It would be wrong to say that the SSP "found it necessary to sever 'all' its connections with the HMS (Hind Mazdoor Sabha) and start the HMP (Hind Mazdoor Panchayat) 'solely' on this account." One has to remember

that a former PSI leader, Sri Deven Sen (who is now one of the top SSP leaders) is even today the chairman of the HMS.

Sri Chittaranjan takes objection to the conditional support that the PSP has decided to give to the Coalition Ministries even while participating in them. And, according to him this posture will necessarily mean anti-Communism. He has also called upon the PSP to shed complexes and join hands "unreservedly with the Leftist forces". One can recall some relevant facts in this content. The Communist Party (Marxist) which is a major constituent in the Coalitions of West Bengal and Kerala, has itself criticised the two Governments on certain counts; the Jan Sangh and the CPI in Uttar Pradesh have been critical of some of the steps taken by the U.P. Government—of course from diverse angles; similarly the CPI (Marxist) only supports the Punjab Coalition Government and would not like to join the Ministry whatever may be the reasons.

One last point. The article says: "With a stagnant mass base except in a few pockets, it (PSP) has nevertheless managed to retain its position in Parliament and improve it in some States". And, further, therefore, "...its survival must be deemed one of the imponderables in modern Indian politics." For one thing, one should at least give some credit survived to the PSP for having not only but improved upon its past in conditions which by any standard were abnormal for it. It had been weakened immensely in three of its strongholds, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala and had to face the onslaught from its brother SSPers. One may not agree with all that the PSP stands for, but one will be failing in an important respect if one ignores the lessons of the PSP's successful struggle for its survival which has once again raised the question of the unity of the two socialist parties. To take into account all such experiences of all the Left parties is necessary also in the interest of the much desired unity of the Left forces in India.

New Delhi. Narendra Sharma.

Peace Corps : Why Must They Continue?

OBSERVER

If one were to trace on the map of the world the areas of the Peace Corps operations, it would look like a school map of bygone days which showed colonial empires on all continents.

There is a striking similarity between the ramifications of the Peace Corps volunteers and the empire building of the old colonial powers.

The American Peace Corps is called upon to play a key role in the US global strategy. The rulers of the United States of America want their plans for world domination shared and supported by the peoples and countries of all the continents. That is why the Peace Corps volunteers are being used as a handy instrument for bringing pressure to bear on the peoples of the developing countries.

On the face of it, the aims of the Peace Corps are noble. They have been formulated in simple clear-cut terms: work abroad and improve understanding between the Americans and the public of other countries. In reality, however, the Peace Corps is being used as an instrument of interference in the domestic affairs of the countries in which these volunteers operate as a cover for the CIA and Pentagon and where they try to sway public opinion.

The subversive activities of the Peace Corps have provoked numerous protests on the part of the public and even the governments of many countries. The recent scandalous exposures by the American press of the financing by the CIA of various foundations and organisations and of using them for collecting intelligence information and for subversion, have forced the governments of many a country to re-

consider the advisability of having the Peace Corps volunteers in their countries at all. Some countries have completely rejected the services of the Peace Corps and the implementation of the programmes elaborated for them by the US State Department. These volunteers have been ordered to leave a number of countries because of their subversive and espionage activities.

On the Indian subcontinent Pakistan was the first to have seen the danger of the Peace Corps. The Pakistani Government mustered enough courage to turn the volunteers out of the country after having rejected all the Peace Corps projects.

Sometime ago Tanzania's Parliament discussed the conduct of the Peace Corps volunteers in that country. In their speeches the deputies pointed out that the behaviour of the Peace Corpsmen set a bad example for the country's population. It was said that the volunteers often appeared in public places quite drunk. Short skirts and long dirty beards—such are the characteristic features of these ambassadors of civilised culture.

Secret Plans

The activities of the Peace Corpsmen, writes the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, serve the interests of the United States and not Turkey. Their secret plans are to wheedle out information from people with whom they are in contact, and implant among the common peoples the world ideology suitable for US purposes. Recently, a teachers' trade union in Turkey strongly protested against the stay in the country of 600 members of the American Peace Corps. Turkish teachers said that the Peace Corps volunteers do nothing but harm to the nation. A statement issued by the trade

union said that Peace Corpsmen send monthly secret reports to their centres.

According to the official American publication "1967. Peace Corps: Program Directory" 27,000 Americans have been given an opportunity to live and work abroad in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They can provide excellent cover for the CIA and the Pentagon operatives since it makes it easier for them to establish contacts and obtain intelligence information.

Noble Idea Discredited

The noble idea of rendering disinterested aid by the US to the peoples of developing countries, as put forward by the late President John F. Kennedy, as a means of disinterested exchange of knowledge and experience on the part of the young people of advanced nations, has long been discredited by the CIA and the Pentagon which have turned the Peace Corps into an instrument of interference and espionage.

As has been asserted in the circles close to the governments of some non-Congress states, the question of rejecting Peace Corps services will soon be put on the agenda of the legislative assemblies of states. These reports are based on the statement made by Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai who said last March in the Lok Sabha that if the government of any state did not want to receive the Peace Corps volunteers, the latter would not go there. It is now learnt the Kerala Government will soon demand their quitting the State.

In this particular issue, India would be wise if she follows Pakistan's example which very diplomatically and tactfully has declined any future services of the Peace Corpsmen.

Blueprint for Bihar

Industrial Programmes for the Fourth Plan: Bihar, Publisher: National Council of Applied Economic Research, (1967), Price Rs. 20; Pp. 208+x.

THE National Council of Applied Economic Research has done a commendable work on Bihar's economic problems in spite of its bias for the private sector. The first important work published by the Council on the subject was *A Techno-economic Survey of Bihar, 1958*. The Survey provided for the first time, a detailed appraisal of the resources—natural and human—and suggested the ways to utilize them for the economic development of the State.

The present work is a follow-up study after the Survey. Two objectives were kept in mind while preparing this study. First an attempt has been made to review the progress made in the industrial sector; and second, to suggest programmes for the industrial development during the Fourth Plan.

Two criteria have been adopted for the assessment of the progress made in the industrial sector. The first criterion is the percentage contributions of the manufacturing industries to the State and the national incomes; and the second one is the extent of the employment opportunities offered by these industries.

From both the points of view, the progress made by the State in the industrial sector has been very slow. In 1960-61, after a decade of planning, the manufacturing industries in Bihar accounted for only 12.5 per cent of the total income of the State while the contributions of the manufacturing industries in the State incomes of Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Assam, Punjab, Mysore, Kerala, and West Bengal were 15.3, 21.2, 19.8, 15.5, 13.9, 12.5, 14.4 and 20.3 per cent respectively. Taking the country as a whole, the manufacturing industries accounted for 13.23 per cent of the national income. In the same year, while only 6.8 per

cent of the total working force was employed in manufacturing industries in Bihar, the corresponding figures for Maharashtra, West Bengal and all-India were 10.9, 15.3 and 9.6 per cent respectively.

In the National Income, Bihar's share was only 7 per cent against 26.1 per cent for Maharashtra and 20.9 per cent for West Bengal. In the total industrial labour of the country the share of Bihar was only 5.6 per cent as against 20.1 per cent for Maharashtra and 21.2 per cent for West Bengal.

If we go into more details, we find that the iron and basic industries account for the largest share (that is 34.7 per cent) and are followed by sugar but with only 8.9 per cent of the total.

The situation in Bihar turns out to be much worse when one takes note of the richness of the State in natural and human resources. Bihar's contribution to mineral production is 39.6 per cent of the entire country, but its exploitation within the State for industrial use is very little. For historical and other reasons, the Bihari private enterprise or industrial bourgeoisie has been more or less non-existent. Nor has Bihar, viewed in the all-India perspective, attracted many major industries in the private sector except for steel and a few basic metal industries.

In the public sector too, except for the Sindri Fertiliser unit, no large schemes had come up until the end of the Second Plan. During the Third Plan, the Central Government started work on some projects, but the impact of these projects has not yet been felt except for the oil refinery and the pyrites Company which are already in production.

Judging by the size of population and the needs and resource potential of Bihar, the outlay by

the State Government was very meagre; the State Government's outlay has been 4.1 per cent of the total outlay on industries by all States. Almost all the major States of the country provided for much higher outlays for industrial development. So, at the end of the Third Plan, its impact on the economy of the State has not been much.

It has been stressed that despite the existence of an iron and steel industry, the groups of metal products and machinery show very poor growth. In Maharashtra, basic metals are not produced and yet in 1960-61 the net output of metal-based industries was as high as Rs. 54.30 crores whereas in Bihar despite a strong iron and steel industry, the net output of metal-based industries was only Rs. 9.3 crores. The spread effect of the iron and steel industry has been negligible.

There is no evidence of any modernization of the industrial structure of the State—that is, household manufacturing gradually giving place to modern small scale industries and from there to large scale production. Modern small industry is almost missing. In 1960-61, small industries, defined as constituting those registered factories employing less than 50 workers while using power or less than 100 workers without using power, employed hardly 1.6 per cent of the workers engaged in manufacturing industry in Bihar, contributing 3.5 per cent to the industrial income of the State. The comparable figures for Madras, Punjab, West Bengal and Maharashtra are: employment, 4.6 per cent, 6.1 per cent, 3.9 per cent and 7.9 per cent respectively; and net output 10.6 per cent, 11.1 per cent, 4.4 per cent and 7.8 per cent respectively.

In 1960-61, in the State more than two-thirds (66.9 per cent) of the industrial labour came from household enterprises and a little less than one-fifth (18.4 per cent) accounted for by non-household, small, traditional, non-registered factories.

Lastly, the large-scale industries are concentrated only in two or three districts of the State. The present study has stressed

the need for the removal of disparities in industrial growth between the districts. It has divided the entire State into three zones: the first zone comprises the districts of Saharsa, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea and Santhal Parganas; the second zone includes Ranchi, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Hazaribagh and Palamau; and the districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga are to form the third zone.

For the last zone, the establishment of a number of consumer goods industries based on large local demand has been recommended. This zone does not have any extractive minerals and the economy is entirely agricultural. That is why an agro-industrial development corporation has been suggested. Light engineer-

ing, chemical, agricultural and livestock-based industries may be suitable for this zone.

The second zone needs ancillary industries, and the creation of adequate tertiary activities around large-scale factory sites. The setting up of a regional laboratory to suggest utilisation of wastes has been suggested.

In the first zone, the industrial programming has to begin with the location of suitable growth centres. The occurrence of numerous, sparsely populated villages in this area is an obstacle in the way of any scheme of economic development. The government should frame a programme keeping this fact in mind.

For future development, Bihar should take bold steps and encourage the private enterprise, but the private sector's growth

should not be unfettered.

The study has suggested specific programmes and has discussed their economics and their likely contributions to the economic growth of the State. If all the programmes suggested in the book are implemented, the net additional output from the industrial sector will be Rs. 293.64 crores and additional employment in industries by 1970-71 will be 423.650. But all this will require an additional investment to the tune of Rs. 1,081.38 crores and 1,169.63 thousand kw power and 124.87 million tonnes of additional transport capacity will be needed.

Let us hope, the present Government in Bihar will realise the need to remedy the situation as early as possible.

Girish Mishra

CONGRESS & DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM (Continued from page 25)

bugbear of bureaucracy and the shadow of the money bags have to be reckoned with by the Government. The manoeuvres of Big Business through the executive wing or political lobby and the concerted attacks on those in Government who are spokesmen of the underdog are in evidence today. It is not without significance that the strength of progressive intellectuals in the parliamentary wing the Congress is comparatively depleted after the Fourth General Election;

mostly those who can show tolerance (even without reconciliation) to the present class structure have found it possible to reoccupy the seats of power. It is to be hoped that the liaison committees will work in harmony and that both the organisational and parliamentary wings will fearlessly take up implementation of the various programmes.

The measures already recommended by the Working Committee and a few more that are necessary must be spelt out to

the masses in concrete terms with proper organization, mass support can be mobilized to usher in a new destiny for the nation without shedding a drop of blood. The only thing that needs to be done to ensure public cooperation is effective and rigorous implementation of a few basic programmes because "a new order only becomes acceptable to the multitude when it is apparent that the will of the old has been definitely broken" (Laski).

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION-II (Continued from page 28)

live in one or two rooms, students have no space to read and write. One can suggest that there are libraries and study-centres for them, but how long can they stay there and how effectively can they devote themselves to study immediately after the day's work? And, secondly, how long can they remain without food? One can

say that they can go to canteens, but how many canteens serve subsidised food?

The problem of the equalization of educational opportunity is a very complex one. Nevertheless, it needs immediate attention. If at all we are sincere about the national goal as described in the Directive Principles of our Cons-

titution, the most essential thing for us is to provide equal opportunity of education to all. As a special Committee appointed by the General Assembly of the UNO pointed out in its report on education, "In the field of education no principle is more important than the equality of opportunity." (To be continued)

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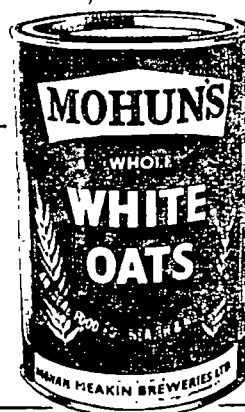
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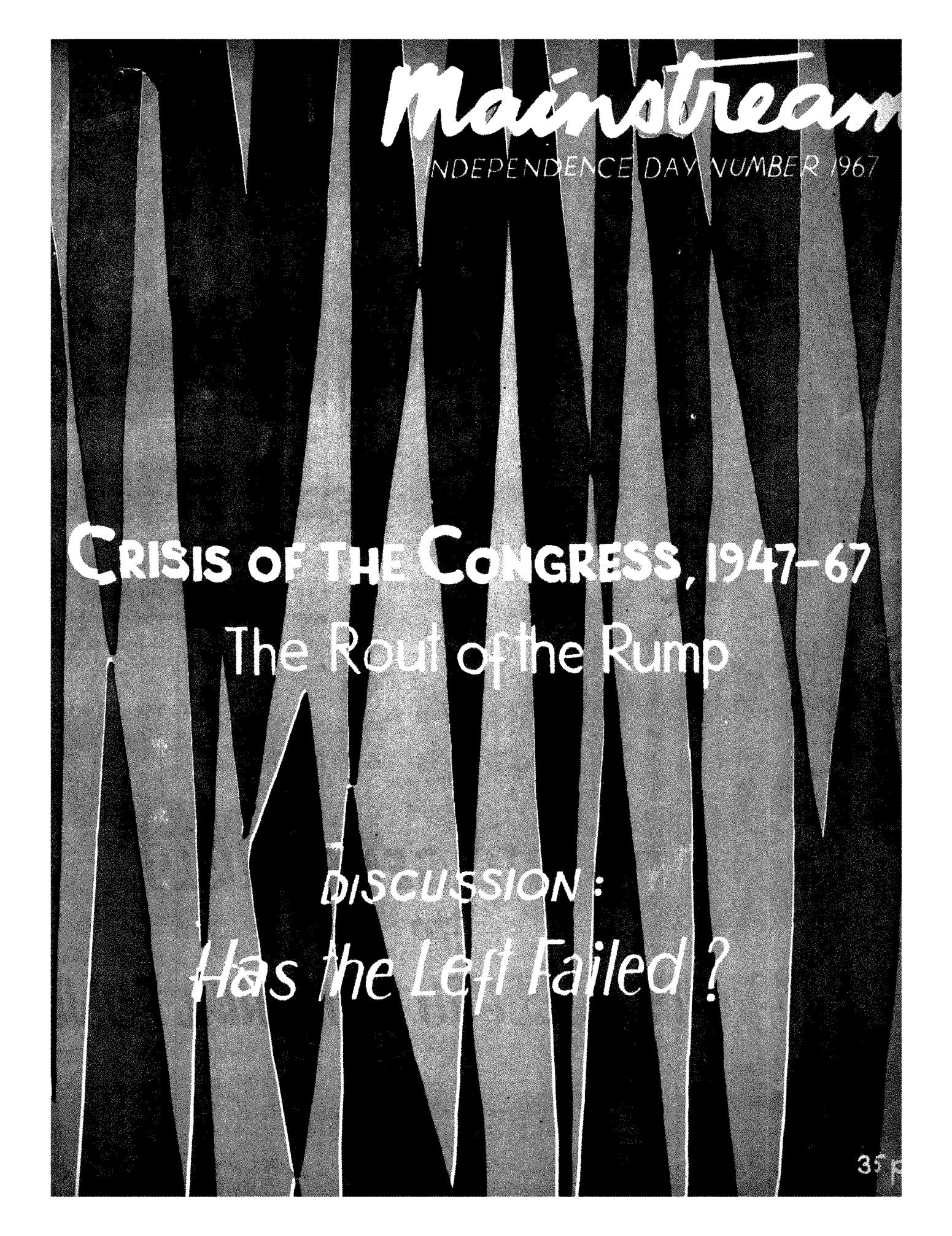
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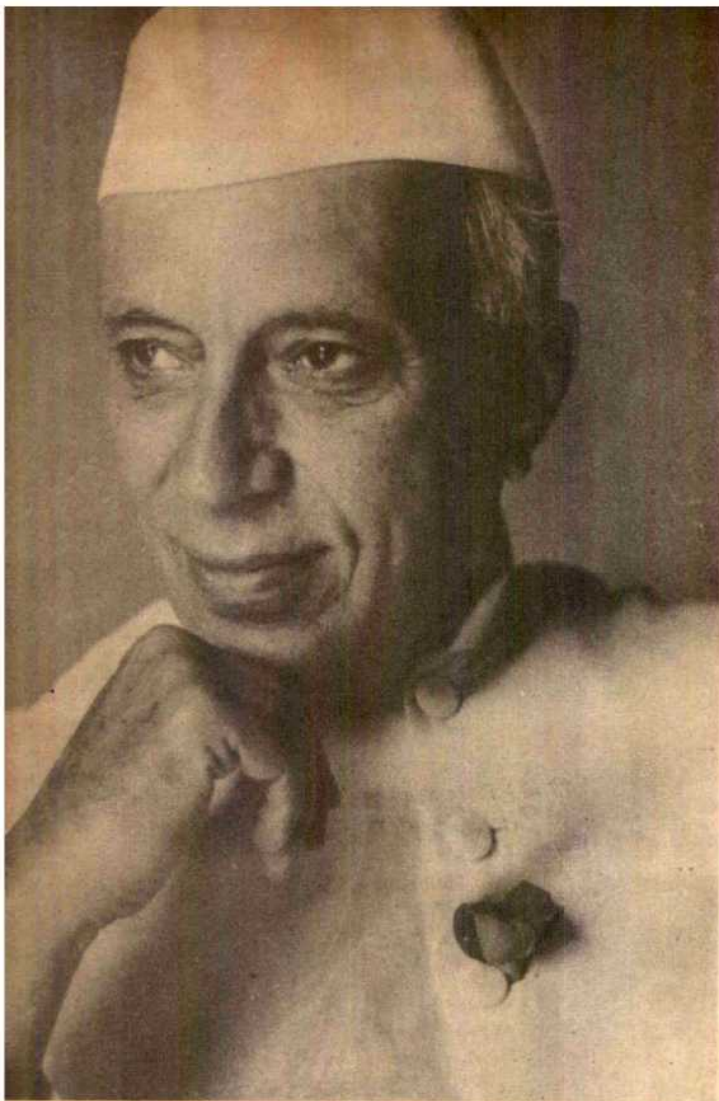
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CRISIS OF THE CONGRESS, 1947-67

The Rout of the Rump

DISCUSSION:

Has the Left Failed?



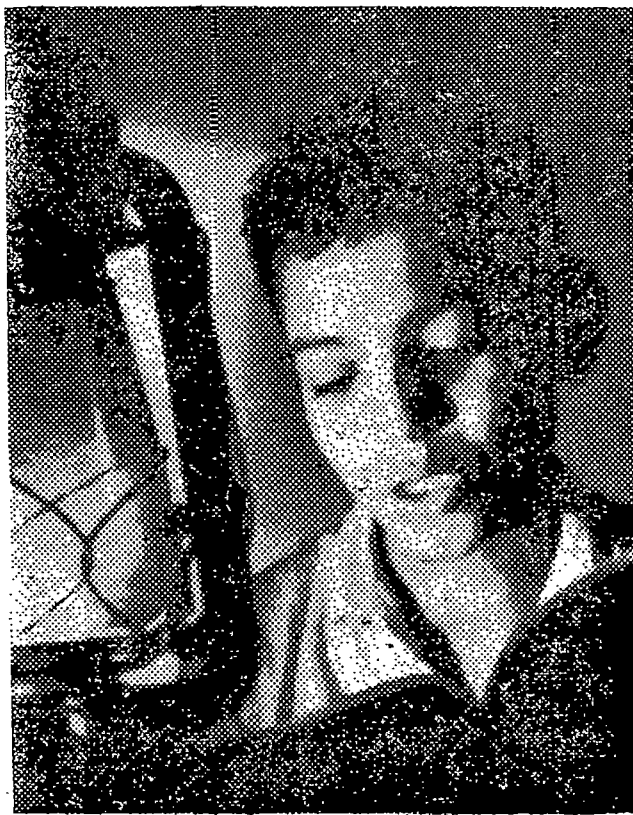
OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

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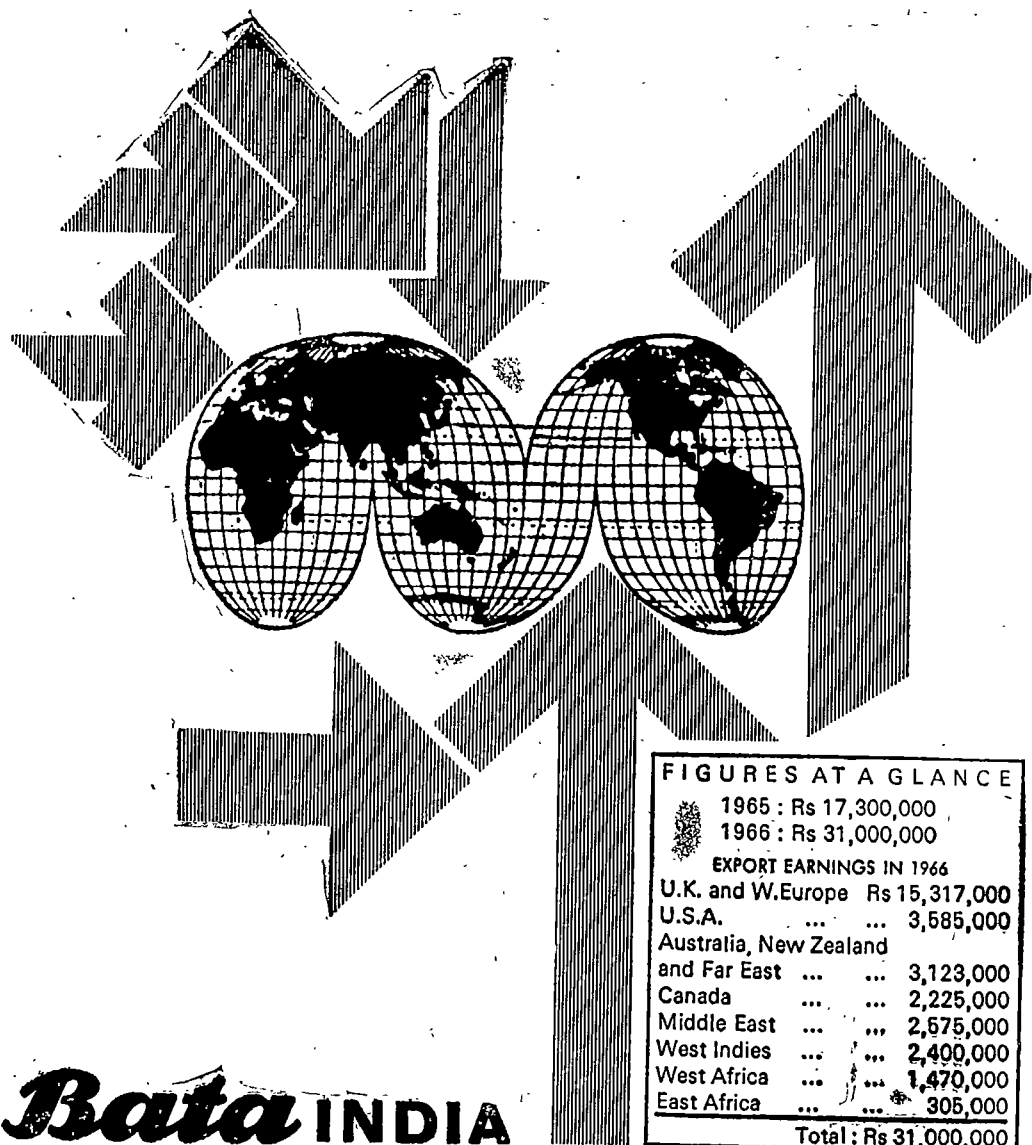
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What is more, many developing countries, becoming self-sufficient in footwear production, are not only restricting imports, but are making a bid to enter the export field themselves.

Bata-India, consequently, has to build

such highly developed countries as the U. K., the U. S. A., Canada, and others, where quality products have to be offered at a price that must meet both international and local competitions.

Bata-India has rendered service to the country by earning valuable foreign exchange. And it has earned entitlements to import its vital raw materials which are yet scarce in the country and which it is progressively and successfully substituting with indigenous ones.

The Company makes full use of its Market Research and Product Development methods, which enable it to keep pace with progress in the developed coun-

I am twenty...

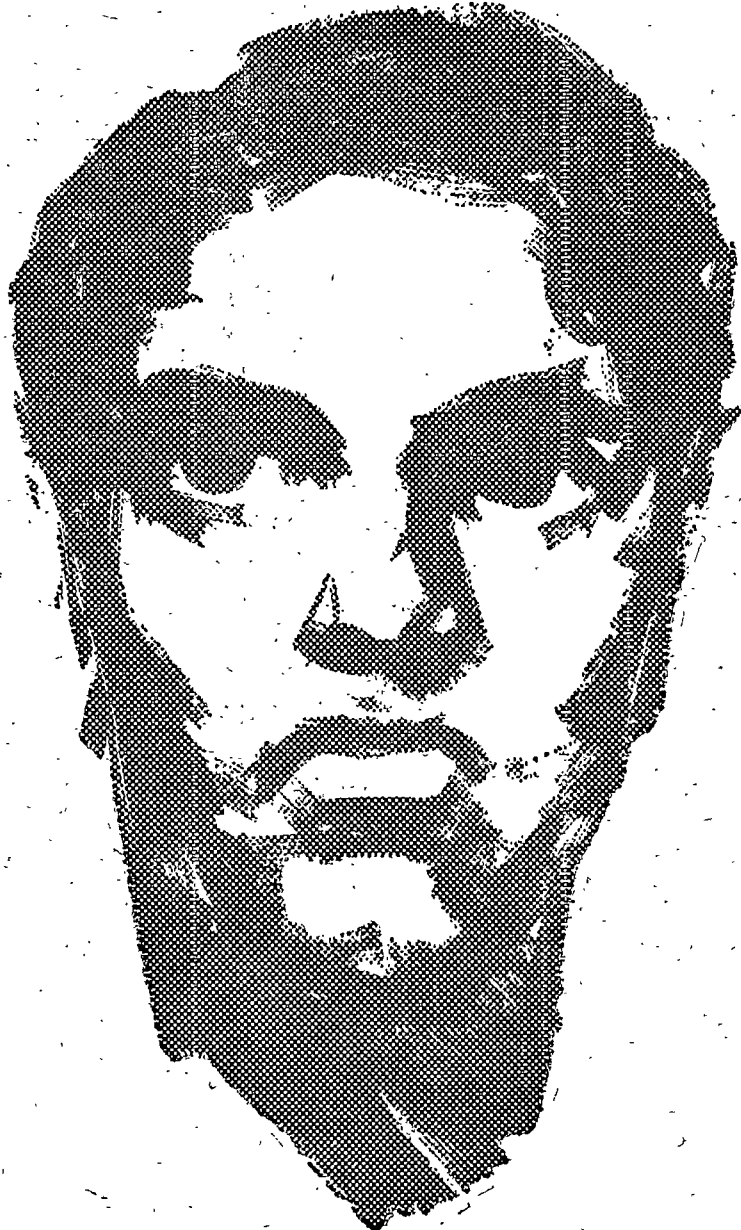
Born in free India, I have breathed freedom since birth. I have watched in breathless wonder the growth of the Nation, despite stresses and strains. I am aware of the challenge that faces the Nation—building anew in the face of odds.

But I am also aware that my country has a great tradition, rich and resilient. I am proud that today we produce jet planes and computers; twenty years ago we were dependent on imports even for pins and blades!

It is the Youth of today that will shape the future of this Nation, now pulsating with energy. I am confident.



Confidence builds the nation



FOR A NEW CRUSADE

Two decades mark a brief period in the history of any nation, and particularly so in the case of our ancient land whose civilisation dates back many thousands of years. Yet this period since the achievement of national independence this week twenty years ago, has been of vastly greater significance to all its people than any comparable period in the past.

Into this small span have been packed much joy and infinitely more suffering, long hours of distress and frustration and fleeting moments of glory; considerable achievement in the economic sphere and a staggering amount of work yet to be done; enthusing promises and depressing failure to keep many of them; satisfaction over growth more than offset by the knowledge that the fruits have passed to a few chosen hands; erosion in real wages and simultaneously increasing prosperity of the wealthy; ups and downs in international relations, and much more besides.

The result of the varied experience, so far as the common people are concerned, is hope considerably tempered by misgivings, determination to achieve economic freedom for themselves in the face of the obstacles deliberately laid in their path by vested interests, confidence that in the long run the people's will must prevail and consciousness that in the short run a mighty struggle has to be waged to wipe out the stranglehold of feudal and Big Business interests constantly striving to keep the millions in economic bondage.

Democracy on the basis of adult suffrage was ushered in under the best auspices, although the atmosphere was vitiated by the partition bloodbath. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 gave hope that under Jawaharlal Nehru's guidance the nation

would progress speedily along the Nehru path to socialism. When we gave ourselves our first Constitution we were firmly convinced that the Directive Principles would become a reality in our lifetime. Concern over the subversive activities of the communal elements was balanced by the thought that the masses had by and large imbibed the country's tradition of tolerance and would not condone violence against kith and kin. The early land reforms induced the expectation that feudalism would be a thing of the past. India's role in international affairs made it seem certain that our country, despite all its difficulties, would be a major factor for peace.

When the performance of those in power did not match the generous promises, sagging hopes were revived briefly by the Avadi resolution of the Congress and Parliament's acceptance of the goal of a socialist state. Nationalisation of life insurance, which at that time appeared to be the first step in the biggest ever process of economic transformation, gave further strength to these hopes.

But those in authority, including Jawaharlal Nehru himself, were soon seen to be helpless against the massive pressure of Big Business and feudal interests backed by foreign monopoly capital. Nationalisation was still-born, while the public sector made half-hearted progress as a result of responsibility for its growth and development being entrusted to men who had no faith in it: the public sector, which could and ought to have been the base of the national economy by the early sixties, is still tottering, partly as a result of sabotage by the private sector and partly because of abject dependence on foreign powers for essential needs. For a brief moment the handling of the oil sector brought a glimmering of optimism, but only for a moment.

Despite Nehru's leadership the nation was not marching towards socialism as it ought to have been. On the other hand, concentration of wealth and economic power grew apace, and the political parties, notably the Congress, were increasingly becoming the pawns of the monied classes. The Western lobby, backed by vested interests at home and neo-colonialists abroad, was seeking steadily to undermine national policies within the country as well in respect of foreign relations. It must be admitted that but for Jawaharlal's presence these anti-national and anti-people forces might indeed have had their way totally.

The setback of 1962 gave an opportunity to these forces to mount a determined attack on the Nehru line: despite not being in complete possession of his

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great faculties, Nehru did succeed in warding off the concerted attack. Lal Bahadur Shastri resisted the temptation to discard accepted policies, but was increasingly under pressure, when he died in Tashkent. Meanwhile, the successful resistance to Pakistani attack on the field of battle not only restored national morale but made it clear to all aggressors that India would not be meek in the face of aggression. The victory itself was a vindication of Nehru's policies and programmes, for it was the industrial base he had laid that made the defence system strong. Those who craved to cling to the coat-tails of the West received their biggest setback, for before the people's eyes stood completely exposed the perfidy of the Americans and their British allies.

The first year of Indira Gandhi's administration saw major inroads by vested interests and an accession of strength for the Western lobby. But as the Fourth General Election approached the Prime Minister appeared to have done some rethinking. The virtual collapse of the Congress Party in the elections and the emergence of coalition governments in many States thereafter made it imperative for the Congress and particularly the Union Government to discard as much as possible of the old ways. Indication that change was indeed taking place was provided by the forthright stand taken on West Asia in contrast to the continuous wobbling over the historic battle for national independence in Vietnam. But not enough evidence has been forthcoming of change in attitude to the vested interests: the move on privy purses may be attributed to pique at desertion by the princes rather than to scruples about allowing parasitism to flourish in a society pledged to equality. The continuing lethargy in dealing with the problem of monopoly and concentration despite many reports on the subject the disinclination to resort to monopoly procurement and State trading in foodgrains so as to ensure that available food is collected and equitably distributed, the reluctance to place ceilings on urban and rural income, the readiness to entertain ideas of "Wage freeze" without equal readiness to control and bring down the propped-up prices of essential commodities, the efforts to undermine the prestige of Leftist coalition

and taking steps to prevent consolidation of gains by these. This can be achieved not by mere flogging of a dead horse but only by using the power available to destroy the citadels of reaction. If the Right-wing the Congress is dangerous, the Swatantra and Jan Sangh are equally so. The effort has therefore to fight all three at once and mobilise the masses for this purpose. If one or two coalition governments have to break up on this account, the risk is worth taking, for where the progressive parties cannot prevent Rightist ascendancy by participating in power it is much better to stay out and organise mass struggles against reaction. Where the Left is dominant in government, the task is to prevent attempts to erode unity and ensure the achievement of common goals on the basis of popular support. The unity of the progressive elements coupled with the organisation of mass forces together form the surest guarantee of national advance. Neither opportunist alliances at the top nor foolhardy mass action by dividing up the allies can strengthen the army of progress.

The progressive parties as well as the progressive elements in the Congress have to think in terms of working out a basis for united effort to bring about the isolation of reactionary elements and to usher in genuine people's governments responsive to mass interests, in every State as well as at the Centre.

This is the task to which progressive parties, groups and individuals all over the country have to pledge themselves on Independence Day this year. The stirring call of twenty-five years ago, *Do or Die*, beckons us all with a new meaning for a new crusade for economic independence.

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The Rout of the Rump

GANESH PRASAD

ON August 15, 1947, Britain transferred power to India—problems rather than power. It was a great event, somewhat unprecedented in history. Both sides—the British and the Indian—took credit for its uniqueness. Each side magnified its own role—the British for voluntary transfer of power and the Indian for winning independence by a non-violent struggle.

The long-awaited independence did arrive. But the Bastille had not fallen; it was not even attacked. Power was transferred to the Indians; it was not seized by them. Struggle was there; sacrifice was there; suffering was there—all of them heroic. The masses were articulate, organised and ready for action. They were very eager to be at the barricades as the Naval Strike of 1946 showed. But somehow the drums were not beaten. The result was that instead of becoming actors the people remained in the galleries. From there they witnessed the horse-trading that made the last scene of the long drama of the struggle for freedom. So the first achievement of independence was to sublimate the revolutionary urge of a brave people.

India does not require a Burke to show that in 1947 a revolution was prevented and not made. The English are a unique race indeed. They never drafted their constitution or codified their laws, and yet they drafted constitutions and codified laws for other peoples. During ascendancy they exported their island institutions and by-laws to distant lands, and during decline, started exporting their

variety of revolution to them. The Indian Revolution of 1947 was then the twentieth-century edition of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Like the latter, it was characterised by adjustments, compromises and continuity.

In fact, it was a Revolution of Continuity. It was a compromise between imperialism and colonial nationalism, between imperialist bourgeoisie and colonial bourgeoisie, between nationalism and communalism, between decadent feudalism and growing capitalism, between old bureaucracy and new democracy. Adjustments were made at almost every step and the continuity of the old institutions was maintained. A clear break with the past was not affected.

Emergence of Rump

Consequently, new India proceeded to consolidate these compromises, adjustments and continuities. Sardar Vallabhai Patel integrated the feudal India with modern India; the Constitution integrated all possible forms of Government: the country integrated cultures of centuries. The household of an old elite becomes an eclectic hotch-potch of the Convent, Karmayoga and Karma-kand. The elite-to-be does not hesitate to combine twist dance, revolutionary slogans and antediluvian sentiments.

Power was transferred to the Indian National Congress. About two years before independence its most radical wing, the Communist Party of India, was out of it. About one year after independence the next radical wing, the Congress Socialist Party, left it. So ideologically, not organisationally, the Congress Party became the Rump of the old Indian National Congress.

In effect, this Rump was the sole beneficiary of the negotiated independence. For twenty years it wielded power both at the Centre and in the States with a few minor exceptions. The ruling Rump became the architect and path-finder of new India. Its traits reflected themselves in the life and institutions of the period and the traits of the period in the Rump. The Rump is a museum of living celebrities representing different phases and trend of modern India. It is a cross-section of the accumulated heap of centuries. The main uniting force has been office and power.

Into this amorphous conglomeration Nehru tried to inject progressive ideals and ideology. But in the absence of the militant cadres of the thirties and forties from the ranks of the ruling party the "go" of Nehru could not become an "effective go". Now at times from different considerations P.C. Joshi and J.P. Narayan regret these exits which deprived the ruling party of an effective and progressive drive from within.

Consequently, the Rump was put off the leash to add to its quarry of "Power" and "Office". It succeeded in its hunt for them so long as it could exploit the popular image of Nehru. But in the Fourth General Election it failed to do so. The phenomenal rout of the Rump within three years of the demise of Nehru has few precedents in the history of a political party.

For over a decade the people remained almost helpless spectators of the degeneration in political life. It was generally believed that the Indian National Congress had brought independence, democratic freedoms and fundamental

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rights to the door of the common man. And by the Congress was meant the Rump. The Rumpites sedulously disseminated this belief. The masses registered their gratitude to these middle-class leaders in the three General Elections and innumerable local elections. The people had faith in these stalwarts of the link-generation who swore by the dynamism of Nehru and continued to glorify the self-sacrifice of Gandhi. They entrusted the freedom-fighters with the task of consolidating the gains of freedom which they were supposed to have achieved for the nation.

This was not unnatural at a time when the Rump was headed by men who had become legendary figures. Then there was Nehru's poetry of progress. The people hoped that the leaders would consummate the revolution of expectations in the bloodless manner of the revolution of 1947.

There was a negative factor as well. As the masses could not actively participate in the final phase of the drama of the struggle for freedom, they became morally disarmed to censure the leaders. The upshot was that for some years the Rumpites were spared effective and organised criticism by the people.

Somehow, for about two decades, the ruling Rump had not to reckon with a strong opposition. There are Opposition parties of the Right and of the Left. On the Right are the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh. On the Left are Samyukta Socialist Party, the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Marxist Communist Party. Besides these, there are splinter groups of both hues.

All these parties have one thing in common; their source of strength has been mainly negative. Even to-day they cash chiefly on the weakness or inability of the ruling Rump in delivering the goods.

The Right emphasises that the ruling party cannot efficiently deliver the goods to the feudalists, the bourgeoisie—indigenous as well as foreign, the small businessmen and the middle-classes.

The Left emphasises that the ruling party has failed to imple-

ment its progressive objectives and is incapable of ameliorating the condition of the middle-classes, workers and peasants.

The Right parties represent the reactionary elements and trends integrated by the Revolution of Continuity—feudal, bourgeois, conservative, medievalist, obscurantist, traditionalist, communalist and chauvinistic. From this point of view the Rump, minus its Nehruite leaven, is not much different. In fact, the Right is the second line of defence of these elements and trends, the first being the Rump. By their very nature the Right parties could not have an All-India mass following based on a positive socio-economic programme of lasting importance. They could at best appeal to and stir traditional loyalties or antediluvian sentiments on favourable occasions.

Ineffective Opposition

The Left parties could have removed this serious lacuna of Indian democracy. They were expected to give the nation an effective, rationalist, modernist, secular and progressive Opposition and alternative. In fact, in the first flush of freedom and democracy those who formed the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party came out of the Congress with the hope of playing such a role. The expectation of becoming an effective Opposition—let alone the question of alternate government—proved to be moonshine. Attempts at re-groupings and re-alignments did not bear fruit. Some of the ex-Congressmen and Socialists staged come-backs to the fold of the Rump not to invigorate it ideologically, as they claimed as a face-saving device, but to fall in line with it. The Communist Party remained a strong and well-knit force till the 1964 split. But it too could not act as an effective All-India Opposition.

In short, for two decades the Left parties failed to provide a strong Opposition. They had positive socio-economic programmes. But neither jointly nor separately could they command mass following on an All-India scale. They did not have the record of a

sustained national movement to their credit. The result was that the Rump ruled the roost without any serious challenge to its position.

Subjectively also conditions helped the growth of degeneration in public life. From the point of view of self-discipline the public men associated with the old Indian National Congress fall into three categories.

One category consists of those who imbibed the Gandhian moral self-discipline. To-day most of them are in the Sarvodaya and like movements.

The second category includes those who imbibed the Nehruite and Marxist intellectual self-discipline. To-day most of them are in the Left parties.

The residue—and this is by far the largest chunk—make up the Rump. From this point of view as well, the Congress Party can be regarded as the Rump of the old national movement. The Rumpites were, no doubt, influenced by Gandhi and Nehru, as a whole and individually. They accepted the leadership of the two to become national heroes. But they could not imbibe the quintessence of their teachings and personalities. During the fight for freedom most of these patriots conveniently viewed self-disciplines of the two nation-builders as their individual fads or idiosyncrasies.

This division; it must be mentioned, was not rigid; it could not be so. Exceptions, intermixtures and wobblings are always possible in political life and more so under the democratic set-up. Lal Bahadur Shastri, for example, was an exception. In his personality were blended both the self-disciplines. The important point here is that by and large the members of the Rump, though faithful to Gandhi and Nehru, could not make the qualities of both or any of them as their own. The unfortunate result was that in the evening of their lives these patriots were in for nemesis.

Thus objectively and subjectively the Rumpites became masterless politicians and statesmen. Add to this situation some peculiar aspects of the Revolution of Continuity. Paradoxical though it looks, independence created a

vacuum and a predicament in the careers of the architects of independence, especially of the Rump patriot. So far the main springs of his life had been passion for national freedom and urge for the service of the people. The coming of independence ended the passion and the character of independence sublimated the urge. The latter phenomenon requires study. In the early years of new India the patriot ordinarily, and perhaps sincerely, wanted to switch on from destruction to construction, from opposition to consolidation, from a negative role to a positive role. That desire could not be fulfilled. Unlike most other revolutions, the Indian Bloodless Revolution discouraged the Spoils System.

The ordinary patriot was, therefore, deprived of the opportunity of serving his people in the spirit of Gandhian self-denial. Again, the moral standard of the tradition-ridden civil servant was not elevated. Also, unlike the Sarvodayites and the Leftists, the Rump patriot did not have avenues to satisfy his urge for service. He did not know what to do.

Hence a vacuum and a predicament. The glow of freedom and the self-satisfaction of having participated in the freedom struggle were not enough to solve the problem. Both the new state and the old patriot were losers—the former by not being able to utilise the noble urge of the patriot and the latter by not being able to direct that urge along fruitful and healthy channels. Later on the main loser proved to be the state, nation and society.

Floodgates of Opportunities

Power was, in effect, transferred to the Rump. Hence, some of its leaders came to occupy positions of authority in the new state. This naturally made other patriots jealous. They too began to covet worldly gains. They proceeded to cash on political connections or the Old Prison Ties (O.P.T.) directly or indirectly. And the new era opened floodgates of opportunities. The allurements and compulsions of the acquisitive society multiplied rapidly. The masters of such a society know very well how to

buy over even its moral opponents as willing partners.

On the acquisitive society the Nehruite liberal-cum-socialist idealism implanted big projects, big development schemes and big foreign aid programmes. The Spoils System was discouraged, but it surreptitiously entered through the back door.

Then, the Revolution of Continuity had permitted continuance of old institutions in the name of the national trait of "live and let live". Worse than this was the continuance of the feudal and bourgeois parasitic habits. The masterless politician was an easy victim of these habits. A metamorphosis took place in his career.

Scheming Self-Seeker

In the evening of his life the life-long austere patriot became a scheming self-seeker with vengeance. The Gandhian self-denial made room for self-acquisition. The Rump patriot got a new vocation, a new urge. Gone was his predicament. The passion for power, position and wealth came into full play. And the poor nation was over-burdened with an army of unemployed political rentiers—an army much more costly than an army of occupation. Black politics became incertable in the climate of Black Market and Black Money. The patriot's career now turned out to be a good illustration of the views of Kautilya and Acton on "Power" and of Kropotkin on "Office".

The soldier of the struggle for freedom now fought battles for licences, quotas, permits and elections. The followers of the Tagore-Gandhi-Nehru Syndicate now became pawns in the Ghosh-Reddy-Patil Syndicate. The transformation took place without the patriot realising as to what was happening to his personality. The bright and busy present, after a long spell of darkness did not leave time for thinking about the progress and process of changes. The austere hero of the nation did not deliberately bargain for popular suspicion, contempt and wrath. He is now stunned when nemesis has descended upon him. Perhaps a few Rump patriots may now benefit

themselves and the posterity by penning "Experiments with Truth" or "Confessions".

The diseases of political reuterism, it must be mentioned, did not remain endemic. They infected other parties as well. This was not unnatural. In fact, this phenomenon was neither, unexpected nor unforeseen. The modicum of power enjoyed by the Congressmen in 1937-39 had brought to the fore the symptoms that led to the fatal diseases on the assumption of full and uninterrupted power.

That was why Gandhi, the superb statesman, had advised dissolution of the Congress after the attainment of independence. Nehru's writings of the earlier period throw light on the shape of things to come after independence. He found that the Congressmen were sinking to the level of ordinary politicians without principles and governed by opportunism. Party and group conflicts had engulfed even those who were otherwise men of integrity. In provincial sphere there was "extreme bitterness and often an utter lack of scruples" even among those who were "ordinarily honourable and straight."

The events leading to the Tripuri episode showed that provincial deterioration was "being transferred or extended to the All-India plane". (*Nehru: A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1958, p312)

"Vulgarity, that most distressful symptom creeps into our public life in the Congress and even more outside it." (*Nehru: The Unity of India*, 1948, p 161).

What is most surprising and stunning, though telling and indicative, was that the prevailing malady penetrated even institutions embodying Gandhian idealism. On April 28, 1938, Nehru wrote to Gandhiji, "We are developing very rapidly on Tammany Hall lines and it is distressing to find even the Gandhi Seva Sangh has descended to the common level." (*Nehru: A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1958, p276).

So the patriot was, after all, an ordinary mortal. He was not free from usual human frailties, from the evils of power politics. Even the members of the Gandhi

Seva Sangh, who were supposed to have imbibed the Gandhian Aparigraha, could not be immune from the infection of factionalism and groupism.

During the period of freedom struggle the diseases of public life did not become malignant. The patriot was moved by passion for national freedom. He believed in service, sacrifice and suffering. Whenever the call of the nation came, he forgot the petty squabbles and was in the van. He was idolised. He was known as a sufferer and not a faction leader. Independence, as said before, meant the diseases of public life overpowered the Rump patriot. The condition of masterlessness helped the process. Soon he came to be known as a faction leader rather than a patriot, with a record of service, sacrifice and suffering. In the absence of Gandhian moral self-discipline corruption in public life became inevitable and in the absence of Nehruite intellectual self-discipline its coverage became impossible.

Such a phenomenon is not unexpected. That is why the architects of a social revolution unhesitatingly take resort to iron discipline in organising the new order and in curbing human frailties of comrades.

It called for ruthlessness on the part of the top leaders to see that the patriots did not become political rentiers and that the O.P.T. was not exploited for personal ends. This was not possible in the atmosphere of continuity and compromises.

Then by inclination and training Nehru, the unquestioned leader of the Rump, was incapable of acting as a ruthless purifier of his comrades' weaknesses. He was not a task-master but a school-master and that also of Harrovian tradition with abhorrence for ruthlessness and loyalty to comrades. By mental make-up he could not "stomach" the kind of politics that had characterised the Congress organisation in 1938-39. All his life he "kept absolutely aloof" from such politics. He confessed in a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose (February 4, 1939), "I function individually without any group or any second person to support me,

although I am happy enough to possess the confidence of many." (*Nehru: A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1958, p312).

This quality enabled him to enjoy the confidence of millions and indirectly helped him to shelter the Rumpites from the anger of the people. But it is also made him unfit for correcting them.

One more confession about himself. Being disgusted of the petty factionalism in the Congress he wrote on August 18, 1939, "I fear I am an ineffective politician at any time, and I have no taste whatever for the variety of politics that has lately developed." (*Nehru: The Unity of India*, 1948, P169) He was too much of an idealist to have liking for bossism in politics that pervaded all levels of the Congress organisation.

Nehru generally kept himself away from the politics of manipulations and intrigues. In that sense he was "an ineffective politician". He "felt out of place and a misfit" in the atmosphere of intrigues. (*Nehru: A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1958, p 277).

A habit of mind different from that of an ordinary Congressman or politician was developed. Whenever he found that the climate of national politics was stagnant and sickening, he wished to get out of it. He would visit Europe and take doses of socialistic idealism. These escapades and doses proved refreshing for him and useful for the ideological progress of the national movement.

But then such escapism was not healthy or helpful when he was called upon to mend the organisational short-comings of the party during the post-independence period. As Prime Minister many avenues of escape were available. Now he did not take doses; he administered them on the amorphous Rump—first the dose of the Directive Principles, then of the Socialistic Pattern of Society and finally of Socialism. The more the Rump deteriorated ethically, the higher was the Nehruite dose. In vain, the visionary Nehru endeavoured to inject vision into those who had either lost the power of acquiring

it or were not inclined to have it. Those who had viewed his socialism and rationalism of the thirties as his fads took these doses as mere objects of semantics and slogans for electioneering.

The Rump became a standing paradox with a leader full of lofty idealism and a rank and file full of opportunism, factionalism, groupism and ideological bankruptcy.

Add to this the conditions created by the nature of the Indian Revolution of Continuity. The decaying, dying and reactionary institutions were not swept away in 1947; they were retained, even stabilised. This phenomenon was in tune with the Whiggist tradition that generations of Indian patriots had come to admire under the impact of English education and with the Gandhi-Nehru tradition in which the link-generation was brought up. In fact, the latter tradition was the Indian version of British Whiggism¹. The revolution that Gandhi envisaged was, so Nehru certified, "in terms of continuity and not in terms of break."

Hence, according to him, most of the reactionaries in India were not so rigid in their reaction as in Europe or America and most of the advanced people were influenced by Gandhi. "He created connecting links between conflicting interests." (*Tiber Mendel: Conversations with Mr. Nehru*, 1956, pp 139-40).

This feature of Gandhism appealed to Nehru brought up in the English humanistic liberal tradition. In his own way, he mastered the Master's technique, continued his legacy and spoke his language. He too acted as "a connecting link" between the decaying and the rising, between conservatism and dynamism, between feudalists and modernists, between the Right and the Left, between the old and the young.

This conscious or unconscious adoption of the Whiggist technique was not without drawbacks, especially during the post-indepen-

1. See Author's article, "Whiggism in India", Political Science Quarterly, Columbia, September 1966.

dence period. In Britain Whiggism had its key-day during the two centuries following the Glorious Revolution. Under conditions of growing capitalism, industrialism and empire, the ruling classes conceded, though grudgingly, some democratic and legitimate demands of people. Gradual progress towards democracy was possible.

In contemporary India, on the other hand, the progress towards industrialisation and modernisation has been halting under conditions of decaying capitalism and neo-imperialism. And then political democracy has been established by the Constitution. Hence the growth of a healthy democratic life becomes anathema to the ruling classes. They subtly employ the liberal technique to thwart progress. It is then not Whiggism but its ghost that stalks the land on its head. The Ramgarh Interest and the Ramgarh Family, for example, are the antipodes of the mid-eighteenth century Clive Interest and Clive Family—the latter symbolised the aspirations of the new rich to be absorbed in the ruling society. Here it is the princelings and bourgeoisie that adopt the Fabian “method of permeation”. They innocently enter middle-class institutions and politics. By Burkean “insensible degrees” they endeavour to make the ruling Rump and the nascent democracy subservient to their interests.

During post-independence period, the upper classes seem to have subscribed to the Webbian “inevitability of gradualness” in their designs. The feudalists and their scions surreptitiously entered the Rump and rose to top posts in the non-aligned welfare state. The bourgeoisie gladly opened all sorts of gates for the Rumpites and their scions to enter the world of business. The Rumpites and their scions felt elated in moving in the sophisticated society. Perhaps the sons and grandsons of all these will soon start staging mock “Government of Talents” in the Public Schools which have multiplied since independence.

This dovetailing of feudalists, bourgeoisie and political rentiers is, it must be remembered, the

inevitable outcome of the Compromise of 1947. Its unhealthy consequences to the nation cannot be overlooked by democrats. The result is quite visible. Degeneration in public life and morals, not the liberties of citizens, have broadened “from precedent to precedent.”

True, as seen above, public morals were not clean even during the Gandhi era. True, they further deteriorated under the conditions of the Nehru era. But then Gandhi and Nehru somehow managed to “muddle through”—the one by moral eminence and the other by intellectual eminence. Shastri carried on the tradition. He compensated for the absence of eminence by combining the self-disciplines of the two masters. Gandhi made the heterogeneous Congress “muddle through” complex and complicated situations and attain the national objective. Nehru made the motley Rump “muddle through” difficult situations and led the hotch-potch structure towards modernity and democracy. The Rumpites, it is feared, may not be able to continue the tradition; they may simply muddle the national affairs.

Prime Minister Nehru was the Leviathan of India and of the Rump. What followed after him bears testimony to this. From being the champion of anti-colonialism India is struggling hard to free itself from the grip of neo-imperialism. Conflicts of classes, regions, languages, interests and factions engulf the nation. From being a fortress with frequent

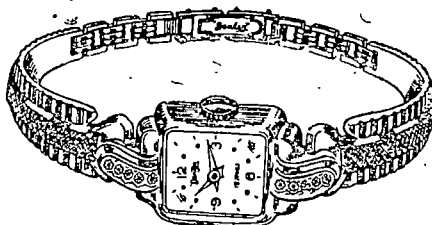
ingressions and rare egressions that the Rump had become in the early sixties it now appears to be a tattering house, a perfect Rump of the old Congress. The shortcomings that inevitably emanated from the very nature of independence and that were shielded or veiled by the charismatic personality of the Leviathan, now menace national integrity, democratic process and Rump supremacy. The Rump faces crisis; the Rumpite is bewildered.

The life story of the living Rump patriot is an illustration of the irony of history. His youth and old age belong to two worlds. His life is a long journey from the ideal of the “Hind Swaraj” to the ideal of a Midas through the path of prisons, bossism and the O.P.T. The people have forgotten his glorious role because he himself has forgotten it. All his life he has been a prisoner—first of the imperialists, then of power and wealth, and ultimately of the constituents during the Fourth General Election. During youth he fought non-violent battles against old imperialism; in the evening of life he made non-violent surrender to new imperialism. At the fag end of his career he does not hesitate to weaken and desert the party for which he sacrificed so much—and this he now does from selfish considerations. In short, true, to the tradition of his class the Rump patriot is an epitome of paradoxes.

The people were not oblivious of the changes that had been taking place in the political life of the nation. As said at the outset the

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STRAPS • BRACELETS



nature of Transfer of Power had sublimated people's revolutionary fervour and rendered them morally incapable of censuring the trustees of power. Immediately following the Transfer serious problems had to be tackled. There were the problems of the Partition, Kashmir, Integration and Constitution-making.

Then came the era of Nehru's poetry of progress, of big plans and big elections. A network of signboards of bureaucratic achievements covered the land. For some time these veiled the incipient deterioration in public morals, administrative efficiency and economic condition. In the absence of intellectual self-discipline the Rumpites could not generally provide cover to the general deterioration.

Hence soon the people became disappointed and disillusioned by the performance of the trustees. But they felt helpless. For, they saw no alternative to the Nehru-led Rump. Even the possibility of an effective Opposition seemed to be remote. The parties of the Left could have channelised people's disappointment and disillusionment in the proper direction. But each one of them had its difficulties and peculiarities—utopianism leading to frustration and demoralised return to the Rump fortress; distrust of others leading to touch-me-notism; equi-distance leading

machinations of neo-imperialism and remnants of feudalism and medievalism. In some cases it became a willing tool of reaction. So far as the new generation was concerned, it started its career with complacency and/or corruption. In some cases the new curriculum indirectly fostered non-rationalist attitude and threw the neo-literate into the lap of blind chauvinism.

Given such an atmosphere a day may come when the middle-class will not care to know about the great national struggle for freedom. Implications can better be understood than explained. While the middle-class leaders bungled things, the people's disgust, discontent, frustration and hardships mounted. They developed a sort of syndicalist attitude towards politics, politicians and political parties. The General Elections temporarily took them out of that slough. Their simmering anger against bungling found expression in the Fourth General Election. The Rumpites became the chief targets of the people's wrath.

A few inescapable conclusions and lessons emerge. Gone is the age of people's moral incapability of censuring leaders. Gone is, therefore, the age of masterless politicians and political rentiers. The era of people's assertion has arrived. Now, not the past record or political casuistry but

brought about the crisis of the Rump; the fear of the people has brought strange bed-fellows together. The middle-class progressives singularly failed to lead the people. Now the people have started leading them by the scruff of their necks. They are now forced to ally even with the extreme Right in order to oust the Centre from the seat of power. In short, the progressives have become the tail of the people. The people's assertion is an asset to democracy; the failure of the progressives to lead them is a danger.

The Rump is a victim of complacency. The Rumpites are the victims, rather prisoners, of their own ignorance of history. Like the Borbourns, they neither learn anything nor forget anything. Having been masterless political rentiers of twenty years' standing, they have developed a habit of mind which has turned out to be suicidal to themselves and to public life. To-day the hotch-potch, inherited from the Revolution of Continuity, has invaded the realm of governments.

The highly complex and complicated situation demands a bold and dynamic leadership with a clear understanding of the historical and social phenomena. The habit of mind and political outlook of the age of stable politics will not do. Also, politics of bossism cannot be tolerated by an articulate people of nascent

Has The Left Failed?

ARUN BOSE

Mainstream (July 22, 1967) carried an article, entitled "Why the Left has Failed" by O.P. Sangal. This has provoked a number of readers to take up the issue. With the two articles here below, this discussion is now open and will be continued in the next few weeks in the pages of Mainstream.

I think Sri O. P. Sangal exaggerates (deliberately?), the post-election failure of the non-Congress Left, and leans a bit too much to the side of the Congress Left (whose existence in some form even Sri B.T. Ranadive does not deny). This makes his stance suspect, whereas exaggerations from an ultra-Left standpoint are popular. But popular or not, exaggerations are more interesting than perfectly 'balanced' writings in the present stimulatingly unsettled times.

I agree that the time is at last ripe when one can make the demand that the Left should give up the tactic of total opposition, and stop using the levers of office in the States to mount essentially *opposition* campaigns. It is practical, realistic politics at last to say this. To deny it is of course a hangover from the past. But isn't it an opposite kind of hangover to suggest only a straight *either/or* choice between *opposition* to and *imposition* of Left policies on the present, shaky, single-party Congress Centre? Isn't a *third* alternative the really practical one to-day: wresting more powers for the State governments, and reconstruction of a constitutionally diminished (but in practice more effective) Centre to implement Left policies?

After all, why should the reconstruction of the Centre-States power-structure be taken

to imply greater risks for the people of India, than saving whatever can be from a crashing status quo (which is obviously bursting at the seams)?

Why can't there be *initiative* to change conventions or constitutional interpretations or provisions, to allow the States' powers not only over agriculture, but also over industries? Why can't the States be allowed to take over and revive some of the key public sector enterprises which are mismanaged by remote control from Delhi? In many cases, the experiment can hardly cost much more to the public exchequer than it already has, even if it fails. And it need *not* fail, but if some of the over-confident State Ministers burn their fingers in the process—so much the better. Their admirers among the voters will stop being sentimental about their new-found saviours. And everybody will learn more of the hard facts of economic life.

Independent Trade ?

To get on to more dangerous ground: why should there be such a hue and cry when Kerala Ministers think they *can* get rice, in exchange for their cashew-nut exports on commercial terms, from Burma, Thailand, China or non-government agencies in the USA? Why should they not be allowed to try? If they did get the rice, the country would benefit (since Kerala is a part of the country), even if other States do not. And if they didn't, everybody would be much the wiser.

We would learn a great deal not only of international economics, but also of international real-politik. And if West Bengal wants State monopoly of jute exports, importing wheat and rice in exchange let them try it out. (If jute exports *fall* as a result, the unemployed jute workers would supply the corrective. But jute exports need *not* fall more than they would otherwise).

Dangerous Experiments

To go further still: there can be dangerous experiments in foreign policy which can be paying in these sticky times. A CP (M) MP recently issued a statement saying that he had definite evidence that some years ago the late Pandit Pant vetoed a proposal for an India-China exchange of territory along the Leh and north-east borders. Did the Congress Left think of taking the calculated risk of suggesting an all-parties' mission to Peking with these proposals? It is almost certain that in its present mood China would have denounced such territorial exchanges about the same time that the Jana Sangh did. (In fact the Peking broadcasts on Naxalbari may not be unconnected with this statement). The episode would have clarified more than India-China relations in the eyes of the world. And if a State Chief Minister like Sri E.M.S. Namboodiripad were suggested as leader of the delegation, a useful new experiment of associating States' Ministers with formulation of foreign

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policy initiatives would have been tried out. There is no logical reason why States' Ministers should not be allowed to touch foreign policy with a pair of tongs (the only effect of this ban seems to be to give them an alibi in these matters when things go wrong).

But in playing this game, could not one play into the hands of the non-Congress Right? In speaking of the lobby-politics of the Privy purses issue, Sri Sangal has asked a very pertinent question, which cannot be dodged. If the Congress Party goes ahead with the abolition of Princely privileges, the single-party Congress Government at the Centre may fall, for reasons which are obvious after the recent Madhya Pradesh upset. Should the Left have given an assurance that they would compensate for floor-crossing from the Congress Party to the Right-wing Opposition, so that the Congress Government survived? But why should they? Why is it unnatural for the non-Congress Left to expect the Congress Left to push through abolition of princely privilege, and also to say they would allow the Congress Government to be overthrown afterwards? In the

rough-and-tumble of Indian politics today, if the non-Congress Left is to learn to govern (as Sri Sangal wants it to), it must also *compete* with the Right in changing the power-structure. After all, Jawaharlal Nehru did this with great skill: he allowed the Kerala Ministry to be overthrown, but made good use of Sri Namboodiripad's support for his foreign policy moves. (Even Sardar Patel is said to have told Sri Sundarayya to mount an armed anti-Razakar struggle in Telengana as a prelude to the Indian Army's intervention to suppress both the Razakars and the Telengana extremists. And the Congress Left of today must learn what the non-Congress Left has been learning for years; the best way to get power at the present time is for the Congress to lose office or at least to risk losing office for a good cause. (Even Sri Atulya Ghosh is trying hard to learn this lesson, though the flesh is weak; but it must be added that Sri Patil does not seem to have learnt the limitations of the technique of hanging on to power by never agreeing to let it go).

All this means that I am in full agreement with Sri Sangal

about the *futility* of anti-parliamentary (or it is better to say, anti-election) politics. It is a fascinating paradox of Indian sub-continental politics (I include both India and Pakistan in this) that those parties which make it a point of talking of the futility of election are the best election-winners. And those who swear by elections are those who are the losers in election. And this is so because the mass of the people in this region love to vote, want to vote—against voting. Because they are convinced that those who are against voting are the ones who can do the work which they say cannot be done through the voting process. The rise of the CP(M) as an electoral force, their present tactics, and also of some other political parties, underlines this paradox which is India's most fascinating contribution to world politics. And Ayub Khan's inability to abolish the system of elections in Pakistan perhaps shows not only that a Right-wing adventurer cannot do it, but also that the people of this region will not let any one take away their right to vote against voting.

Has The Left "Failed" ? - II

S. G. SARDESAI

SRI O.P. Sangal's article on the subject (*Mainstream*, 22nd July) is timely and helpful.

Left parties have now been in office in a number of States for five months. Despite the implementation of certain popular measures by Ministries in which they wield influence in various degrees the general economic condition in such States is deteriorating rapidly as all over India. The situation can only be met by the determined execu-

tion of integrated, long-range popular policies. Gum plaster remedies cannot sustain popular support indefinitely. The string of popular demands accepted as "a programme" when the popular Ministries were formed can be no substitute for a comprehensive policy.

Besides, the Congress Government at the Centre is admittedly very rickety. Any moment it may face a crisis confronting the country with the sharp alternative of either turning Right or Left. If in the meanwhile Left parties fail to come out with agreed national policies as a

clear alternative to the policies of the ruling party the danger of reaction taking over is undoubtedly very grave.

This is the warning which Sri Sangal has correctly given to the Left parties and their leadership. The positive suggestions made by him are valuable. He is also right in drawing attention to the fact that in the recent period Left parties have been drawing further apart instead of drawing closer.

At the same time, there are very important positive aspects of the situation which need to be brought out so that the solution

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emerges out of all features of actual reality, and creates confidence among the Left forces that it is feasible.

The popular Ministries do not and could not function in a vacuum. From the moment of their formation, reaction launched a vicious offensive against them to dislodge them from office by hook or by crook. Reaction, again, is not a political abstraction. It means foreign and Indian monopolists resorting to mass retrenchment, closures, refusal to grant DA etc. It means landlords and jotedars resorting to mass ejection of tenants. It means their agents whipping up Hindu-Muslim, Bengali-Sikh and similar other conflicts. It means the police and the bureaucracy sabotaging popular measures of the new Ministries. It means the Congress bosses in the States where they have been dislodged from power bringing about the defection of MLAs of the ruling coalition by bribery and threats of violence. Even the top leaders of the Congress have participated in this dirty game. On top of it all, the Central Government has been discriminating against non-Congress popular Ministries in the matter of food supplies, financial aid and what not.

Main Target

Such have been the conditions under which the popular Ministries have had to function. Reaction has not given them a moment's breathing time to work out and implement long-range policies. For obvious reasons, Bengal is the main target of the vested interests for there the stake is the highest.

"Either resort to massive repression and bloodshed or confess that you are incapable of maintaining law and order"—this is the corner to which reaction has striven, with all its might, to drive the new popular Ministries.

In such a situation, the key test for judging the performance of Left parties holding ministerial positions should be whether they have aided, encouraged and protected the toiling and suffering people in their direct struggle against the vested interests or

whether, as under traditional Congress rule, they have protected the latter from the people's offensive.

Correct Procedure

By and large, there is no denying that they have followed the former course. The former ministry in Bengal would have drowned the gheraoes and Naxalbari in pools of blood. The new Ministry handled the movements, first and foremost, by exercising its power to secure the workers and peasants their just demands. It has been striving and with considerable success, in eliminating the intervention of the hated, trigger-happy police in peaceful popular struggles. It has striven to restrict the use of the police to Violence directed against popular interest.

If among the popular Ministries, the UP Ministry today is the "least popular", it is precisely because it has failed very seriously in carrying out this task.

Unless one sees this, one cannot explain why the mass support of the ministries in Bengal, Bihar and Kerala (and probably, though to a lesser extent, in Punjab) has actually grown in recent months (a fact not denied by the Congress rulers themselves) despite the simultaneous increase in prices, unemployment, scarcity and food shortage in these States.

Many Congressmen say that the Congress lost heavily in the last General Election because of rising prices and shortages. *Basically*, this is not true. The Congress lost because it backed the hoarders, profiteers and famine-makers *against* the people instead of putting them down with a firm hand.

If the people are convinced that the ruling party or coalition takes serious steps against landlords, hoarders and the employers, and above all encourages, organises and protects the working class, the peasantry and other sections in their mass offensive against their exploiters, they do not desert the ruling party or coalition. They rally behind it in larger numbers.

Congressmen, reactionaries and constitutional pundits in India also wonder how the Left parties running Ministries organise mass struggles themselves. In fact both politically and constitutionally, they consider such a policy to be impermissible, something like running with the hare and hunting with the hound.

However, given the existing property relations and bureaucracy in the country, the combination of mass struggles with ministerial-administrative measures is not only understandable and justified, but absolutely necessary.

Some popular ministries have also attempted to organise people's committees at lower levels and give them authority in the execution of popular measures in association with the official machinery. This creates greater assurance that the measures would be implemented and not sabotaged by the bureaucracy which notoriously works hand-in-glove with the vested interests.

Every democratic must welcome these new traditions being set up by the Left parties in power.

In fact, the vital need of the hour is to unify the growing mass upsurge in the country, most of all in States under democratic Ministries, against the policies of the Central Government which shackle the States in the discharge of their obligations to the people.

Change in Policy Needed

Everyone knows that the essence of monetary and fiscal power is in the hands of the Centre. There is no immediate solution of the food crisis in Kerala, Bengal and Bihar short of the Centre compelling surplus States to resort to monopoly procurement. It is impossible to arrest rocketing prices without the nationalisation of banks and the foreign trade. The recession cannot be halted without a radical change in the fiscal and industrial policies of the Central Governments.

It is to these issues that the rising discontent in the State has to be linked. It is not a question of working up some new mass movements on these issues. The movement is already there.

Gheraos, Naxalbari (minus its adventurism), mass dehoarding drives are there. And more such struggles are in the offing. The point is to raise them to the level of policy slogans and demands directed against the anti-people policies of the Central Government. From a local focus, the struggles have to develop a national focus.

And it is precisely here that the question of replacing the Central Congress government by the government of a democratic, popular coalition comes into the picture. The most rousing and the most unifying slogan of all the various mass struggles in the States can only be the slogan of defending the popular Ministries from the offensive of reaction and marching forward to replacing the Central government by a government of democratic unity.

Such is the perspective clearly spelt out in so many words by the Calcutta Resolution of our National Council. There is no question here of attempting to get into office at the Centre by some parliamentary coup or of harbouring any illusions about the Jana Sangh or Swatantra Party. Any such apprehension is unwarranted.

From yet another angle also it should be clear that Left parties today have no choice but to issue the slogan of fighting to establish a democratic coalition government at the Centre. It is notorious that it is the Rightist parties and their friends in the Congress and outside that are dead set on replacing the Congress government by a "national government", "a government of talents" and what not. It is they who are hatching all kinds of conspiracies to achieve their object. What are the Left parties to do in the situation? Just warn the Indian people against the danger and call on them to remain vigilant? That obviously will not serve the purpose.

The Reality

The most burning reality of the Indian situation today is that either reaction is going to bundle out the democratic State Ministries and capture power at the Centre or the Left and democratic forces are going to defend and strengthen the popular Ministries and move forward to power at the Centre. No third course is offered by prevailing circumstances.

The question has been raised as to what Left parties would do

if reactionary Congress MPs cross the floor in the event of the Congress Ministry at the Centre sponsoring some *really radical*, popular measures directed against Indian monopoly and feudal interests.

At the moment this is rather a hypothetical question. But our Party, in any case, will take the consequences of such a situation very seriously into consideration. We supported the Congress Government on the West Asian crisis in the teeth of opposition from Right and Left quarters in Parliament.

So the situation will have to be judged as and when it arises. When the Congress is reduced to a minority in Parliament, the new government to be formed will have to be a coalition of parties and elements pledged to a democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist programme. That is the crux of the matter. No party will be untouchable if it accepts such a programme. None will be touchable if it does not.

To attempt, *at present*, to state anything more on the question would be pure schematism. To state anything less is to fail to realise the necessity of flexibility in an extremely unstable, uncertain and fluid situation, in the name of democratic purity.

Non-Congressism

Much has been written and spoken on "non-Congressism". Our Party, at any rate, has never subscribed to that theory even at the cost of having to face sustained fire from other Left parties.

But if, during and after the Elections we have taken certain steps that appeared to make concessions to "non-Congressism", the problem has to be properly understood.

We have taken certain such steps not because of the "mood" of the masses. That is not our habit or tradition.

But a clear distinction has to be made between mood and experience. For two decades after independence the Indian people only experienced the horrors and corruption of Congress rule. The consistent mass campaigning of the Communist Party against the vicious, antipeople and pro-

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imperialist forces behind the Right reactionary parties, could not, by itself, convince the people of the profoundly dangerous character of these parties. If it could, a democratic front of the kind we have been propagating for long would have emerged long ago.

Self-Contradictory tactic

Under the given conditions, the tactic, given a favourable correlation of forces, of isolating Right reactionary policies and forces, while sharing office with them, had to be adopted after the Elections in certain States.

From the standpoint of pure logic, the tactic is clearly self-contradictory. But five months' experience has already demonstrated that the common people in States where both Left and Rightist parties are in office have begun to distinguish between the two, as for instance, both in UP and Bihar. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Clearly such an unnatural relationship cannot last for long. But it is unavoidable as a transitional approach considering the limitations of popular experience in our country in the post-independence period.

Finally, the question of Left unity. That, undoubtedly, is the linchpin of the situation. If the present tendency among Left parties to drift apart in a sullen mood continues, the game is up for a pretty long time to come, not only for them but for the progress of Indian democratic and patriotic politics as a whole.

But here again, the effort to reforge Left unity has to begin from actual experience.

The pre-election proposition of the SSP was that any, all-in anti-Congress front that defeated the Congress and captured a majority in the legislatures would work harmoniously for the implementation of popular demands.

What is the actual experience of Ministries in which the CPI, the SSP, the PSP and certain other progressive elements have had to work with the Jana Sangh and similar elements?

On the vital questions of land reforms, food procurement, price-

control, working class demands, reduction of taxation on the poor etc. the Left parties in such ministries have (despite all their in-fighting) come to loggerheads with the parties of the Right.

Are the leaders of the SSP and PSP going to draw the obvious conclusions and lessons from this experience? The SSP has been the leading champion of "non-Congressism". Ministerial experience has already perforated that theory and the practice following from it. It corroborates the slogan of Left and democratic unity.

The SSP leaders thundered against Naxalbari for some time until, as in their recent Central Executive meeting, they realised that carrying such criticism beyond a point amounts to their becoming helpmates of the Central Government and the vested interests in Bengal in toppling the popular ministry and bringing the Congress back to power. Madhu Limaye has realised that the only alternative to breaking with the Communists is to enter into a coalition with the Congress. As it is said, this is learning from "negative experience" but it is helpful all the same.

The CP(M) also has had to swallow the bitter pill of experience. This is not to gloat over its new crisis, but to appeal to it to draw the necessary conclusions in the interest of Left and democratic unity against reaction.

If, as the CP(M) leadership now says, adventurism and genuinely militant mass struggles have to be clearly demarcated; if adventurism, as it now recognises, actually helps the Congress and the vested interests to undermine the new Ministries which the CP(M) leaders now accept as progressive and democratic ministries, then the CP(M) has clearly to revise its dogma of equating the unity of all Left and democratic forces with revisionism.

Even if the CP(M) begins to change its opinions and tactics on these issues an immense step forward will have been taken towards the unity of all Left and democratic forces.

Unity for well-planned militant mass struggles, unity for defending the popular ministries from the offensive of reaction, unity for replacing the Congress Government at the Centre by a Government of democratic unity, this is

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A Many-splendoured Community

K. R. GANESH

GANDHIJI had dreamt and worked for a casteless Indian Society. Last week Lok Sabha started discussion on the Report of the Commissioner for Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes. Angry MPs condemned the existence of caste discriminations even after twenty years of independence.

The Andaman and Nicobar islands is the only region in India where casteism was never prevalent. The islands are again the only area in the country where Hindustani has evolved as a common language. Co-existence of religious groups is another characteristic of this union Territory.

The rise of Hindustani speaking community (known as Andaman Indians) from the ashes of penal servitude into a homogenous group is a glorious example of the evolution of peoples in a given environmental condition. Largely descendants of the 'convicts' who were deported to the islands after 1857, (hailing from all parts of undivided India and speaking different languages), this community has had evolved into a compact group speaking Hindustani and following common cultural forms. With the passage of time the Andaman Indians lost all traces of their original cultures and all links with the mainland. They adopted the Andamans as their permanent homeland.

This process of welding of disparate group into a homogenous entity also wiped out such regressive social evils as casteism and religious orthodoxy. Marriages

between different religious groups is not uncommon and the society accepts it, without any jolt. There are families in the community who are direct descendants of those who had participated in the 1857 Revolution.

This intelligent and cosmopolitan community had to struggle against all odds including administrative indifference and 'mainland' prejudices due to their convict descent. Immediately, after independence they had to defend their regional and cultural rights. They have successfully defended the right of the Urdu speaking among them, and this language along Hindi is now used as a medium of instruction upto the Higher Secondary stage. Literacy among the Andaman Indians is about 80 per cent. They inhabit the South Andaman island and the capital town, Port Blair.

Maphillas

The Maphillas are sturdy Muslim peasants from Kerala, who were deported to the islands after the Maphilla (commonly called Mophas in many parts of India) revolt in Malabar. The Maphillas are the first Indian converts to Islam directly by Arab missionaries. Living from 1921 in South Andaman and Port Blair town they were the first to raise the banner of revolt against slave penal conditions. Being orthodox Muslims they have coexisted with their Hindu brethren in a remarkable manner. There has never been any instance of any Hindu-Muslim conflict, even during tension-charged times when rivers of blood had flown on the mainland. They have preserved their own language, Malayalam, and their own cul-

ture and way of life.

All the Maphillas fluently speak Hindustani as well, and are today learning Hindi. By the time they had arrived in the islands the evolutionary and integrating process had lost its original vitality. By early twenties the Hindustani speaking community had developed a closed shell. Furthermore, they had come together in very large numbers. Even then inter-marriages between Hindustani Muslims and Maphillas took place in large numbers.

Unlike their Hindustani brethren, who have attained a measure of economic stability, the Maphillas are poor peasants still struggling to make two ends meet. This is largely due to the uneconomic holdings of less than three acres in average with them. Since 1921 the peasant families have increased tenfold. The position is the same among the Hindustani peasants. Their demand for more land when surplus land is available has been stubbornly cold-shouldered by the bureaucratic administration. This is one of the central political questions in the Territory. The Andaman District Congress Committee had decided to launch a satyagraha to focus attention on this injustice.

Educationally also the Maphillas are behind others due largely to economic reasons and inadequate facilities before independence. Their demand to make Malayalam a medium of instruction upto the Higher Secondary stage is just and has been supported by the District Congress.

But a disquieting feature of the situation is the recent activity and influence of the Jamait-e-Islami

The author is the Member of Parliament representing the Andaman and Nicobar islands. The first article in this series appeared in last week's Mainstream (August 5, 1967.)

among the Maphillas. For the last few years, bands of Jamaite-Islami activists are flooding the islands. In the name of religious activities these activists are sedulously putting across anti-national and anti-democratic ideas among the unsophisticated Maphillas. Their immediate target is to 'retrieve' them from the main current of the islands' cosmopolitanism and secularism. Some Government servants and lower revenue staff are actively helping them. They have started persistent character assassination of secular Maphilla leaders. One of my speeches during the General Election attacking the anti-national character of the Jamaite-Islami was misrepresented and distorted to falsely mean an attack on the Muslims.

The administration has the necessary facts on this ominous development. But the officers, being time-servers and having no permanent stake in the Territory, are just sitting pretty. The Union Home Ministry must intervene immediately. Otherwise the heritage of the islands will be sacrilegied by this tiny group of fanatics, with disastrous consequences in a strategic area.

The island's secular political life had right from its inception in 1950 fought against incipient revivalism of the majority community brought about by new entrants in the Territory. It has stoutly defended the best secular democratic traditions of the country. When the Maphillas were under communal attack immediately after independence, the secular political elements defended them and mobilised them in common organisations; in the development of which the Maphillas contributed fully and effectively.

The defence of Urdu is another great heritage of the secular political forces. Some 100 Muslim families of convict origin who had belonged to Pakistan part of undivided India, and who had been living in the islands from the start of this century having merged their identity with the Andaman Indians, were classed wrongly as 'Pakistani nationals'. Their right to be Indian nationals

was successfully defended by the local Congress.

From East Pakistan to the Andamans is a gulf of over a thousand miles. The trek of the East Bengal refugees to the Andamans has been through blood and toil. This unfortunate section of Indian humanity, who had left their hearths and homes in defence of their way of life, have found a new home in the islands. Within the next five years, they would constitute the largest linguistic group in the territory. As such their role in the economic development and the political life of the islands will be far reaching. They have now developed permanent roots and react to events in much the same way as their older brethren.

Their struggle to find a new home has been inspiring and full of adventure. They inhabit the North and the Middle Andamans, and some villages in the South, Havelock and Neil islands. These islands were uninhabited. The rigours of the Andaman jungle life, hostile aboriginals — the Jarawas— heavy monsoon, leading to invasion of leaches and thigh deep slush and mud, no roads and primitive inter-island transport— and an insensitive bureaucracy— all these odds were against the East Bengal settler. Even hardy groups find the conditions too rigorous. The settlers had come to the Andamans with their backs broken and minds warped after all the hell they had gone through in East Pakistan and West Bengal camp sites. But the sheer desire for survival made them face this unequal struggle.

Over 95 per cent of East Bengal settlers are poor peasants. A small number of them are beginning to look up after achieving some economic stability. The majority are engaged in the struggle to keep the family going. The clearance of five acres hilly land allotted to them for horticultural purposes is beyond their means. Drought animals are in short supply and many settlers have lost their pairs due to inferior breeds supplied to them. It is not possible for such settlers to replace their pairs out of their own savings.

With the families growing the question of employment looms large. The administrative machinery at the tehsil level is dominated by elements who are averse to settlers, and are discriminating against them.

In spite of initial fear among the old settlers, the relationship between the Bengali residents and other permanent groups is admirably cooperative. Inter-marriages are bound to grow. The Bengali settlers have brought with them the best of Bengal's cultural heritage. Today Durga Puja as celebrated in Bengal is the national festival of all the residents of the islands. The new generation of Bengali youth growing in the Andamans is imbibing the best of island's secular life, its jungle hardiness and its cosmopolitanism. The Schedule-caste mentality is being shed completely.

The urge of the Bengali residents to maintain their rich cultural moorings and adopt Bengali as the medium of instruction upto the Higher Secondary Stage is just and has the support of all forward-looking elements. They are learning and speaking Hindi. They constitute an important and almost decisive element in the island's political life. They are working with others in the Congress and other mass organisations of the people.

(To be continued).

Has the Left 'Failed'?

(Continued from Page 19)

the path to the reforging of Left unity today.

Indeed, the situation is so serious that not only the interests of Indian democracy, but even the partisan interest of each Left party, the interest of its own survival and growth, peremptorily demands the adoption of such a course by each and every Left party, each and every democratic element in our national life. The sands of time are running fast. What is feasible today may become out of reach tomorrow.

The thing can be done. The actual experience of life must be given precedence over pet theories and dogmas which have been exposed by the test of reality during the last five months.

Trade Unions and Labour Laws

SATISH LOOMBA

THE purpose of the present essay is to examine briefly and in broad outline the impact which trade union movement in our country has had in the field of labour legislation since we gained independence. It is proposed to discuss in this article the question of bonus, wages and DA. In these matters there has been pressure from the workers on the one side and from the employers on the other. This article is limited to the position regarding the impact of the TU movement alone.

Some of the questions examined do not fall within the purview of legislation in its entirety. But the link is so close that the border has been consciously crossed in order to get a clear and full picture. Legislation is taken to mean not only law promulgated by the legislature, but also case law and quasi-legislative measures.

The impact of the movement on bonus is most clearly marked.

The term "bonus" is generally used to mean profit-sharing bonus. Excluding for the moment incentive and production bonus, regularity, attendance and efficiency bonus, etc., and confining ourselves to profit sharing bonus, it can be easily seen that there has been considerable development and even change in the concept and content of bonus over the past years.

Bonus came into existence as a "share in the prosperity of the company" and whether it was granted or not and what was the quantum depended only on the sweet will of the employer. Though trade unions resorted many times to strike to get bonus or to increase the quantum, the position continued for quite some time that bonus payment was only an *ex-gratia* payment.

The first breakthrough came when industrial courts began to recognise the argument of trade

unions that though the nature of bonus was a share in profits, it was not an *ex-gratia* payment but, in certain circumstances, it became a *right* of the workers. Therefore, the first change in the concept of bonus brought about by the trade unions was the acceptance, of the workers' right to bonus, independent of the will of the employer, provided certain conditions were present—these being the availability of a surplus to share on the basis of profits of a year.

The second major breakthrough came with the Payment of Bonus Ordinance and the subsequent Act in 1965.

Each year, the unions had to raise a fresh dispute in order to get bonus in each concern. The right to bonus had been won—but there was no obligation on the part of employers to pay unless this was established with respect to each year in each particular unit. Due to many exigencies, workers in a particular concern might get bonus in one year and not get it in the next, although due, because they failed to raise a dispute. Many workers, never got bonus, although due, because they had no union to raise a dispute on their behalf. When it is remembered that TU organisations cover only a small proportion of the total industrial force in the country, we can see that, though the right had been won, its enforcement was lacking in a vast number of cases.

For the first time, the Act casts a responsibility on the employers to pay bonus. The right of the worker has been matched by a corresponding obligation of the employer and a machinery provided to protect the right and enforce the obligation. The right in individual cases has become a universal right on a self acting basis.

The third major development

has again been through the Payment of Bonus Act. Bonus was hitherto considered a share in the prosperity of the concern, which was measured in terms of available surplus in any particular year. In actual fact, bonus has now been de-linked from profits. A minimum bonus has to be paid irrespective of whether a concern makes a profit or suffers a loss. The total wage bill of industry as a whole has therefore been increased by at least four per cent, assuming that all concerns liable to pay bonus incur a loss in a particular year.

Payment of bonus irrespective of profit or loss has been a major demand of the TU movement. The theory behind this was that bonus is, in fact, a deferred wage, since there exists an undeniable gap between actual wages and the living wage.

We are not concerned with the question whether the Bonus Commission or the Act has accepted this theory or not. We are only concerned with what is the actual result and how provision of a minimum bonus has altered the concept and content of bonus from a payment due only when profits allowed an available surplus to one which is irrespective of either. True, there are many points of difference between wages and minimum bonus. But the very fact that bonus is payable in all cases concedes the principle behind the trade union's theory that it is in the nature of deferred wage.

The system of set-off and set-on does not affect this basic change in the character of bonus. Conceivably, a concern can go on working on losses for a much longer period than the set-off cycle provides and yet must pay bonus.

If we remember that along with the floor of four per cent, a ceiling

of 20 per cent has been provided. we can grasp the change in a better way. Both at the minimum and the maximum levels the available surplus ceases to determine the quantum. In fact, the concept of available surplus which was evolved and used as a determinant of entitlement to bonus (and also, secondarily, as a measure) has completely lost this function and has become only a measure. If the available surplus is such that the allocable surplus will be less than four per cent, the worker gets four per cent, if it is more than 20 per cent, he gets only twenty per cent, and in between the minimum and maximum bonus, he gets a graded intermediate bonus.

The right to bonus is thus independent of available surplus; only the quantum of bonus depends upon it.

Actually, whatever be the reasons advanced, the fact is that since available surplus is to be used as a yardstick, elastic concepts like rehabilitation or reserves used as working capital, had to be discarded and a yardstick sought to be evolved which would not measure one foot or one metre depending only on extraneous circumstances and the burden of proof. The measure must be a standard measure, as rigid as possible, with variable and flexible elements reduced to the minimum.

The TU movement is not satisfied with the Act. It has made many concessions to the employers. But it is not the purpose of this article to set forth a critique of the Act from the point of view of the trade unions. At present, we are concerned only with analysis of the impact which the movement has had on the concept of bonus.

To sum up : the trade union movement's impact on bonus can be seen in the change from the position where bonus was regarded as ex-gratia payment, to where bonus is regarded as, firstly, a right of the worker; secondly, from a right enforceable on prior action by workers in each case to a universal obligation cast on employers; thirdly, from bonus as a share in prosperity to bonus as a right irrespective of

the prosperity of a concern.

Certain other developments can also be noted which are, however, not of a major nature.

The changeover in computation of bonus from basic to total wages, though the quantum remains unchanged, means in the present context a redistribution of the quantum in favour of the lower-paid workers in the vast majority of cases—a position to which the TU movement subscribes. Again at the minimum level and maximum, where the quantum becomes independent of available surplus in the sense noted above, the change in computing bonus on the basis of total wages, represents a gain.

One of the issues on which the TUs have raised their voice all along is the enlargement of the concept of workmen. In various Acts such as the Industrial Disputes Act, the Payment of Wages Act, the ESI Act, etc., the wage ceiling for determining who is and who is not a workman has been subject to periodic upward revision. In the case of the Bonus Act, the ceiling is put at Rs. 1600 per month, a big enlargement when compared with any other legislation.

Wages

Apart from the constant struggle of all trade unions to raise the wages of workers, the impact of which in real terms is difficult to examine with any degree of certitude due to paucity of data and which, in any case, falls outside the purview of the present article, what is the major direction of policy on wages which the trade unions have been pursuing?

It is common knowledge that the wage map of India shows a chaotic condition. Not only is there vast inter-regional and inter-industry disparity, even in the same industry and the same region, large disparities exist, not always related to the size of the enterprise or its capacity to pay. The demand of the trade unions has been a national minimum wage irrespective of the capacity of an enterprise to pay the wage. On the basis of this national minimum wage proper differentials would then fit the minimum wage for each category of

workers. This demand has not yet been realised, but important gains in that direction have already been secured and these should be noted. Properly speaking, these gains may not be through statutes but through utilisation of existing legislation and giving it a concrete content or through evolving new media which may be quasi-statutory.

Wage fixation is generally explained by economists to be the resultant of interplay between supply and demand. In offering the price, the buyer is presumed to have taken into account his capacity to pay the price he offers. This would mean that wage rates for the same trade may differ from region to region, industry to industry and unit to unit. However, the pressures exerted by the TU movement have altered the situation to some extent.

The first major breakthrough was on the issue that so far as minimum wages are concerned, capacity to pay is not a relevant consideration. If an industry cannot pay even the minimum, it has no right to exist. Though not put on the statute book, this proposition has become a part of established case law.

In the context of the operation of the Minimum Wages Act, this represented a major advance. Though machinery under the Minimum Wages Act does not function as it should, the very fact that in fixing the quantum of wages, capacity to pay is not a consideration but the requirements of the worker, is a big gain won by the workers.

Since the Minimum Wages Act covers a number of industries within each State, although the wages are fixed separately for each industry, the elimination of capacity to pay as the determinant and the resultant emphasis on needs of the worker and his family, have led to a position when within each State, in various industries, the prescribed minimum wage for different industries tends to be more or less the same.

Hence the first major result has been the tendency to equalise wages at the minimum level in each State on an industry level, and even beyond that on an all-

industry level within a State. The Act does not cover all industries; the wage determination of industries is at different times and not at the same time. This naturally has led to divergences which may not have been there if wages in all the covered industries were determined at the same time. But even with these limitations, the impact of the TU movement in equalising wages at the minimum level in each State is clear. Thus content has been given to the form laid down by the Minimum Wages Act in which the impact of the TU movement is quite visible.

The State industrial minimum can well lead to a State minimum wage.

Another important development is the institution of national wage boards for various organised industries. The working of these Boards is attended by many shortcomings and the reports of some at least have been very frustrating from the viewpoint of the trade unions. However, one important aspect needs to be examined.

National Wage Boards

For the first time, some of the Boards, like cement and iron and steel wage boards, laid down largely a national wage structure, with very little of regional and other considerations. Some others, as in sugar and tea plantations, retained the regional disparities but within each region, introduced a single wage structure.

This development marks a big advance towards the position advocated by the TU movement.

In India, due to the peculiar historical pattern of development, we do not have national industrial unions but local unions on unit-wise basis. There is no forum for collective bargaining for wages on a national industrial basis. Wage boards have provided a machinery by which some break has been made in the complete anarchy of wages. In a number of cases, a national wage structure has been laid down for one industry for the first time. In some other cases, regional structure have been evolved for one industry which at least do away with inter-unit differences within a region. In fixing wages, the viability of industry as a whole is taken into account and not the individual capacity to pay of each separate unit.

Thus the TU movement has been able to advance along three directions :

(i) Delinking, at the minimum level, the fixation of wages from the capacity of unit/industry to bear the burden;

(ii) utilising the Minimum Wages Act, although with lacunae to evolve state industrial minimum in wages which is leading to the emergence of a State minimum wage.

(iii) Securing through the Wage Boards, national and in some cases regional, industrial wage structures.

All these developments are steps in the direction of achieving a national minimum wage on the basis of which, with proper fixation of differentials, a rational wage structure could be evolved.

It is interesting to note that

at a meeting of a Study Group called by the Planning Commission to discuss wages, the trade unions' demand for a national minimum wage was accepted unanimously.

In the most vital and sensitive sector of wages, the trade unions have thus been able to make an impact through lending a new and enlarging content to existing legislation and other media of governmental policy.

D.A.

There is no legislation on DA. However, since DA has come to be an acknowledged part of our system of wages, some brief discussion is necessary.

The direction of trade union struggle has been along three main lines: acceptance of the principle of DA linked to the cost of living indices in all industries; securing 100 per cent neutralisation at all levels of wages; correction of the present consumer price index numbers. In all these three fields, the impact has been considerable.

The very concept of DA and its acceptance in any of its forms concedes the impact of the trade unions. However, now the major demands are the three demands listed above.

The first of these has been conceded in words over and over again. Action, however, is yet to follow. A Legislation seeking to enforce this is what seems to be necessary.

The third demand has been conceded in a few places—Bombay, Ahmedabad and Delhi—but with limitations. Action regarding other indices is yet to be taken.

As for the second demand, in a few industries at the lowest level, 90 to 100 per cent neutralisation is given but it tapers off at higher wage levels. Not much impact has been made in this direction.

The talk about "wage freeze"—a measure which attacks DA linked to the cost of living index—has recently been revived in a big way after the Chief Ministers' conference. Sri Morarji Desai has again fathered this proposal, which he first put forward im-

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'Gherao' and 'Law and Order' in West Bengal

ASWINI K. RAY

'GHERAO' has now been turned into a revolutionary doctrine, particularly by those who see in it menacing forebodings of a complete breakdown of law and order in a State like West Bengal, where the sociological conditions never allowed any particularly strong allegiance to law or order. Neither law nor order had ever been the strong point of life in West Bengal and certainly not of its political life.

Those who have recently been elevated to martyrdom, by issuing 'patriotic' communications to the Parliament from their hospital beds, had, not very long back, sent many other politicians (unfortunately no MPs) to shabbier places of convalescence than the Serampore Walsh Hospital. That is about law and order.

But gherao basically remains the same homely form of compulsion by which one is pestered to the point of desperation till he gives in. Children use it against parents for extra pocket allowance; adolescents employ it to advantage to get parental approval for chosen spouses; adults employ it for a wide range of needs and indulgently call it nagging. In the employer-employee relationship where no love is lost between the parties, gherao brings in a compulsion, greater only in degree; for no, concession, in this relationship, has ever been granted by sheer goodwill. The bitterness that is left by gherao is always the result of an afterthought of possible wisdom before conceding. The mortification, on the part of the one granting concession through gherao, is genuine: he is not bat-

tered, but bitter; not atoned but penitent. In the cool comfort of post-gherao postmortem it is easy to be sure that the breaking point could have been stretched. The resentment is natural.

The process of maturity of the call to violent action given by Dr. Lohia in his battle cry—'Ghera Dalo'; into the more refined 'Gherao' is of significance; but, what is of greater significance is to put the records straight by drawing out the sequence of events which reveal the compulsions and persuasions that remain hazy in the midst of the bewilderment of those, in whose value-system, law and order gets top priority. Unfortunately, as would be borne out, the call for 'law and order' is quite often an alibi for enforcing the status-quo, which remains threatened, but yet not altered, by the changed political context of post-election shake-up.

It all started with the Prime Minister, who, with her feminine premonition of the potent dangers of this weapon of mass action, called it "theft of public money". That was as early as October 16, 1966, when even Big Business had not cared to give it any respectability by even recognising it. The next indictment, as was possibly wont to be, came from the Union Labour Minister who, in a letter written to his counterpart in West Bengal, on May 4, 1967, expressed his concern at the increasing number of gheraos in West Bengal.

That served its purpose as an invitation to a series of such expressions. In any case, if the Labour Minister came in, could the employers be left far behind? They rushed in where the Minister did not fear to tread. On

May 10, came the announcement of the four chambers of commerce—Bengal National, Indian, Bharat, Bengal (all nationalist names! and, no segregation)—drawing the attention of the West Bengal Chief Minister "to the new phase which the gherao movement has been entering in Calcutta", and that, "unless the Government takes effective measures, law and order will completely break down".

The apprehension of the breakdown of law and order was immediately followed by newspaper headlines announcing actual breakdown. After all, in the sphere of Big Business everyone knows about his station and its duties. *The Times of India* (Delhi) of May 11, 1967, brought out the frightening headline: 'Cos-sipore gherao turns violent'. Fortunately, the reportage was less synthetic; it said, that, the gherao "threatened to take a serious turn", but "the situation eased down at the intervention of the Deputy Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu". The gulf between the reportage and the headline revealed, if nothing else, the limits of human ingenuity (or of the subconscious mind?), howsoever desperate be the need and desire to coordinate wishes and facts.

The day before—on May 10, the legal significance of gherao was being tested at another venue. The Standing Labour Body of the Government of India disapproved of 'gherao' in a resolution which was passed only after Sri Dange walked out with the AITUC delegation, after failing to stop its passage. While walking out of the meeting Sri Dange said that gherao was a legitimate weapon and AITUC would

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organise them with a vengeance.

Meanwhile, Calcutta witnessed the rather unusual spectacle of the Union Home Minister, going off the proceedings of the Eastern Zonal Council to brief the press with an indictment against gherao, to suggest, as if the Chief Ministers had deliberated against them. But till then no Chief Minister had spoken against gheraos, and, it was only on May 26 that the Swatantra-led Orissa Government in a Press note called gheraos as being "unconstitutional and illegal, and constituted a cognisable offence." The Union Home Minister was possibly divining the opinion of the Swatantra Chief Minister of Orissa in his judgement upon the implications of gherao.

On the very day the Orissa Government declared gheraos as being unconstitutional, the West Bengal Labour Minister (not the 'employer' Minister, as he emphasized) told newsmen that is was for the judiciary to decide whether gheraos were unconstitutional or not. It is revealing that those who take refuge behind executive fiat to establish the unconstitutionality of gheraos have not found it convenient to obtain any categorical judicial pronouncement on the subject.

Meanwhile the West Bengal Labour Minister Sri Subodh Banerjee, in reply to the Union Labour Minister's letter, informed him that no peaceful settlement of unrest was possible unless the grounds for discontent were removed, and that, it was unfair to hold the labour responsible for gherao. The West Bengal Labour Minister's known sympathy for gherao as a legitimate weapon was soon made more categorical, when he said, that, the standing Labour Committee's decision disapproving gheraos was meaningless, as, according to him, AITUC was not a party to it. Since AITUC-affiliated unions were a major factor in West Bengal, "if they now go on organising gheraos in my State what am I going to do?" he asked.

Quick came the answer as to what he was supposed to do. But before analysing the reactions to the West Bengal Labour Minister's statement, it is important to note a significant intervening event

which sharpened the edge of the anger of those who wanted to coach the Labour Minister about what to do.

The UF Government's, (shall we say, the Food Minister's?) faith in the method of persuasion having been chastened by experience, the West Bengal Cabinet, on May 11 decided to launch a state-wide de-hoarding drive to unearth hidden stock of food-grains. *The Times of India* (Delhi) editorial of May 12th revealed much of the thought processes of those for whom time had come to hit. The editorial called "the Cabinet Decision" as clearly marking "the triumph of the Left parties in the United Front who had become openly restive at the government's patience with big producers, rice-millers and traders". The faith in Sri Ajoy Mukherjee and Dr. P.C. Ghosh no longer was enough to outweigh the fear of Basu-Konar-Banerjee.

On May 15, the Union Labour Minister again found it expedient to publicly reiterate his known views, that gheraos were unlawful and constituted a cognisable offence. The Union Minister for Steel, Mines, Fuel was one up on him; he called gheraos as being an invitation to lawlessness and anarchy which not only "threatens our economic wellbeing but our very continuance as a *stable* (emphasis supplied) society". The PSP, incidentally an ally in the West Bengal coalition, found it opportune to express its opposition to gheraos in their meeting of the National Executive at Bangalore, at the same time. These socialists—PSP brand, were in august company. On May 20, in a joint letter to the West Bengal Chief Minister, five Chambers of Commerce demanded that the State Government should declare gheraos and other (?) intimidatory tactics illegal and give police protection to management in case of gheraos. The figures published by them were also interesting.

According to the figures, between March 1, 1967 and May 15, 1967 there were 141 labour troubles of all types, of which 115 were gheraos: 18—13 per cent were against retrenchment, lay offs, closures; 20—14 per cent were

by workers demanding immediate implementation of Engineering Wage Board's award; the rest—103 were demonstrations on issues like bonus, recognition of unions, confirmation, transfers and "disciplinary" action.

These were not all. It was more than merely a coincidence that the West Bengal Cabinet decision of May 11 to launch a de-hoarding drive was followed, on the 16th, by a series of gheraos in State Government undertakings in the State Electricity Board, Durgapore Projects Ltd., Kalyani Spinning Mills, ultimately to a 'test' gherao against the State Labour Minister himself, from which he came out "thoroughly enjoying" himself.

The series of subsequent events after these in May have followed the usual pattern; and, the only difference that later events seem to have brought about is the increasing inadequacy of gherao as a sufficient alibi to prove a breakdown of law and order in the State.

The scene was conveniently shifted from urban and industrialised Calcutta to the rural and strategic Naxalbari, to fit it in with the Maoist thesis of an encirclement of the towns by the siege of surrounding villages; and then, of course, the usual logic and the usual accusation of anti-national activities of the 'Left' Communists. It is interesting to note in brief, how the appeal to patriotism has been the first refuge of the Government as a foil against the Left Communists, which has been projected as much in the case of gherao as in Naxalbari as elsewhere. It started with the war against China.

It happened after the series of violent agitations during late 1954, when, after the anti-Hindi agitation in Madras (DMK-sponsored), Gujarat Bandh (CPI & SSP-organised), Maharashtra Bandh (SSP and CP-sponsored), Orissa Students' Strike (dissident Congress-inspired), UP agitation against rising prices (SSP-sponsored), on January 1, 1965, Home Minister Nanda charged the Left Communists with "plots to overthrow the Government through armed rebellion", followed by the arrest of 1000 Left Com-

munists without trial in January 1965. Again in August 1965 after the violent agitation in Bihar (SSP-organised) against rise in school tuition fees, the Chief Minister of Bihar had Dr. Lohia arrested and accused on August 13, 1965, the Left Communists of engineering the trouble. On August, 14 the PSP leaders also accused the Left Communists and got in return, the release of the PSP workers in Bihar.

Of course, in West Bengal in case of any political violence the CPM was easily made out to be the sole villain; this, despite the fact, as already mentioned, that violence when they broke up in Calcutta, was more because it was in Calcutta, than due to the fact that the agitations were CPM-sponsored. Even in the sphere of labour unrest, out of a total of 10 million-man-days lost in India in 1960, only four million—accounting for 40 percent of India's total—were in West Bengal. Compared to the high degree of industrialisation, and concentration of engineering industries in particular where labour unrest is more accountable to purely economic factors, one would find the statistics less sordid than it is sought to be made out, particularly in view of the high degree of politicised labour of the area.

The CPM, in particular, appears less responsible for political violence or for gharaos than is really sought to be proved. It is also significant that when the streets were the main forum for the CPM to express resentments, most agitations, even the violent ones, were all for causes ranging from rising prices, food or economic conditions; whereas, when the streets have been left to the harbingers of 'Democratic Socialism' and 'Secularism', most street violences in Calcutta have been communal in character; not even old communalism which has historical relevance, but new forms of communal passion.

It is significant that there is an increasing popular realisation of this fact and a growing 'credibility gap' in the accusations of anti-national activities against the Left Communists; along with it a consciousness that gharaos or

bandhs are spontaneous manifestations, thoughtfully channelised, of popular protests against deep-seated social, economic and political maladies. Otherwise how can one account for the fact that despite Naxalbari and the publicity of Kanu Sanyal in the classic Maoist mould, the popularity of the CPM is on the rise? In 18 municipal elections held so far in West Bengal, the CPM has won

159 out of 359 seats, followed by Congress—47, CPI—20.

Either, there is grave inequity in the system of law and order which exists, and the people are voting for the votaries of its overhaul; or, that there is no danger to law and order and people are voting for a change which is taking place in West Bengal, and the process of change is both legal and orderly.

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Present Crisis and Its Character

MOHIT SEN

THE Indian economy has undergone a severe downturn in the past two-and-a-half years, and all the signs point to its continuation for at least another year. All the production indices have registered sharp decreases in rates of growth and, in a majority of cases, in the past year especially there has been an absolute decrease.

Earlier complaints by progressive circles that the rate of advance was far too slow judged by the needs and possibilities of the situation, have been replaced by completely justified alarm about the disappearance of growth altogether. There would be little controversy about the facts but there may well be some difference as to the extent and character of the downturn in the past thirty months.

Some would call it a recession; others a slackening and still others a slump. It may sound somewhat old-fashioned and unorthodox but it would appear to be more accurate and scientific to speak in terms of a crisis. Only those who would wish to soften the consciousness of the damage done to the economy would wish to indulge in neutral-sounding euphemisms.

Indeed, the "decolouring" of language has its social origins and significance. Imperialism is replaced by "developed" countries, socialist economy by "centrally planned" economy, newly independent countries by "underdeveloped" or "developing" countries. Thus also with the term crisis.

All this semantic softening up may salve the conscience of some of the more fortunately placed intellectuals, to say nothing of the home-grown and foreign

backers of these exercises in evaporating social events of social significance by terminological changes. But for the common man who has to suffer from things, verbal escapism is of no value and is even positively harmful. Let us see the facts as given in the official *Economic Survey itself*.

Detereoration

In 1965-66, 1966-67, and it would seem for a good part of the current financial year, there is not a sphere of India's economy that has not suffered seriously. National income has declined by at least 0.6 per cent in 1966-67 as compared to 1964-65, while per capita income has gone down by 5.5 per cent as compared to two years ago. Agricultural production in 1966-67 is expected to be about 14 per cent lower than in 1964-65 while foodgrains are down by nearly 15 per cent. Foodgrains production in the past financial year declined to about the level of 1959-60.

Industrial production increase became sluggish in 1965-66 as well as in the subsequent year. It has started plunging down from a meagre 2.5 to 3 per cent growth rate to an absolute decline in the first six months of 1967 when it is estimated that there has been a seven per cent drop covering practically all industrial sectors. This despite the very optimistic expectations expressed in the *Economic Survey*. These false hopes were based on the fallacy that liberalisation of imports would prove to be a panacea.

The level of investment and of gross capital formation levelled off and the rate of growth almost diminished. For example, Central and States' developmental

outlay in terms of percentage change at constant prices came down from 11.6 in 1964-65 to minus 2.6 in 1966-67. At the same time the Central Government's direct gross fixed capital formation in the same terms declined from 8.0 in 1964-65 to 0.1 1965-66 (the latest figure available). It is more than likely to have gone down in keeping with the negative trend in development outlays. The private sector in India's industry is so heavily dependent on the public sector's spending (and on agriculture) that it, too, has suffered a setback in capital formation. In the past 30 months India's economy has not been adding to its capital stock and even partially depleting it.

The per capita availability of foodgrains in 1966-67 is estimated at 14.2 ounces per day compared to a three-year average of 16.2 ozs in 1960-63. The level of availability of oilseeds remained for below that attained in the 1960s. Consumption of cloth per capita declined by 3.3 per cent in 1965-66 over the preceding year and by a further 5.5 per cent in 1966-67. Thus, there has been in operation (especially if we consider the disastrously large disparities in income in India) the law of the absolute impoverishment of the masses.

Exports earnings declined from Rs. 816 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 810 crores in 1965-66 and there was a further drop in terms of foreign exchange of nearly 8 per cent in the first eleven months of 1966-67—from \$ 1,529 million in April 1965 to February 1966 to \$ 1,409 million in April 1966 to February 1967. The depressed demand in foreign mar-

kets was superimposed on the evil effects of devaluation and shortages in domestic production. The unit value of a large number of major export commodities fell during 1966-67, a decline that generally started towards the end of 1965. Imports, in terms of foreign exchange, witnessed a fall of 11.4 per cent in the first eleven months of 1966-67 and, what is even worse, there was a substantial shift in favour of emergency food imports at the expense of intermediate and capital goods. The percentage fall in April-November 1966 as compared to April-November 1965 of intermediate goods industrial inputs was 13.4, of iron and steel 45.6, of non-ferrous metals 51.3, of machinery 19.5, of metal manufactures 41.6 and of transport equipment 50.7. In the same period cereal imports rose by 25.3 and fertilisers by 57.5 per cent. A very small proportion of the 33 per cent fall in capital goods imports was due to its domestic production being increased. Capital formation itself has obviously suffered grievously.

Another striking feature is the marked fall in net external aid receipts. While the level of gross disbursements suffered an absolute decline, debt service payments continued to rise. The proportion of investment income payments and amortisation to current account receipts rose from 12 per cent to 22 per cent during the Third Plan period and further went up to nearly 27 per cent in the first six months of 1966-67. It should be noted that the value of authorisations in 1965-66, following the conflict with Pakistan, fell by more than 14.5 per cent compared to the previous year. Worse was to follow in that the inflow of gross aid during April-December 1966 fell by 17 per cent compared to the corresponding period of the previous year. After allowing for debt service, net inflow dropped by 24.5 per cent. This increasing ratio of debt repayments to inflow of aid has a further adverse consequence (except for aid received from the socialist countries) in that while a large portion of external aid is tied,

repayments have to be made in free foreign exchange. Thus, untied aid and export earnings in convertible currencies (which have a very high scarcity value) have increasingly and substantially to be pre-empted for meeting debt obligations.

Prices have risen very sharply during the past 30 months, the general index going up by 15.2 per cent in 1965-66 and a further 16.5 per cent in 1966-67 with the rate of increase showing no signs of abating in the past few months. The Food articles price index rose by 14.1 per cent and 20.1 per cent respectively. These are, of course, wholesale prices at regulated markets. The rise at the unregulated and retail levels would be considerably more.

II

THIS brief description of the parlous position of India's economy, literally lifted from the latest official source, shows that there will be no exaggeration at all in affixing the label of crisis to the real developments. But in some ways it would be more interesting to investigate the exact character of this crisis. Is it a crisis of a typical capitalist character? Has the Indian economy evolved to a position of being able to "manufacture" an "independent" crisis, in the sense of the *main* causative forces being located indigenously and also within the capitalist relations of production which have developed extensively in India since Independence? Is it a case of relative overproduction or is it a case of a hold-up?

These are some of the questions which need to be examined not only to satisfy scientific curiosity, which is an important and worthy objective in itself, but also to provide the basis for a people's and a progressive way-out and to watch out for the *specific* tactics of imperialism and Indian monopoly capital (acting jointly in the main, but sometimes at cross-purposes as well to use the crisis to push back the democratic movements.

One wishes that the situation was all that simple as Sri B.T. Ranadive would seem to believe (*People's Democracy*, July 23)—

that it is a typical crisis as Marx had pointed to in *Capital*, though not so much in Volume I. Certainly, India's crisis can be understood most profoundly and clearly on the basis of the general approach of Marx to the questions of capitalist development and capitalist crisis. But to proceed in the manner of wholesale transplantation of Marx's examination of the late nineteenth century Britain and Europe to India in the closing years of the sixties of the twentieth century, can only evoke the same kind of anguish that made Marx once exclaim—, "Thank God, I am not a Marxist!"

As is known, Marx was never clearer than when he dissociated himself from the crude under-consumption approach adopted by Rodbertus. It was always stressed by him that the *mere fact* of the poverty of the masses was never an explanation of capitalist crisis. As he pointed out, crisis often erupted when the wages of the workers were rising. This is not to say that he ascribed a negligible influence to the restriction upon effective demand placed by the poverty of the people and at a later stage the impact of this upon the entire two-department structure of industry would, indeed, be likely to trigger off a sharp downturn. The poverty of the masses is not a feature specific to capitalism, nor is it a feature unknown to India before independence (nobody would say either that the masses in India were very prosperous prior to 1965-66).

As Maurice Dobb points out, the reproduction schemes of Marx "implicitly offered an answer to the crude under-consumption theory: it showed that capital accumulation could proceed without causing any problems within the sphere of exchange, provided these relationships were observed. Marx was quick to add, however, that under individualist production for the market these necessary relationships could only be preserved by an "accident"..... A crisis appears as catharsis as well as retribution: as the sole mechanism by which, in this economy, equilibrium can be enforced, once

it has been extensively broken.” (Maurice Dobb: *Political Economy and Capitalism*, pp 102-3).

The fundamental character of capitalist crisis is *relative* over-production or the inherent tendency of the very demands of capitalist accumulation itself. This is manifested in the *tendency* of the falling rate of profit due to the growth in the organic composition of capital (or the reduction in that part of capital which produces surplus value). As Marx put it, “there is periodically a production of too many means of production and necessities of life to permit of their serving as means of exploitation of labourers at a certain rate of profit.... The capitalist mode of production, for this reason, meets with barriers at a certain scale of production which would be inadequate under different conditions. It comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realisation of profit, not by the satisfaction of social needs.”

There is another inherent tendency in capitalist accumulation (and without accumulation there is no capitalism) — accumulation rises as a proportion of surplus value and investment rises as a proportion of accumulation. And hence though *consumption may rise* (crude under-consumptionists like Sri Ranadive may kindly note) “the rate of growth of consumption (that is, the ratio of increment of consumption to total consumption) declines relative to the rate of growth of means of production (that is, the ratio of investment to total means of production). In other words, the ratio of the rate of growth of consumption to the rate of growth of means of production declines”..

“If we now change our angle of vision and look upon production as a natural technical process of creating use values.... it appears that over long periods a given percentage increase in the stock of the means of production will generally be accompanied by approximately the same percentage increase in output..... In other words, the ratio of the rate of growth in the output of consumption goods to the rate of growth of means of production remains constant.... It follows

that there is an inherent tendency for the growth in consumption to fall behind the growth in output of consumption goods” (Paul Sweezy: *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, pp 181-3. Emphasis in original).

Whether we accept Dobb's stress upon disproportionality and the falling rate of profit or Sweezy's emphasis on under-consumption understood in this very specific sense, it is clear enough that a *typical* capitalist crisis is the product of the operation of the system itself. The great and overwhelming merit of Marx was his demonstration of the contradictions *within* the capitalist system. On the basis of these *internal* contradictions themselves the working class would dig the grave of capitalism—grave-diggers provided by capitalism itself. “The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself”, said Marx in a memorable aphorism.

III

WE can now return to the questions posed at the beginning of the previous section. The answers to them will depend on the analysis of the different types of relations of production that exist in India and their different specific weights. One cannot, of course, be completely accurate here. The best one can do is to indicate broad trends.

The capitalist relations of production, in the state-capitalist and private forms, predominate in the field of industry. This is attested by large scale manufacturing units. The most recent survey made of the manufacturing sector is that made with reference to the position in 1963. The large-scale sector accounted for 89 per cent of the capital invested, 68 per cent of the gross value of production and 60 per cent of the value added. (It is interesting, however, to note that the household sector— which can roughly be called the petty commodity sector in this sphere— had only four per cent of the capital invested but accounted for 18 per cent of the gross value of production and for 32 per cent of the value added by manufacture). (*Economic Times*, October

21, 1966).

Another survey— that of factories— made in 1964 shows that the large-scale sector (employing 50 or more workers with power or 100 and more workers without power) accounts for 91 per cent of total productive capital, 82 per cent of factory employment, 83 per cent of value of gross output and 89 per cent of value added by manufacture (reported in *Economic Times*, January 19, 1967).

In the industrial sphere there has been a marked shift in favour of Departmental industries as compared to the consumer and traditional industries. If we take the traditional industries (cotton, jute, sugar, tea) the compound rate of growth between 1955 and 1965 was 2.96 per cent while the other industries went ahead at a compound rate of growth of 10.47 per cent in the same period. Using roughly the same division, if we take the proportion in the total value added as the criterion, we find that the percentage of the traditional industries declined from 56.7 to 44.7 per cent in the period 1960-61 to 1965-66 and its share in the increase in total value added in this period was 19.7 per cent. The other (capital goods and intermediate products) sector increased its percentage from 42.3 to 54.2 and it accounted for 71.5 per cent of the increase in value added during this period.

But there are two points which have to be remembered here. One is the continuing steep *technical dependence* on imports. (We leave out the question of raw materials since this is often a matter of economic geography, though in India's case it is also a matter of criminal failure to carry out rapidly extensive surveys). To be dependent to the extent of 54.5 per cent in textile machinery, 61.8 per cent in metal working machine tools, 17 per cent in steel (especially in crucial alloy and special steels this figure will go up to over 60 per cent), 25 per cent in aluminium (the position of other non-ferrous metals is much worse, especially copper), 10 per cent in soda ash, 21 per cent in bleaching power, etc., is both dangerous and sym-

ptomatic. Commodities apart, there are still a number of industries where Indian industry has not achieved self reliance.

It is upon this dependent state of India's industries, particularly in the absolutely crucial machine tools, metals and chemicals sectors, that yet another type of production relations impinges, and that is, the imperialist. This, too, is a capitalist type of production relations essentially, but its character is basically different, and in many fundamental respects, antagonistic towards the developing *Indian* capitalist relations.

The imperialists demonstrated what mischief they were capable of doing when they suspended economic aid in 1965-66, imposed the devaluation decision, hustled through import liberalisation schemes, more or less stopped project aid and blackmailed us on the questions of fertiliser imports, general exports and debt repayments. It is this imperialist pressure and the succumbing to it that is very largely responsible for the downturn in industrial production.

In other words, the downturn starts in 1965 not only because (not even, perhaps, mainly because) of disproportionality, falling profit rates (on which evidence is in the contrary direction even as late as last year) or of total consumption (productive and personal). It is lack of capital of a *special type* (foreign exchange for producer and intermediate goods), the dependence for it on external sources that imparts a special character to India's crisis. It becomes a matter of hold-up rather than of the running down of industry because of excessive surpluses seeking outlets at a particular rate of profit.

The other point to be considered is that, unlike the position noted in the previous section as the characteristic feature of established capitalism, the Indian capitalist relations sector in industry suffers from lack of savings or accumulation and not from a surfeit of it. Taking the economy as a whole, the ratio of savings to national income has risen from 5.5 per cent in 1950-51 to about 10.5 per cent

in 1965-66, while the ratio of investments has risen from 5.5 per cent to 14 per cent in the same period. Not only should the savings rate be higher than the investment rates if there is to be an independent capitalist cycle but the percentage of savings as a portion of national income should rise in the opinion of almost all experts to round about 25 per cent.

A recent Reserve Bank of India analysis reveals that the average annual increase of investment at 1948-49 prices has come down from 10.7 per cent in the period 1956-57 to 1960-61 to 4.2 per cent in the period 1961-62 to 1965-66. (Moreover, there has been a diversion of investments on a large scale to non-productive uses such as gold, land, urban house property and commodity speculation because of the inflation). Available data supplied by the National Council of Applied Economic Research show that there has been *continuous decline* of savings in India during the Third Plan period. (There are certain implications in all this for the relative rates of growth of the public and private sectors into which one cannot go here. It suffices to mention that private sector capital investment during the Third Plan period was 93 per cent more than visualised by the Planning Commission, largely thanks to the underwriting as well as investment activities of public-sector financial institutions such as the LIC, UTI, and various Financial Corporations.

This stunted and distorted nature of the growth of savings and growth of investment in India is the direct result of the heavy specific weight of pre-capitalist production relations in the totality of the Indian economy. It should be remembered that in 1964-65 (at current prices) the contribution of factory-establishments to the total national income was only 10.3 per cent, with small enterprises contributing another 6.6 per cent and mining 1.1 per cent. Agriculture proper contributed 50 per cent and commerce about 8 per cent. Another estimate of the structure of incomes in India shows that

wages and salaries accounted for 29 per cent, profits 24 per cent and the self-employed 47 per cent (in the profit sector it is not clear what the share of capitalist enterprises proper is nor the size of semi-feudal wages in the wages and salaries sector).

As far as the income contribution from agriculture is concerned the overwhelming bulk will, surely, come from the petty commodity sector. Some idea can be gained from the fact that in the year ended June 1962, of the Rs. 1,034 crores borrowed by cultivator households, 47 per cent was reported for household purposes and 20 per cent for capital expenditure—agriculturalist moneylenders provided 33½ per cent of the funds and professional moneylenders, traders and merchants another 23 per cent.

Another indication is that, of the total aggregate value of assets of all rural households, as much as 84 per cent was in the form of land and house property. It is, perhaps, not too wide of the mark to suggest that only 13 per cent of the rural households with assets above Rs. 10,000 could *possibly* contribute to the development of capitalist relations of production proper. It is, of course, well known that this 13 per cent generally prefers to go in for speculation, hoarding and semi-feudal exploitation in the form of tenancy, exploitation and usury, though there is a developing interest in the development of agricultural production proper, especially, with the turning of the terms of trade in favour of agricultural commodities.

If to this dismal picture we add the facts of the "lumpen" nature even of the industrial tycoons—as revealed in the Vivian Bose Enquiry into the Dalmia-Jain empire and the latest probes into the functioning of the Birlas — and the enormous amount of small capital sunk in trading, we can get some idea of the difficulty of surplus mobilisation within the present framework of the Indian system or mode of production.

Indeed, a tentative generalisation can be hazarded. The ca-

pitalist mode of production has clearly established itself as the *leading* element in the system of production relations existing in India, but, perhaps, not as yet the *predominant* mode. We are treating merchant capital, hoarded wealth and petty commodity production as pre-capitalist and *transitional* forms to the wage-labour-capital relationship which is the hallmark of capitalism proper. It is the combination of this fact together with the link with the imperialist or the capitalist world market that is at the root of the present crisis. It is a crisis of the capitalist *path* of development, not the typical crisis of an already formed capitalism with its self-generated contradictions and crises.

Hence it is that the intervention of the democratic movement for *non-capitalist structural reforms, for surplus mobilisation and developmental investment* becomes of key importance. The nature of this intervention differs radically from the anti-crisis platforms of the working class movement in the imperialist countries. (There are common elements, of course, like protection of living standards, social security, development of public services, and the like). This article provides neither the occasion nor the

space to work out such a programme.

Two final sets of facts may be presented in conclusion. One is the enormous increase in non-developmental outlays (at current prices) from Rs. 953 crores in 1960-61 to about Rs. 2,623 crores in 1967-68 as compared to the increase in developmental expenditure in the same period from Rs. 1,672 crores to Rs. 3,655 crores (and it should be remembered that developmental outlays include social services). The change in the rate of growth of these two types of expenditure is a most unhealthy phenomenon, especially when we find that the *Plan outlay* has actually declined from about Rs. 2,374 crores in 1961 to Rs. 1,711 crores in 1967-68 (the latter does not include all the Plan outlays by the States). Since both these figures are in current prices, the *real* cut in Plan outlay can be imagined. And the Plan outlay is the heart and core of any scheme of integrated growth, of any attempt at jumping the development barrier.

The other fact to which attention needs to be drawn is the increasing dependence on foreign loans, to be repaid in foreign exchange, for the purpose of economic development. The

total authorisations of such foreign aid increased from Rs. 212 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 1,065 crores in the Second Plan to Rs. 2,301 crores during the Third Plan. These are phenomenal increases with a very dangerous potential for the kind of semi-capitalist country that India is today.

The drought has only accentuated, as has the increased defence expenditure, the deep, underlying trends emanating from the structure of the production-relations. Therefore, the ending of drought and the lessening of the defence burden will only give some relief but by no means affect the inexorable working of these trends. Therefore, also, the criminal nature of the Congress Government's decision to rely increasingly on the automaticity of the market mechanism—a decision really taken by the World Bank authorities in Washington. Semi-finished capitalism cannot accomplish the job of either development or social change. The very bifurcation of these two elements tears apart the whole fabric of growth.

These are some points to ponder upon as India enters upon the twentieth anniversary of political freedom.

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Face of the Purge

A STUDENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS

THE blows that fell on the Chinese intellectuals and on Chinese culture in June 1966, surpassed everything seen before in Mao's regime.

The Chinese leadership decided to carry out the principle of purge-to-rock-bottom. This implies the elimination of prominent figures in arts and literature and who had been educated in democratic traditions and even experienced the influence of Marxism to a greater extent than the ideas of Mao Tse-tung.

Prior to June 1966, propaganda mainly denounced the leaders in specific spheres of literature and the arts. On July 1, 1966, the deathblow was struck at the former Deputy Chief of the Central Committee's Propaganda Section Chou Yang who was called ringleader of the anti-Mao Tse-tung line in the sphere of ideology. Throughout June-September the official press carried many new names of prominent men and women in the arts and letters who were viciously denounced as people opposing the Party and the ideas of Chairman Mao.

It is a thankless job to list them. In essence these were all prominent figures known not only in China but abroad as well. During this campaign of criticism so many articles appeared in the Chinese papers and magazines that the leadership of the Communist Party could not have covered up the true aims of the campaign they had started even if they wanted to. A study of the Chinese press makes it possible to establish most clearly against what they are fighting in China and what views are considered to be contradictory to Mao's ideas. Since most of the articles were spearheaded Chou Yang, the man

directly responsible for ideology and for work among the intellectuals, it would be worth while examining the critical articles associated with his name.

One of the main charges against the cultural leaders was that they had opposed Mao's personality cult and his ideas. Chou Yang was denounced for having hindered the publication of Mao's works. Just think of it, by 1961, a mere nine million copies were published, while in 1962, because of the obstacles set up by Chou Yang, Mao's works accounted for only 0.5 per cent of all the literature printed in the Chinese People's Republic. A mere 70 tons of paper were used to print Mao's works at a time when 7,500 tons of paper were used to print classical novels that were now denounced as a legacy of feudalism!

It appears that Chou Yang claimed that aesthetics was not born only after Mao Tse-tung's statements or speeches in Yenan. He added that Plekhanov had also contributed to Marxist aesthetics which has not been surpassed by anyone yet. What is most horrifying is that Chou Yang is alleged to have said that the workers, farmers and soldiers are unable to read the Collected Works of Chairman Mao.

Chou Yang was charged with having prevented the Museum of the Chinese Revolution from being turned into the Mao Tse-tung Museum. When Chou Yang saw the exhibition set up in the Museum for its opening he was angry: "Why do you hang those quotations from Chairman Mao all over?" He objected to having a life-size statue of Mao in the first hall of the Museum. He said: "There is no need to

set up Chairman Mao like a try at the entrance."

Another former Deputy Chief of the Propaganda Section, Lin Mo-han, said it was oversimplification to consider all progress made in specific work and all scientific inventions to be the result of Mao Tse-tung's ideas. In 1960 he said: "In studying the works of Mao there is no need to study every concrete premise since some of them are already outmoded".

The second charge, no less important, against literary and cultural leaders was that they appraised the situation in the country in a way undesirable for Mao Tse-tung.

The views that were put forward in 1962 at a conference of workers of literature and the arts in North-East China, were highly indicative in this respect. It was stated there that at the beginning of 1953, difficult times set in for the farmers; that even then problems appeared as a result of the General Line of the first transitory period; that after the introduction of centralised procurement, the farmers began to hang up fewer slogans. Finally, it was said that now only one pair of slogans could be found for three farmsteads; that the farmers live a more difficult life with no hope for the future. The view was expressed that the Central Committee's General Line was a desire to get rich quick, that the Great Leap was a 12-force storm, or doping and that the People's Communes were a risky outfit. The leaders of literature and arts claimed that in 1958-1960 the advantages of cooperative farming had allegedly disappeared.

Speaking of their labour the

writers complained that the Party made them depict positive heroes in a very primitive way. These heroes could only act as models, there was no difference for them between day and night and they all seemed to be mentally deranged. One of the speakers said that in depicting positive heroes we "seem to be blowing up a pig. It swells, then it is shaved of its shortcomings, washed to a polish and the result is a fat pig—shining but not alive."

At this Conference, the cultural leaders tried even at the risk of their own lives, to put a word in on behalf of the farmers. Chou Yang in his report characterised the Great Leap as subjective idealism. He also said: "The private plots at the disposal of the farmer are greater in size in the Soviet Union than here in China. I think that if we had small private plots, a free market, this would not be bad at all."

Plea for Free Market

Lin Mo-han, mentioned above, also opposed the Three Red Banners. In October 1961, he urged that a free market be opened in Fukieng Province believing that only this measure would make it possible to restore the economy and overcome hardships. In 1962 he said: "In recent years we have taken too fast a pace in the sphere of economy. The farmers have lost confidence in the collective".

Moreover, he came out with still more seditious statements from the point of view of the Chinese leaders: "If you ploughed up 10 mu of land, eight of them for someone else, what kind of activity can there be?" He maintained that the People's Communes had been set up too soon.

The third accusation levelled at the leaders of the cultural front was that they pursued a policy in the arts and letters contradicting the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. These contradictions were hunted down in such matters as book-reading and raising the general education level of the population. At present there is criticism of statements by Chou Yang such as

these: "All culture is based on the fundamentals. All people must be able to read, write and count". The authors of the articles denouncing Chou Yang maintain that this formula was spearheaded against propaganda of Mao's ideas, substituting for them higher literacy of the population. They claim that by resorting to such treacherous methods Chou Yang "misled and poisoned the broad masses of the rural youth".

In 1964, Chou Yang said: "Every culture mainly consists of the ability to read and write". He urged the population to read more. He expressed regret that the Chinese youth at present reads and knows less than before. He urged preservation of China's thousand-year-old culture. He said that it was necessary to open a window to the world and praised Peter the First's statesmanship.

Chou Yang called for a solicitous attitude to the old intellectuals, to specialists in the arts and letters. He said in this connection: "The old specialists are few in number and those who are able to write books, create theories can be counted on one's fingers. We do not want to eradicate the cultural heritage. The cultural heritage is in the minds of the people, and we must take it".

He also insisted that the universities should be run by the professors. He said that the achievements of the universities depended on how many famous professors were gathered together to teach there. He promised his support for the old professors and encouraged them by saying: "If they hang tags on you I shall support you. You are responsible for the scientific aspects and I shall be responsible for the political".

Chou Yang's Appeal

Chou Yang appealed to men of arts and letters to be bold: he called on them to discard all fear. In 1959 he told the late Chou Sin fang, the famous actor: "No one dares say anything nowadays. People are timid. They only criticise cadres at the level of section chiefs. They do not dare criticise anyone higher. Don't be

afraid. If it is necessary to hate, it must be done. If it should be said, it must be".

During the purges of 1957-1959 and beginning of 1960 Chou Yang tried to protect his cadres. He demanded that only a restricted number of persons should be criticised. In 1964, he succeeded in pushing through an order retaining the former material conditions for all workers of culture forcibly transferred to other jobs.

Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han tried to limit criticism to purely literary and artistic questions and not to channelise the campaign of criticism into the realm of pure politics. Now Chou Yang was charged with the following statement: "If there are no big writers and big scientists it is impossible to speak of a big advance".

Chou Yang tried to protect the masters of art and pursued a policy of high pay and royalties for them. This policy was now denounced as an attempt to create an aristocracy of the soul. The papers frenziedly said that only recently the men whom Chou Yang considered to be valuable specialists could not even be touched with the finger. Actually Chou Yang stood for material incentives in payments to workers of the arts and letters.

New Approach

The press played up, as though reporting a crime, that the famous pianist Yin Chen-chung was paid up to 1,000 yuans for a musical recording, that certain leading figures in the arts and literature had considerable savings in the bank and some had even bought themselves private homes.

It appears Chou Yang attempted to bring about an advance in the sphere of literature and arts. He wanted to establish free competition between differing views and styles, free discussion, and demanded guarantees of freedom of creation, together with a free exchange of cultures.

Chen Chi-tung was formerly Deputy Chief of the Culture Section of the army's main political division. He was now called an accomplice of Chou Yang's. In 1957 he was alleged to have said to one of his friends: "The most terrible thing for art are the

commissars and secretaries of the Party Committees. They must be liquidated". He did not agree with the conversion of army art groups into propaganda teams. He believed that making workers of art go down to the masses was vulgar socialism. Lin Mo-han was also accused of having said that Chinese society was not democratic.

The Director of the Shanghai Conservatory Ho Lu-ting, the prominent composer, was charged with other things that were now not only serious enough to have a man deprived of his posts but, to put it simply, to have him excluded from the sphere of public activities. He had said that at present there was a one-sided, primitive approach to art, that the sense of reality had been lost, that people wrote too quickly and their works soon lost their value. Ho Lu-ting noted in this connection: "I don't want to talk about this, or else there will be people who will say that I am against the Great Leap". He demanded that students of the Conservatory practice techniques as much as possible; he defended Debussy, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky and bluntly stated that in China today people of the arts were being clubbed.

Non Acceptance

It will be seen from the Chinese press statements and the most influential Communist publications that neither in 1957 nor subsequently did the workers of culture accept for a single day the course now being imposed by means of strong-arm methods by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Chou Yang was being incriminated, even for his words at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, that is, for what he had said in 1956: "Today dogmatism in our literature and arts is mainly manifested in a vulgarisation and simplification of Marxist aesthetics. Creation in the sphere of literature and the arts is placed in a rigid frame. Writers and men of arts and letters are bound hand and foot. Dogmatism and sectarianism combine to do harm to the development of literature and the arts".

Chou Yang undoubtedly expressing not only his own sentiment but the views of the majority of intellectually developed people of China, urged that the Chinese theatres showed, not only modern plays but classical as well. He believed it was possible to create plays on historical themes. What is more, he did not reject everything foreign, saying: "The foreign heritage can be accepted, but it must not be copied mechanically".

In 1963 he said at a conference of literature, arts and education: "Destroying means clearing the way, clearing the base. But it is impossible to clear to rock bottom. It is impossible to destroy only, without creating".

These words were now regarded as a direct attack on Mao's ideas, as an attempt to distract the people's attention from a study of Mao's ideas.

In December, 1963 Mao Tse-tung said: "It is strange and wild that many Party members fervently popularise feudal and bourgeois art but do not popularise socialist art with the same fervour". Yet despite this direct injunction of the leader, Chou Yang and his supporters together with the people who definitely did not want China's classical literature and the foreign classics to be outlawed, continued to uphold the need to retain them.

Despite everything the leadership was doing, it appears that Chou Yang had the courage in the most depressing years to come out publicly and state that "it is impossible to kill the ancients with one blow of the club". He had in mind classical art.

Funny Charge

Moreover he called in general for a humane approach which was now considered to be the first sign of bourgeois regeneration and betrayal of Mao's line. Chou Yang said: "Enough killing. Not every act of destruction is simultaneously an act of creation". He had in view the sphere of culture, but, of course, his readers or listeners understood his words in a broader sense as an appeal for a soft, flexible policy, for tolerance with regard to the intellectuals and, in general, to the

people as a whole.

Chou Yang was even charged with having considered the writings of Leo Tolstoy and Goethe, the acme of culture and the works of Shakespeare, Balzac, Turgenev. Moreover, he claimed that "the Chinese should admire the culture of Rome and the culture of Greece and the culture of China created twenty centuries ago". Statements of this nature were now regarded as manifestations of the "black conspiracy", of the treacherous plot against the ideas of Mao Tse-tung.

A number of general conclusions may be made from what has been said above. At present sharp attack is levelled in China at anyone who is a Marxist or liberal-minded and who tries to uphold the right to the existence of culture in the strict sense of the word and not in the sense foisted by the Chinese leaders.

Fencing Off

The Chinese leadership clearly pursues the aim of fencing the country off from the outer world, including the socialist, with a spiritual or, to be more exact, a psychological barrier of Mao's thoughts. The Chinese leaders are trying to stamp out all views on culture other than the conception which boils down to the premise that all of China's culture is reflected in the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. Not only are the ancient classics of Chinese culture negated together with classical European culture, Russian and Soviet culture, but even literary works written in conditions of the Communist regime several years ago, prior to 1965.

Peking has become, perhaps, the only capital in the world where no one dares appear with a book in his hand if this book is not an anthology of Mao Tse-tung. In Peking today, one can only read in a place where one is sure that no one is looking.

The process of destroying books has assumed a mass character. People, and they can hardly be blamed for it, hurry to throw their books out secretly or to turn them into special centres in exchange for a receipt. Evidently the Chinese leaders have seriously decided to implement

the well-known motto: "Read the works of Chairman Mao forever". Today when a young Chinese is asked what he reads replies with pride: Nothing but the books of Chairman Mao.

Literature and the arts in China are being replaced for the time being by something resembling ancient rites. This is a new heathen worship, worship of the sun personified by Mao Tse-tung and his ideas that have been elevated to state level. No ancient state and no Chinese Emperor could have ever dreamed of deification on such a scope during his lifetime as now taking place in China. In the twentieth century, millions of people freeze into unexplainable ecstasy in the presence of a man, bow to him and then burst into applause, raising in token of a pledgebook

with his sayings. Tears of admiration roll down the cheeks of the fanatics, millions shout in a single burst of enthusiasm: "We shall protect Chairman Mao" or "We believe Chairman Mao".

A definite ritual is taking shape: Everything a person does, whether he sits down to a meal or gets on a bus, goes to the cinema, or sports tournament, always begins with the reading of quotations from Mao in chorus. The official New China News Agency, in its new dispatches and publications in the European languages gives Mao's name with the following titles in Capital letters—Great Helmsman, Great Leader, Great Teacher, etc.

In China, Mao's statements can only be written in gold on a red background, or in red paint on a white background. There

was a case recently when a crowd of twenty thousand in one of the southern cities wrecked a newspaper office after someone had spread a rumour that the paper intended to print the hieroglyphs written in Mao's hand in black ink. In all cities high brick walls are being put up and on them statements by Mao are written in huge hieroglyphs. In bookshops it is practically impossible to buy anything but the works of Mao Tse-tung and books describing the deeds of his devoted disciples.

The Red Guards in their leaflets even demand a new anthem with words: "Mao Tse-tung is the leader of the world revolution. Peking is its capital. The Chinese people have been entrusted with the historical mission of liberating all of mankind",

(To be Continued)

Watch out for

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by

L. Natarajan

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A PERSPECTIVE PUBLICATION

Cause of the Movement

ASIT BHATTACHARYYA

WE reached Siliguri at 10 a.m. after a brief halt at Naxalbari. The bus station of Naxalbari is close to police station. We got down and went to a near by *pan* shop. The shop-owner was doing brisk business. Some teenagers were talking cinema. They had a care-free expression. Looking around, one could hardly believe it was *the* Naxalbari that had become a live political issue in India and abroad. There was a business-as-usual look everywhere.

On reaching Siliguri we went straight to the District Superintendent of Police, Sri Mukherjee, with whom we had earlier made an appointment over the phone. The DSP was in the control room. He answered all our questions patiently and politely.

After our talks I had the impression that if the DSP was some one less prudent and patient than Sri Mukherjee, the situation would have taken a more serious turn.

Wangdi's Murder

Sri Mukherjee began by explaining the *modus operandi* of the movement, which I have described earlier. I may mention that while we were there, that is, till June 9, crimes like murder and arson had not, by and large, been committed.

The previous instalments of the reportage appeared in Mainstream (July 8, 15 and 22)

To be sure, paddy and rice had been looted at many places, but in no such place was there any case of murder or arson, although cases of assault had been reported. Demolition of houses had also been reported but, as the DSP explained, share-croppers in the Terai build houses of dried jute stalks (*pat-kathi*). Even a boy of twelve can easily pull them down.

The only known case of departure from the general pattern of the movement was the murder of police inspector Wangdi. He was killed by arrows on May 24. The DSP furnished us with details of the tragedy and showed us photographs.

Wangdi, along with other officers, had gone to arrest some wanted men, if that was possible. *They carried no arms.* Before the arrows hit him, neither Wangdi nor any of his fellow-officers had tried to mount an attack. The DSP told us that the police party had noticed a mob of *adivasi* men and women armed with bows and arrows. When he was persuading them to give way to the police party, two arrows suddenly hit him and he fell. The police party then came away.

No Answer

From our talks at Siliguri and elsewhere, I realized that the murder of Wangdi had done great harm to the protagonists of

the ultra-Left movement. First, Wangdi personally was a popular police officer. Secondly, he came from a well-known family of the hill area of Darjeeling district. This caused much bitterness and misgivings on communal lines. Thirdly, the politically conscious common man is yet to find an answer to the question why Wangdi was killed straightaway when there was no provocation or armed attack from his side.

The leaders of the so-called rebels were found totally indifferent to enlightening the people on the reasons for Wangdi's murder, let alone create public opinion in support of the action. It is not known what exactly the *adivasi* women (or perhaps the men behind them) had in mind when they shot the fatal arrows on May 24. Did they think they were protecting their leaders or strengthening their movement by that action? Were they acting on their own or carrying out the directives of their leaders? Were they told how far they should offer passive resistance and when they should take up arms? Or did one of them suddenly get excited and shoot the arrows out of a primitive habit?

The leaders of the movement owed and still owe it to the people to disclose the facts. Not all of them are hiding in the jungles. Recently, in the course of a Press statement, a veteran leader of

Siliguri, reputed to be the mentor of the rebel leaders, spelled out terms for withdrawal of the movement. But when the movement was going on these gentlemen kept mum and made a great show of secrecy. If their aim is to build up a mass movement, then they should have, from the very beginning, explained to the people at large the implications of each and every step they were taking.

I do not want to raise the fundamental question whether an armed struggle is justified or not. The point is, even an armed struggle has its methodology, and leading a group of armed people requires great discipline and a correct estimation of the conditions prevailing. Equally important in every struggle—whether armed or otherwise—is propaganda to spell out the aims and views of the people engaged in the struggle. The leaders of the Naxalbari movement failed to discharge these basic responsibilities. The result is that they have isolated themselves from the masses of the people. In other words, they have unnecessarily weakened their case before the country.

From our talks with the DSP we could ascertain the views of the administration on the situation then obtaining. We learnt from him that ultra-Left leader Kanu Sanyal had a meeting with Land Revenue Minister Hare Krishna Konar some time back when a compromise formula was worked out, but that subsequently Sanyal did not come forward to implement it.

The terms of the agreement were published in *People's Democracy* early in June. The main point was that the wanted men should surrender to the police whereupon they would be let out on bail. According to the authorities, however, none of the absconding leaders or workers came to them, not to speak of surrender.

Saving Face

On the other hand, *People's Democracy* came out with the charge about the same time that the police had, instead of waiting for the absconders to surrender, started organizing stray raids to apprehend them and that the raids were the outcome of pressure

directly from the I G of Police and against the wishes of the DSP. I asked the DSP point blank if the report was true. His reply was an emphatic 'No'. He said no pressure was exerted upon him to act against his wishes. Kanu Sanyal, he told us, did not turn up after his talks with the Minister, nor did he observe the terms of the agreement.

Later, after my talks with a CP(M) leader of Siliguri and some others, I had the impression that once the movement was launched, it was not possible for Sanyal or any of the other ultra-Left leaders to surrender. Had they done so and been let out on bail they would have lost face before their followers and been branded as traitors.

My idea is that Kanu Sanyal and others sailing in the same boat with him did not want to commit political suicide and therefore they did not surrender. The question is, first, why did they at all agree to a compromise after talks with the Land and Land Revenue Minister; and secondly, when the agreement fell through, why did not the leaders of the CP(M) personally visit the place and play a more responsible part in the movement? Since the movement was being led by a section of their party and in the name of the party, people expected them to take a more active role which they failed to do—whatever the reasons. I am sure, some day they will have to answer for this failure before the bar of history.

Causes

I had asked the DSP for his views on the causes of the movement. Though he did not commit himself specifically, he seemed to be fully aware of the two aspects of the movement. He stressed repeatedly that he was not prepared to apply force till a top-level decision on the land problem was taken and specific directives were forthcoming.

He said the movement could be suppressed by wanton firing and by killing a few hundred men but he knew that would not solve the problem. He opened a map and pointed to Kanu Sanyal's place of residence and his 'cover' (Bura-ganj and Tukuria forest respec-

tively). The jungle, he said, could be combed easily and they could be killed, but he was not prepared to take that course.

At the same time, it was clear that he did not think the land problem was the only cause of the movement. He remarked in course of the conversation: "It is a case of small men getting big ideas." What he meant was that the leaders of the movement were dreaming of big things like seizure of power through armed struggle and creating liberated zones, etc., without assessing the objective conditions and their own resources.

We got more facts on the land problem and the problem of the share-croppers from Sri Bidhan Maulik, a lawyer and leader of the Bangla Congress of Siliguri. From the SDO of Siliguri we got the official view on the problems. One thing was clear. Depending on his political views, each gave the cause of the movement to be either the land problem or the political motives of the CP(M). Parties opposed to the CP(M) and a large body of official opinion thought that more than the land problem, the political ambition of the CP(M) was responsible for the movement. As for the rebel leaders, they have not stated their views with any degree of clarity.

(To be Continued)

Trade Unions & Labour Laws

(Continued from page 24)

mediately after devaluation. There is no doubt that this ill-conceived anti-working class measure will not be easy to push through. Already all trade unions have expressed their vehement opposition to it.

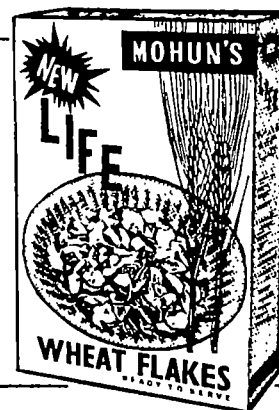
In conclusion it may be reiterated that trade unions have made deep impact on vital questions like bonus and wages. A sense of direction is visible and through legislative measures, case law and quasi-statutory measures, a larger and larger realisation of the position of TUs on these major questions is visible. Of course, opposing forces and pressures are there which too have made their impact. However, the general direction remains.

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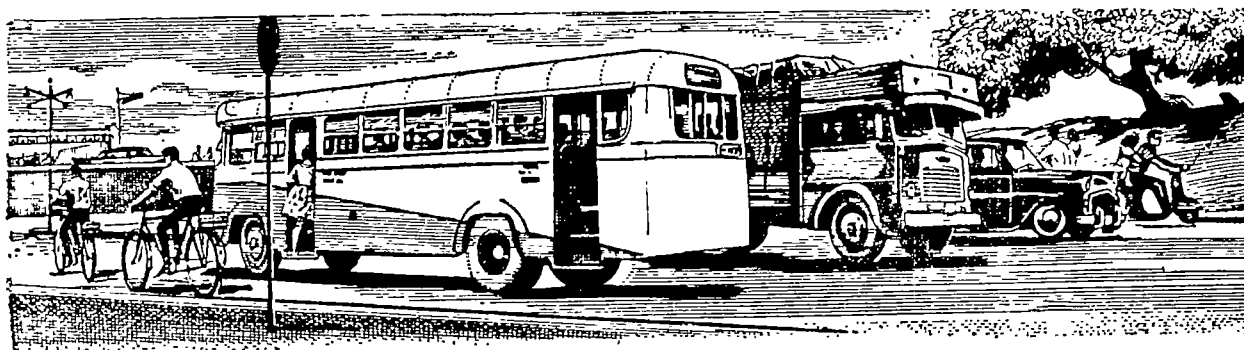


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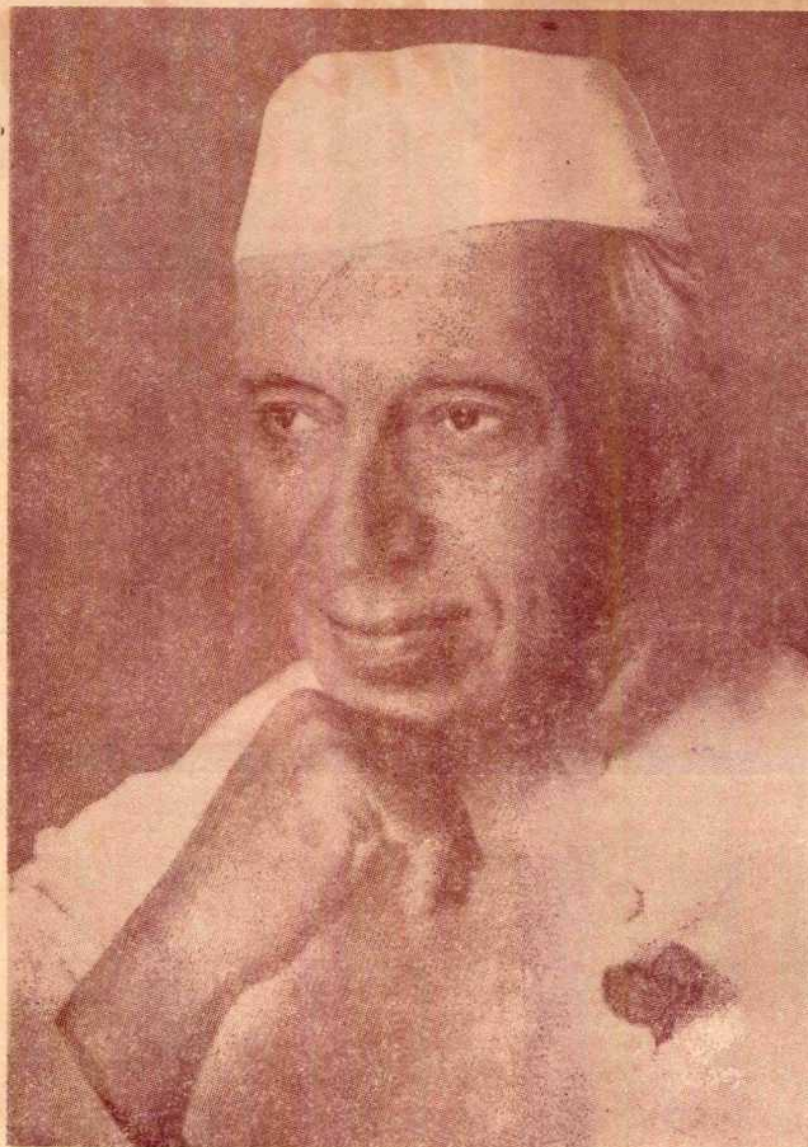
Mainstream

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1967 25¢

Myth
of
Princely Privileges

BEYOND NAXALBARI
Need for Agricultural Command

Story
of
OPIUM SMUGGLING OPERATION



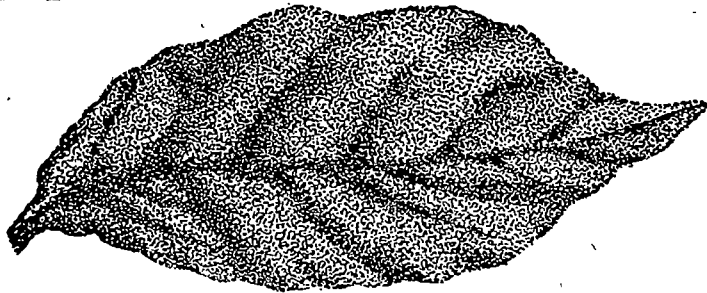
OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love, ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

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DANGEROUS GAME

UNION Finance Minister Sri Morarji Desai is doing all he can to irritate and provoke the working class in India. Those of his Cabinet colleagues who do not approve of his hostile and arrogant attitude to Labour seem totally powerless to stop him. Even the Prime Minister was only able to prevail upon him to receive representatives of the Central Government employees—he had at first flatly refused to do even this—but not to persuade him to adopt a reasonable attitude towards their legitimate demand for honest and speedy implementation of the Gajendragadkar Commission's award on dearness allowance.

At the so-called negotiations with the employees' leaders Sri Desai merely repeated his pet formula of deferred payment of D.A. in the form of bonds and savings certificates, which the employees, needing cash to meet the rise in the cost of essential commodities, cannot possibly be expected to accept. It is quite clear that Sri Desai takes delight in needling the employees and driving them to desperate action. Levity in the face of suffering is even less pardonable than the sheer obduracy for which the Finance Minister is already notorious.

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So objectionable have been Sri Desai's attitude and proposals that even the normally docile INTUC, which is generally reluctant to offend the susceptibilities of Congress Governments, has found it impossible not to join hands with the other central trade union organisations in rejecting the proposal for deferred payment of D.A. September 11 is the deadline fixed by the trade union organisations for the Government to shed its callousness and come to terms with its employees on a realistic and fair basis. There are moves to bring about a "compromise": it is difficult to see what there is to "compromise" over. After a study of the demands and the economic situation, the Gajendragadkar Commission has made certain proposals: these proposals are not entirely satisfactory to the employees because they whittle down even the gains represented by the report of the Das Commission in the past. Even so, the Gajendragadkar Commission has found that there is urgent need to compensate the employees at least partly for the steep rise in the cost of living. What Sri Desai is trying to do is to circumvent the award and make the employees accept by implication that the Commission's assess-

ment of the situation was wrong : the move for deferred payment in the face of the recommendation for cash payment here and now cannot be interpreted in any other way. The workers, whose need is patent, cannot be party to such tirkery against themselves.

Sri Morarji Desai has sedulously built up an image of himself as a "disciplined soldier" of the Congress. But he has no hesitation in openly dissociating himself from the decision of the AICC on the abolition of privy purses. The justification he has offered for his reactionary stand in favour of continuing the anachronistic privileges enjoyed by a handful of feudal relics at heavy cost to the national exchequer is that no Government should go back on a "commitment" solemnly entered into. In order to escape the wrath of the AICC he has been careful to add that although he does not agree with the decision he is "bound" by it. While being so honourable as to wince at the slightest suggestion of stripping vested interests of their purses and privileges, Sri Desai does not find it in the least dishonourable to go back on the Government's solemn commitment to its employees who, unlike the princely parasites, do honest work in return for their meagre salaries. He does not think it dishonourable to have kept payment of the additional dearness allowance which fell due in February in abeyance for over seven months. He is bowled over by the "moral" arguments advanced on behalf of feudal exploiters and oppressors of the people in the erstwhile princely states, but sees no immorality in treating the Gajendragadkar Commission's award as no more than a scrap of paper deserving of no respect.

Sri Desai's hostility to and contempt for the working people cannot by any means be said to be new. He has always been and continues to be a defender of the status quo to enable the vested interests, mainly big business to flourish unhindered. Those who were taken in for a brief period by his irritation with the Birlas no doubt now realise that it was little more than passing annoyance: the basic attachment remains. If there had been any lingering doubts on this score, Sri Desai's known opposition to curbs on monopolies must have cleared them. His argument against such curbs is the same as that of the big business houses themselves : that these will have an adverse effect on investment. Sri Desai firmly believes that the policy of making the rich richer must continue in the national interest as he conceives it : he has greater faith in the moneybags than in the common people, and is not in the least concerned about the continuing exploitation of the common people by the big industrialists, the rich landlords, the usurious moneylenders and the profiteers and black-marketeers. He talks of a wage-cum-profit-cum-dividend freeze, knowing full well that his Government is incapable of enforcing anything except measures directed against the working people. For years the Government as well as the party to which Sri Desai belongs have been expressing concern over the steadily and steeply increasing prices of essential commodities, but neither has done anything about it. It is a notorious fact that under Congress rule profiteers and black-marketeers and other anti-social elements have relentlessly fattened themselves at the cost of the people. It is clear that so

long as Sri Desai and his ilk are in the seats of power this situation cannot be altered except by massive popular pressure, if at all. It is obvious that there is no dearth of such anti-people elements in the Congress.

Activities of sections of Congressmen, like the submission of a memorandum to the Prime Minister by 117 Members of Parliament at the fag-end of the Budget session, can hardly carry conviction with the masses when the incapacity of such a large number of Congress MPs to influence the policies of the Government is evident. Such activities, it will be legitimately inferred, are sucked up in group and clique interests rather than a serious move to overcome the failure to live up to pledges.

Nothing that Congressmen say will in fact carry conviction so long as those entrusted with implementing policies are persons like Sri Morarji Desai whose main effort is consciously directed towards preventing any enlightened economic policy. They have set their face against the people, and the people know it.

The demands of the Central Government employees provide the acid test for the Indira Gandhi Government. If the employees are driven to take direct action in support of their legitimate demands, the Government and the Congress would have irrevocably branded themselves as confirmed opponents of the working class.

With the next issue, *Mainstream* completes five years of its career. Our Fifth Annual Number will be out in the first week of September.

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MODERN MOGHULS' IN-FIGHT

IN the complex political web in which New Delhi is caught today, two distinct developments are noticeable: while running parallel to each other they often get intertwined. The birthmarks of a political crisis are unmistakable.

From the Presidential poll in May to the Prime Minister's Red Fort oration this week—as listless as last year's—a distinct phase in the Centre's political tension is covered. In this period, polarization on policy issues has been sharpest since independence inside the Congress Parliamentary Party itself. Side by side, the factional in-fight involving the topmost level personalities has been acute; not all of it is open to view—like an iceberg three-quarters of it is kept out of public gaze.

The marathon session of Parliament which ends this week was marked by sharp cleavage inside the Congress ranks on some important policy issues: the attack on the Birla Empire, the demand for the abolition of Privy purses, as also the support to the Arab cause in the West Asian crisis are some of the highlights of the Parliament session in which the Congress backbenchers played a notable role. And it was precisely on these issues that the sharpest polarisation inside the Congress Parliamentary Party was demonstrated: those who fought these, fought with the ardour of the Swatantraites. Sri Abid Ali's charge of Red infiltration inside the Congress Parliamentary Party was taken by New Delhi observers as a measure of consternation in the Rightist camp entrenched in the party.

Polarisation on policy approach has come up also over the question of Congress attitude towards labour. The crisis inside the INTUC—a Congress offspring over which the Congress leadership is today losing grip—together with the strong criticism inside

his own party of Sri Morarji Desai's reluctance to honour the Gajendragadkar Report on Dearness Allowance—to the Government's own employees has brought out the same wide division within Congress ranks over basic policy issues. The fact that the Union Labour Ministry could not be convinced of Sri Desai's approach to labour—the division inside the Government on this score is no official secret in the Capital—is itself a sign of the Government's own bankruptcy. The contrast between the position of the Government at the time of the Central Government employees' strike seven years ago and its nervousness in the face of an almost similar threat today has brought out the staggering isolation in which the Government finds itself vis-à-vis its own employees, the class which is the bedrock of any stable political set-up.

The disintegration of the Congress Parliamentary Party could be seen in the dismal record of the Government in this, the first Budget session of Parliament since the General Election. There has been no single issue in which the Government can claim to have been able to get a decision through: food, foreign aid, price and the Plan stand out as eloquent testimony to the amazingly barren record of a petrified Government. And the position is no better with regard to other key issues like the policy on language or attitude towards science. The large number of key ambassadorial appointments lying vacant, the delay in finalising the composition of the Planning Commission, the drift in most of the items of foreign policy—all these have shown that what is happening is that a government is in office, but has almost ceased to administer.

This paralysis is no doubt taken advantage of by the steel frame of ICS bureaucracy, whose identification with the vested interests is hardly contested by any obser-

ver in New Delhi today. A clear example of this was provided by the way the proposed bill to curb monopolies was sought to be jettisoned by the civil service johnnies of more than one Ministry. And it is no wonder that Sri Asoka Mehta's crusade against the measure inside the Cabinet had a remarkable affinity with the rear-guard action put up by the officials' clique in the Government.

The hand-in-glove relationship between Big Business and officialdom has been brought out most glaringly in this session's parliamentary exposure of the rather sordid record of a former Auditor General. Sri A.K. Roy even when he was in the Finance Ministry was well known for his attachment to the private sector, and those who are in the know of things are inclined to give him the credit for S.P. Jain bagging the Mundhra shares in the Jessops which the Government could and should have easily secured. The undesirability of such a person becoming the Auditor General has now been overshadowed by the impropriety (if not constitutional irregularity) of making him one of the bosses of the BIC in which the Government holds the lion's share—a gift which he had wangled from Sri Sachin Chaudhury of Devaluation fame. Sri Roy's record in the BIC also shows that he has done little to protect the Government's interest; if anything, he has helped the private sector to feather its own nest even in the BIC. The BIC affairs, incidentally, provide a clear case of how Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri's phoney idea of joint ventures beautifully works to the advantage of the private sector, thanks, of course, to the tribe of A. K. Roys and L.K. Jhas.

The Government's almost unshakable reliance on the bureaucracy—more glaring in the last five years than before—

leads it to positions which run counter to the very tenets of democracy by which the Ministers are normally accustomed to swear as part of their power ritual. Sri K.K. Shah's approach to the controversy over AIR's standing vis-a-vis the State Government has brought out that the present Central Government is prepared to invest any swaggering Station Director with the power to veto a talk on the air by a democratically-elected Minister. It is not that Sri Shah is taken seriously as a mighty prop of the Indira Government, but the episode has no doubt devalued the Government's claims to uphold democratic principles in its relations with the States.

If the Government's persistent preference for the bureaucracy alienates it from democratic forces, its refusal to respond to the democratic pressures inside its own party has definitely weakened its standing before the masses. Its reluctance, if not refusal, to establish rapport with the radical trend inside its own party—which, if strengthened, could have developed into its transmission belt in relation to the masses outside—has considerably weakened its standing.

The way the Privy Purse issue has been handled in recent weeks has, if anything, weakened further the Government's standing among the radical elements in its own ranks, which can only lead to their frustration and ultimate inaction. While Sri Morarji Desai has indulged in strange semantics about his 'personal' opposition to the Privy Purse issue while remaining a 'disciplined soldier' of the Congress—although his sense of Party discipline does not deter him from open public propaganda against a Party decision—Smt Gandhi has not helped to enhance her own standing by shielding in Parliament the conduct of one of her Ministers joining the Princes' circus campaigning against the AICC decision on the Privy Purse. On this item, New Delhi observers are almost unanimous that Sri Chavan has so far been able to win the kudos of the forward-looking elements both

inside his own Party and outside by campaigning for the abolition of the Privy Purse.

However, the Government's multi-faced attitude towards this topical issue has practically wiped off whatever gains it hoped to make out of the widely publicised AICC resolution.

* * *

WHILE the Government shows no sign of responding to the radical pressures within its own party, the intensification of factional grouping in its top echelons is only helping to accelerate the process of disintegration of the Congress Party itself. In contrast to the solid front that it could put up on the issue of Presidential election three months ago, the Congress Party at the Centre today presents the picture of a house divided against itself, more than in any time in its history. The axis that was forged between Smt Gandhi and Sri Chavan against Sri Morarji Desai in March (which helped her to get re-elected as Prime Minister) is today totally broken; and there is almost a sense of consternation in Smt. Gandhi's camp at the slow but steady rise in Sri Chavan's standing both in the Party and in the Government.

It was in this background that a sensational story in a Marathi daily in Bombay about the possibility of Sri Chavan taking over the Government in coalition with the Jan Sangh and the Socialists created some stir in the Capital. Sri Chavan's prompt contradiction itself set out a lot of speculation in the Capital which has become too sophisticated not to read between the lines of any official contradiction.

However, the Congress circles deny the possibility of a multi-party coalition at the Centre just now. But if there is any Congress leader who can bring it about, it is Sri Chavan. And things as they are going today almost seem to point to the possibility that in case of a show-down inside the party, the Home Minister is in a better position to mobilise the largest number of supporters more than any of his colleagues. The weakest element in Sri Chavan's camp today is Sri

Asoka Mehta—unless of course Sri Mehta's worth is counted in terms of his standing in the U.S. circles.

New Delhi observers have noted with interest that while Sri Jagjivan Ram is reported to have thrown in his lot on the side of Sri Chavan Sri Morarji has not been able to claim any accretion to his own strength since his acceptance of Deputy Prime Ministership. Rather, some of his followers are showing signs of restlessness and it is possible that any person making a determined bid inside the Party is likely to rally at least some from Sri Desai's camp. There is however no indication that among Sri Desai's supporters those who are getting impatient are veering over to the Prime Minister's camp. In this connection, an interesting development is that Smt Tarakeshwari Sinha has almost become a rallying point for quite a few Congress MPs, some of whom had long been known as Sri S. K. Patil's associates.

As for the Prime Minister's camp, Sri Dinesh Singh has suffered a considerable setback with the revolt of the Princes. Even the Rajput faction which he had so painstakingly built up for the last one year appears to be in shambles. A section of it is reported to have moved over to Sri Chavan's camp. Essentially, the Prime Minister's basic weakness lies in the fact that she does not command the support of the majority inside the Congress Parliamentary Party: in its executive of thirty, her group is in a minority of only six. In the choice of Ministers, she hardly followed the principle of forming an all-faction team in the face of a difficult crisis. The result today is that individual Ministers beholden to her personally command little authority or influence in the Party.

In this context, the talk of Cabinet reshuffle has not created any enthusiasm in the Party; for the move is regarded as merely to strengthen the Prime Minister's own position rather than that of the Party as such. Reports are current that the Central Intelligence outfit would be taken out of the Home Minister's jurisdiction and placed directly under

the Prime Minister: while such a proposal has a long history behind it—it is believed to be as old as a decade—its revival at this particular moment has been interpreted by New Delhi observers as a move to clip the wings of Sri Chavan. Similarly, another suggestion for bifurcating the

Finance Ministry—a perfectly rational idea in normal times—is regarded as a means to curb the authority of Sri Desai.

Whether these proposals would ever materialise, the fact of their currency in New Delhi circles today is taken as an index of the acute factional tussle that has

been going on inside the power-structure at the Centre.

Such in-fight is no new thing in Indian history. The Great Moghuls indulged in it and thereby hastened their own fall. Have their modern counterparts learnt nothing and forgot nothing?

August 16

N. C.

Myth of Princely Privileges

R. K. MISHRA

THE demand for the abolition of privy purses of the former rulers of Indian States and other obscurantist privileges enjoyed by them has generated a heated controversy on the question of the inviolability of the rights enjoyed by these princes and princelings.

Sri Rajagopalachari has described the Privy Purse as a "deferred payment" for the consideration agreed to by the Government of India in the surrender of rights and sovereignty by the former rulers. Sri K. M. Munshi is horrified at the prospect of the violation of the pledge given under the Indian Constitution. From Sri Morarji Desai to Smt Nayantra Sahgal, a chorus is talking of 'moral' commitments to the princes.

In this controversy emotions have been worked up about the "violation of pledge" in order to cloud the main facts. The area covered by the princely states in India was 675,000 sq. miles. The 562 Indian states had nothing in common between them except that they were tyrannically governed and only a few of the rulers took any interest in the welfare of the subjects.

It was only some 30 among the former Indian states that possessed an area, population and resources of an average Indian district. As many as 15 states had territories under one sq. mile; three of these states could not boast of population of 100 souls. Five had a revenue of Rs. 100. There was a

"prince" whose state had the fabulous revenue of Rs. 20 and yet another state had a population of 32. As many as 454 states had an area of less than a thousand sq. mile. The State of Lawa in Rajputana had an area of about 19 sq. miles and a population of only 2000 persons.

The princely rights and privileges became part of the British scheme to create complications for the Indian people on the attainment of their freedom. Treaty obligations that the British imperial power had entered into with the former rulers were precisely intended to prevent the constitutional advancement of these States and the political progress of the country. British statesmen themselves made no secret of their stand that the relations between the British imperial power and the States were determined not so much by the letter of the treaties as by usages and sufferance.

In fact, the White Paper on Indian states published at the time of integration, records in great detail the anachronistic nature of British power towards the princes. It was one of the principal contradictions of British rule in India that while in England and elsewhere feudalism died long ago, in India feudal rights continued to be guaranteed as a British obligation. When the British appeared in India, the Mughal Empire which had held the States together was disintegrated

and with the establishment of the British as the dominant power in India a strange process overtook the States. The representatives of the powerful East India Company rescued a number of States from the wreckage that followed the collapse of the Mughal empire; some princes were lifted from chaos; others were confirmed in their possession whether acquired *legitimately or otherwise*; yet others were sent into oblivion.

Sardar Patel himself said in one of his speeches in the Constituent Assembly about the arrangements with the princes that "we agreed to this arrangement just as we agreed to the partition of India. We accepted it because we had no option to act otherwise." It is thus obvious that the payments were agreed to almost under duress.

The Subsidiary System of alliance imposed on the States by the British broke whatever strength and independence they enjoyed earlier. The authority and prestige of the larger ones among the States were further undermined by the stabilisation of the position of the small feudatory states and by the assertion of British power as the supreme and final arbiter between them and the parent States. Having thus broken the strength of the States, British imperialism then set itself to guarantee and perpetuate their existence firmly. Inevitably this relationship turned them into a

product and prop for British rule in India.

Under the East India Company treaties were honoured more in the breach. There was a great deal of interference by the Company in the internal affairs of these States, varying according to the shifting requirements of the imperial interests and the temperament and personality of the agents of the Company interpreting those requirements. The White Paper notes that these Treaties were flexible instruments in the hands of empire-builders who used them to suit the exigencies of the time. The whole scope of the relationship of the States and the British imperial power was purposely kept nebulous and vague. Sir George Campbell wrote in 1852: "It is impossible to give any definite explanation of what things we do meddle with and what we do not." The entire system was capricious.

Unchanged Position

The position did not change in any material respect with the assumption of direct rule of India by the Crown. Canning was emphatic on the Crown's right to intervene in cases of gross mal-administration, Elgin equally recognised that the alternative to intervention in cases of gross misrule was annexation. Curzon, during whose Viceroyalty the rising tide of paramountcy touched the highest level and who so stretched the paramountcy relationship as to make it virtually coextensive with sovereignty, had the scantiest respect for any of the treaty obligations. Finally, Reading formally laid to rest all talks about the Crown's relationship with the States being governed by treaties. The White Paper categorically states that "when once the principle was enunciated that the political system of India did not rest upon treaties, it was easy for the Political Officers so to extend the tentacles of paramountcy as to envelop the entire structure of the states. There was no parts of States—like Legislative, Executive and even Judicial—which was not touched by the long hand of the supreme power. Even the palaces and private life of rulers were not exempt from intrusion of the paramount power."

It is amazing that a section of official opinion should now seek to put this entire analysis contained in the White Paper into oblivion and make out a case as if the former rulers enjoyed sovereignty which they had surrendered and made a great sacrifice for the cause of Indian integration. Attempts are even made to make out a case as if the rulers were imbued with the spirit of patriotism.

As for sovereignty, it is very clear that the succession to a native state was considered invalid until it received in some form, the consent of the British authority. Desposition of former rulers took place whenever the agents of British imperial power so desired.

In 1921 an eloquent declaration was made by Whitehall about the privilege and rights and dignities of the princes of India. "The princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable", the proclamation said. But like other promises the proclamation of 1921 was also soon shelved in the archives of the Government of India. Within a period of seven years, the rulers of two major States, Indore and Nabha were deposed. The ruler of Udaipur was forced to make substantial changes in administration of his State. Bharatpur was ordered to face an enquiry. Even the Nizam was snubbed when he dared request for return of a valuable province taken earlier by the British.

View of British Press

The esteem in which the princes were held even by the conservative section of British opinion is eloquently illustrated in the following editorial of London *Times*, at the time:

"We have emancipated these pale and ineffectual pageants of royalty from the ordinary fate that waits on an oriental despotism. . . . This advantage (securing able and vigorous Princes through rebellion) we have taken away from the inhabitants of the States of India still governed by Native Princes. It has been well said that we give these Princes power without responsibility. Our hand of iron maintains them on

the throne despite their imbecility, their vices, and their crimes. The result is in most of the States a chronic anarchy under which the revenues of the States are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the Court. The heavy and the arbitrary taxes levied on the miserable raiyats serve only to feed the meanest and the most degraded of mankind. The theory seems, in fact, admitted that the government is not for the people but the people for the King, and that so long as we secure the King his sinecure royalty we discharge all the duty that we as sovereigns of India owe to his subjects who are virtually ours."

Protagonists' Cry

Many protagonists raise a cry—as was done earlier in order to induce the Government of India to succumb to the princely blackmail at the time of integration—that the princes would have created a serious problem if they had not peacefully agreed to surrender their states. Sri K.M. Munshi has drawn a frightening picture that there would have been bloodbath in the country if the princes had so desired. The fact these princes were mere toys in the hands of British imperialism and not real rulers is sought to be covered up cleverly.

Historical evidence points out that there was not only no question of the princes enjoying any sovereignty in relation to any foreign power, they could not even enter into any treaty amongst themselves. When once it was discovered that the rulers of Jaipur and Alwar were engaged in certain negotiations, the Alwar prince was obliged to bind himself not to enter into any political relations with other states.

The phoney sovereignty enjoyed by these princes is also illustrated by the fact that when a dispute arose about succession between Alwar Ruler Baktawar Singh's illegitimate son Balwant Singh and Maharajkumar Vinay Singh (whom the deceased ruler had intended to adopt), the British decided that the illegitimate son would have power and the adopted

son would enjoy the title. Of course, subsequently when Vinay Singh proved himself "loyal" during the 1857 uprising by assisting the British, he again earned favour of the imperial power. Seven years later, even his successor's powers were greatly curtailed. In 1907 when Jai Singh, the ruler of Alwar died it was the British Government which selected his successor.

According to historical documents the founders of one of the princely states in Rajputana were none else but land-owners engaged in marauding expeditions.

Chudgar on Bikaner

Maharaja Ram Singh of Bharatpur was deposed in June 1900 on the charge of shooting his servant dead. Anup Singh of Bikaner was awarded the title of Maharaja by Emperor Aurangzeb in recognition of the services rendered by him during the siege of Golkonda.

The Bikaner rulers also extended 'loyal service' to British imperialism during 1857 uprising, and for this the Pargana of Tibi was given to them in reward. The Bikaner ruler had also signed a treaty with Hastings in which the ruler undertook "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and to form no connection with other ruling princes or states."

A columnist in a New Delhi newspaper recently showered praise on the former Maharaja of Bikaner Ganga Singh for being so progressive as to fix the privy purse for his personal expenditure during princely regime. The columnist had attempted to make a point that some of the princes were so public spirited as not to appropriate the state expenses for their personal needs. In this connection the comments made by Chudgar in his *Indian Princes under British Protection* (p. 147) are relevant. Chudgar says:

"The Maharaja of Bikaner, the loudest in swearing that he has fixed his privy purse to ten per cent of his revenues, debits all his residential palace expenditure on repairs etc. to civil works. In the Bikaner Administration Report for 1926-1927 there are forty-seven items of such repairs, and only four items of real civil works of public utility costing only five per cent of the total amount

shown against civil works which is about £ 40,000. In the Administration Report of Jamnagar for the year 1925-26, the item of Civil list is stated as Rs. 480,000 or roughly £ 40,000, and all other personal expenses enumerated under the head of palace expenses amount to £ 125,000, together £ 165,000, which comes to 20 per cent of the total revenue. In addition to this, there is an item of £ 200,000, all spent on motor cars, palaces, etc. which are separate from palace expenses; and the total comes to £ 375,000 or almost 50 per cent of the revenues. In the year 1926-27, the figures of expenses on these items are still more staggering: £ 600,000 of which £ 200,000 are mentioned as unforeseen."

When such was the state of affairs in the so-called enlightened states like Bikaner, it is not necessary to recall the details of princely loot of the poor, suppressed and exploited people, in these areas covered by the yellow patches on the Indian map.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Rajputana State People's Conference, held at Pushkar had rightly described that "the system of administration in all the 21 states of Rajputana is hereditary despotism."

Those who try to paint a frightening picture of the problems that the princes could have created if they had not been moved by their supposed patriotism, insult the glorious struggle waged by the people of the Indian States against the feudal tyranny which was backed by British imperialism.

Martyrs

The martyrdom of a hundred men and women in the village Nimochana in Alwar is recalled by the people of Indian states with the same reverence as Jalianwalabagh is remembered in the rest of the country. The struggle of the peasants of Bijolia—this was the first glorious peasant rising in India (even before Bardoli)—is an epic of long resistance against feudal oppressors.

The martyrdom of Sagarmal Gopa, burnt to death in the concentration camp at Jaisalmer, the courage with which Ramesh Swami of Bharatpur faced the

fatal assaults upon him and the privations suffered by Balmukund Bissa of Jodhpur and Thakur Pratap Singh who died with smiles on their faces may not be known to those who conveniently forget the indomitable spirit which permeated the people of former princely states to throw away the feudal yoke and to establish democracy in an integrated independent India. Because the strength of the sufferings, sacrifices and the irrepressible urge of the people of the former princely states to join free and independent India as equal partners was not properly appreciated, the bureaucrats succeeded in advising free India's first government to succumb to the princely blackmail.

Over-Indulgence

Since independence, the leaders of new India have not made any attempt to convey to our people the lessons of the valiant anti-feudal struggle. Instead, attempts have been made to invest the former rulers with a respectability which they could never command before. Attempts have been made to make people forget the bloody record of their tyranny and oppression.

Because of the pampering of the princely order since independence the former rulers have succeeded in a large measure to invade even political arena. Leaders of the ruling party are unable to gather courage to have faith in the masses and tremble at the prospect of losing power if the princes are arrayed against them. That is why a section of Congress leadership also talks of "honouring the pledges" given to the former rulers.

Whether the Government can be courageous enough to rectify this distortion of democracy in the country or not, it will do well not to advance the plea of "rights" enjoyed by the princes under the British. The Congress leaders should at least desist from insulating the anti-feudal struggle of the masses by talking about he "sacrifices" and "patriotism" of the princes. The fact of history show the princes did not enjoy any in violable rights under British rule and therefore the talk of their having surrendered any such right is nothing but a myth.

The Voiceless and Their Homeland

K. R. GANESH

THE pre-British history of the Andaman islands has remained shrouded in obscurity due to their seclusion from the rest of the world.

Upto 1788 the Andamans has remained the abode of the aboriginal negritos. The only knowledge about their old history could be pieced together by the accounts of them mentioned in the writings and notes of travellers, traders and sea-pirates. The earliest mention of these islands dates back to the second century A.D. in the writings of Claude Ptolemy. He had described the Andaman islands as the islands of Buzacata, and had said these islands produced shells, and the inhabitants were naked and were called Agmatae. His description approximates to the Andamans. The Andaman sea is rich in shells of high commercial value, and this constitutes one of our main wealth. The aboriginals still go naked.

Later description of these islands are found in the early collection of Arab notes of the century. They have termed the people of the Andamans as Angamanians. Mention is also found in the writings and notes of Chinese Buddhist Monk I' Tsing (672 A.D.) Marco Polo (1286 A.D.), Friar - Odoric (1322 A.D.) and Nicolo Conti (1430). They have described the Andamans as the "Island of Gold" and as the "land of riches".

The author is the Member of Parliament representing the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The two earlier articles in this series appeared in Mainstream, August 5 and Independence Day Number last week.

The notes of Marco Polo describes them as quoted below:

"Angamanian is a very long island. The people are without a king and are idolaters and no better than wild beasts. All the men of this island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eye likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of species; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk and have fruits different from any of ours". (All quotations and facts are quoted from Census Reports, 1923 and 1931)

These descriptions of the islands and the aboriginals were obviously "from second hand knowledge and tales current in the neighbouring countries" like Malaya and Siam (P.K. Sen: *Land and People of the Andamans*). The aboriginals have never been known to be cannibals. Nor do they live on rice and milk. Throughout their contact with civilisation, and in perpetual and unvanquished war with colonisers of their homeland, they have not exhibited any trace of utter brutality. Such wild descriptions of the aboriginals has been explained by Portman in the following words:

"It should be remembered that it was to the interests of the pirates who made the Andamans a headquarters of their raids and also enslaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep them away." (M.V. Portman : *A History of Our Relation with the Andamans*)

S.K. Gupta, the former Deputy Commissioner of the islands, and the census Superintendent in 1951, who can be regarded as one of the best officers the islands had, made an original contribution to the otherwise obscure history of the region. He introduced an element of Indian contact with the Andamans. This the British historians otherwise objective had scrupulously avoided. In the 1951 Census Report, S.K. Gupta reveals that our ancient scripture *Ramayana* has mentioned these islands as the "land of the Hanumans". The Malaysians whose contact with the Andamans had been the most intimate in the earlier times, had referred to them as 'Handuman'. The modern name the Andaman is presumably derived from the earlier 'Handuman' and the most ancient 'Hanuman'.

The British officers of the earlier days had made a thorough study of the land and of the aboriginals by painstaking research. The post-independence tribe of officialdom are intellectually warped and chauvinistically arrogant to have a proper outlook and attitude to such historical studies. S.K. Gupta, the former Deputy Commissioner now a retired IAS is an honourable exception.

The Andaman aboriginals belong to the negrito stock and has an affinity with the Semangs and Sakais of Malaya, the Veddas of Ceylon and the other negrito groups of Southeast Asia. They have probably come down from the lower regions of Burma. They are an object of study in depth. They are the purest negrito group in the world. Their most primitive economy of hunting and collection of roots has not changed

since almost the dawn of civilisation.

Speaking on them for the first time in the Lok Sabha during the discussion on the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on August 7, I tried to draw attention to the problems of these voiceless people in the following words:

"But I must raise the voice of the aboriginals of the Andamans. The Andaman and Nicobar islands have been the homeland of the aboriginal Andamanese who have probably been living there for thousands and thousands of years and who according to the anthropologists and historians were the original inhabitants of the submontane regions of India, of Asia and the Far East. It is a tragedy—and we are ashamed of it—that this tribe is fast dying in their own homeland which was taken over by the British. It will be a bad day and it will be a very uncharitable comment of History if our Government is not in a position to apply its mind to rehabilitate and do something about the

original tribes of the Andamans.

"In our desire to get more and more land which of course is necessary to rehabilitate the vast masses of the Indian people who require rehabilitation, we have neglected this part of the Indian humanity because they are voiceless, because they cannot represent, because they are living in dense jungles, and their problem has never been focussed before the Indian people. The Home Minister is sitting here, and I am told that he is thinking of going to the Andamans. I appeal to him that he must apply his mind to the preservation and rehabilitation of these sons of the Andaman islands whose lands we from the mainland have occupied and whose lands have now been almost snatched away from them."

Coming back to our present study a mention must be made of the islands' multi-lingual working class. Cutting across all barriers the 20,000 strong working class is the most decisive political force in this Union territory. Organised in a number of trade unions, stronger than

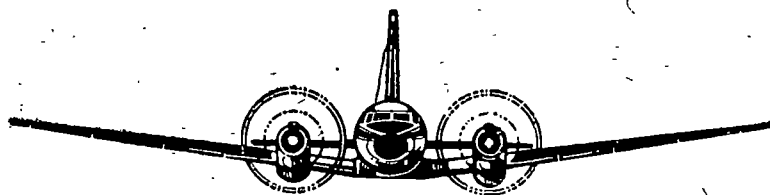
many places on the mainland, they are the torch-bearers of socialism and integration in the modern sense. There is a scramble among political groups to win their loyalty. In the process their collective strength gets weakened.

Apart from the four major permanent groups there are a number of smaller linguistic groups who have settled in the islands permanently. They are the settlers from Kerala, Tamilnad and Ranchi. The Ranchi workers have made a lasting contribution to the economy and development of the islands since the twenties. So have the Telegus and Tamil workers in recent times. Being jungle-born and hardy, the Ranchis are ideal colonisers.

The working class due to their permanency in the islands as a result of the new service conditions won after struggles, must also be made to develop permanent stakes by granting them house sites and homestead land for cultivation in these picturesque islands studded in the Bay of Bengal.

(Concluded)

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INDIAN AIRLINES

A Plea for an Agricultural Command

PANNALAL DAS GUPTA

THE fear that the Naxalbari rebels might put up strong resistance has been proved to be unfounded. There was a lot of talk that the rebels might be armed, even aided by foreign powers. A myth of armed pockets under the control of such people was created. It was said that they owed allegiance to China and followed the Chinese way of liberation.

The political parties having faith in democracy and democratic methods were rather hesitant to permit police operation for combing the area and encircling the rebel pockets. The ultra-Lefts outside Naxalbari banked very much upon the so-called Naxalbari path of liberation. Naturally, the United Front Ministry in West Bengal as well as the police and the people at large were afraid of a bloodbath if law and order was sought to be re-established in the area.

But now all are relieved to find that things were not, after all, as bad as that. It is now possible for the police and the civil authorities to enter the disturbed area and look into the grievances of the people concerned. It may, therefore, be said that the Naxalbari myth has been liquidated.

But the burning issues of agrarian problem that Naxalbari raised remain as acute as ever. Fundamentally, it is a question of completing the unfinished tasks of agrarian reform. They have been kept pending long after the abolition of the zemindari system and the introduction of the Land Reforms Act.

If it is the problem of finding out how much land vested in the Government was wrongfully grabbed by the jotedars, the solution should not be difficult. According to records, 17,000 acres of land vested in the Government after the abolition of the zemindari system in the Siliguri sub-division. Seven thousand acres have already been distributed. The remaining 10,000 acres, now under the wrongful occupation of jotedars, have to be distributed to the landless peasants. It should, however, be borne in mind that 10,000 acres out of 238 square miles of arable land in the sub-division, cannot satisfy the land hunger of the landless and the bargadars.

A Difficult Task

Still, in a backward sub-division like Siliguri, 17,000 acres of land can possibly satisfy some landless peasants and restore a kind of temporary ease in that troubled area. But the task of giving land to the landless in the whole of West Bengal is immensely difficult.

For example, in the 5,000 square

mile area of the 24-Parganas, the quantity of vested land with the Government is only 25,000 acres. While in the Siliguri sub-division having an area of 238 square miles, there are 17,000 acres of vested land, in 24-Parganas, which has an area of 5,000 square miles, only 25,000 acres are available for distribution.

It is apparent from the above figures how acute the problem is. If the Naxalbari struggle became so intense due to land hunger, the situation in 24-Parganas should have become explosive; all the more so because there is a long history of political and peasant struggle in the district.

Why did then, of all places in West Bengal, the storm break out in Naxalbari? Apart from the general land hunger of the landless, other factors peculiar to the area must have been responsible for the Naxalbari movement. Some of these factors are: the contiguity of the tea gardens and the labour struggles in the tea gardens getting mixed up with the peasant struggles. Peasants in that area have a living link with the indented labourers of the tea gardens; the umbilical cord between them has not been severed. The peasants of Naxalbari and surrounding areas come from these labour families. Some of them are workers who were discharged from the tea gardens at one time or another.

A near-feudal atmosphere still

Reportage on Naxalbari by Asit Bhattacharyya appeared in Mainstream (July 8, 15 and 22 and Independence Day Number, 1967).

prevails in the Terai tea-gardens. Even in the recent past there was no trace of democracy or democratic rights being enjoyed by the people of this region. During the British days these people were almost outside the pale of any democratic movement. They eked out their lives in a semi-serf condition. The British Deputy Commissioners and the White Sahibs of the tea gardens lorded it over them.

The labour population of the tea estates also come from a most backward and oppressed part of India, namely, the Santhal Parganas and Chhotanagpur. A democratic resurgence of these people began after Independence. Since it was a long delayed action, it burst open in no time. Backward people like Santhals, Mundas etc, had no experience in the democratic mode of life which could guide them.

Naturally, when they woke up from their age-long slumber, they were spurred into action by the memory of their long-forgotten tribal experiences—the memory that lay dormant in their minds. What are those experiences? Blind revolts with bows and arrows, as for example, the Santhal Revolt.

Wrong Encouragement

By their long association with these backward people, the leaders of the CP (M) had won their confidence and loyalty. But they did not try to educate the peasants in the modern technique of democratic struggle. On the contrary they encouraged the peasants to cherish their own primitive concept of bow-and-arrow warfare.

The CP (M) leaders also deluded themselves that they could possibly slip over the democratic phase of the struggle and go straight to the Chinese pattern of armed liberation. The ultra-Left leaders never cared to study the Chinese strategy and tactics seriously. Had they done so they could have easily found out that Mao Tse-tung's strategy and tactics of armed struggle were by no means a crude affair and that it was, as proved in practice, a very well-thought out, well-prepared and modern

method of armed struggle, peculiar to their own circumstances.

There is substance in the attention that Naxalbari received in the whole of India. Naxalbari is the agrarian problem typified. The problem has become all the more acute because of the grave food problem of the country.

The aim of the land reform should not be a mere equitable distribution of land to the tillers but also the evolution of a system that will generate an economic upsurge in the countryside. It is not merely a question of social justice but one of releasing the productive forces in agriculture—a long neglected and moribund agriculture. These forces remain fettered for social and political reasons. After all, every revolution is a release of the productive forces of society and whatever new type of agrarian relations we may try to bring about we must see that the result is increased food production.

At present there are two contradictory approaches to the land and food problem of the country. According to one school of thought, food shortage has created desperate situation in which it will be very risky to disurb the agrarian structure for the time being. This school maintains that uncertainty and panic have already overtaken the peasantry—small, medium and big—which discourage capital investment in agriculture. Any agrarian movement or legislation in such a precarious situation will only further accentuate the panic and be a disincentive to agriculture. This school further contends that instead of effecting agrarian reforms, there should be agricultural reform. By this is meant providing the peasants with the technical know-how in agriculture, with irrigational facilities, seeds, fertilizers etc.

The other school of thought includes on the one hand the progressives and the Leftists and on the other the Sarvodayists and Bhoodanwallahs. Their case is, the prevalent agrarian system is such that the well-to-do peasants who have the capital to modernize agriculture will not do so since their jotedari system is quite

profitable. There are any number of semi-serf bargadars and cheap landless labourers, to work for them.

This school holds that equitable distribution of land to the actual tillers, even in small, very much fragmented holdings, will be an economic proposition. The mere fact of possession will be sufficient inducement to the peasants to exert their maximum efforts in terms of labour input. Also, their personal attachment to land will increase.

The egalitarian possession of land, it is claimed, will gradually enable the peasants to understand the merits of cooperative farming which can be then encouraged by the State. The State will give them guidance and material help by way of loans, implements, seeds, etc.

Practical difficulties, however, stand in the way of accepting either of the two courses in their totality. Under the circumstances we cannot possibly maintain the status quo in agriculture and at the same time maintain a reasonably workable relation in the villages to increase food production. Neither is it possible to start immediately an agrarian revolution with egalitarian aims. That would be neither status quo nor revolution but anarchy and confusion that may be disastrous for food production and cause widespread famine conditions.

An Outline

Hereinbelow is given the rough outline of a possible alternative. If worked seriously, it may meet some of the salient requirements of both the schools referred to above. At the same time, the alternative suggested will boost agricultural production sufficiently to make us self-sufficient in food. West Bengal Food Minister, Dr P.C. Ghosh. in course of his speech on the State Food Ministry's budget, promised self-sufficiency in food in three years. We cannot perhaps wait even for three years and should try to shorten the period.

In fact, promises of attaining self-sufficiency in food within a stipulated period were made quite often after independence

by many in authority. Dr Ghosh must show the people how he proposes to translate his promise into a reality and what measures he intends to adopt.

Unfortunately, nothing so far has been done or proposed to encourage either the people or the peasantry. Agriculture is yet to get the priority it should. The whole set of Ministries, related directly or indirectly to the problems of agriculture and agriculturists, seem to be working at cross purposes. They do not seem to have a common methodology or an agreed target.

For example, there is the Food & Agriculture Ministry with one minister-in-charge. But the Food and Agriculture wings suffer from a lack of coordination, not unoften one puts a spanner in the work of the other. Then come the Community Development Ministry, Irrigation Ministry, Cooperation Ministry, etc., each having a say in agricultural development. And finally comes the supreme arbiter—the Finance Ministry—without whose scrutiny and sanction not a paise can be spent.

No Cooperation

It is common knowledge that there is little cooperation, co-ordination or understanding between the Ministries. Even at Calcuttas' Writers Buildings files move at a snail's pace from one department to another. At the district and lower levels, departments of separate Ministries are far apart from one another. Even the District Magistrate has little effective power to coordinate the activities of the different departments of the Government in his district. There are a host of functionaries like the BDOs, Irrigation Engineers, Agricultural Extension Officers, Cooperative Officers, Gram Sevaks, etc., each of them a monarch in his own dominion.

The obstructiveness and dilatoriness of the Finance Department in sanctioning development expenditures, very often results in the allocations remaining unspent and lapsing at the end of the financial year. Innumerable bottlenecks and impediments are created at every

stage and in every way possible. No creative, constructive and collective effort can be organized under the present compartmentalized system.

It is, therefore, suggested that Agriculture should be under the direct charge of the Chief Minister himself. Other Ministries having to do with agriculture, like Irrigation, Land & Land Revenue, Supply, Cooperation, etc., should be grouped into a consolidated body under the direct control of the Chief Minister.

This group of Ministries should constitute themselves into an Agricultural Command and set themselves the task of attaining self-sufficiency in food production within as short a time as possible and certainly not later than three years. Our food deficiency is only of the order of 12 per cent of our requirements. Given sustained and well-directed efforts, it will not be difficult to double our food production and change the country from a deficit to a surplus one. That will also enable us to build up a buffer stock for lean seasons as also for offsetting marketing fluctuations of food prices.

The proposed Agricultural Command should be given emergency powers, and there may be an enactment on the lines of the Defence of India Act to be called the Defence of Agriculture and Agriculturists' Act. It will brook no bottleneck, no delay, no obstacle at any level and for any reason.

Under the State Command there should be District Commands. The following will be the tasks of the Command :

(1) Making food plans for every district and an overall plan for the State, with the help of related administrative departments and peasants organizations, and land committees.

(2) Effecting necessary reforms in land relations expeditiously, for instance distribution of vested lands to the tillers, finding out *benami* land holdings, consolidation of land holdings, survey of settlements, etc.

(3) Assuring irrigation facilities for all cultivable lands. It should be borne in mind that

water is the most important thing in agriculture. Shallow and deep tubewells, small irrigation schemes, field channels, should be provided so that water reaches each and every plot of land.

(4) Pumps, motors, agricultural implements, seeds fertilizers etc must be secured from any source available.

(5) High-yielding crops and double-and-triple cropping must be introduced in as much land as possible.

(6) All cultivable lands must be brought under cultivation. Fallow lands must be reclaimed.

(7) All land-holding peasants must produce the target of food fixed for them.

(8) All possible inducements and encouragements by way of loans, seeds, irrigational facilities must be supplied to the peasants. On their part they will be required to produce the crop the Command demands of them. If they fulfil the targets, they will be rewarded; if they fail, they will be punished by withdrawing all facilities given to them and otherwise. The principle governing possession of land should be : The right to land ultimately belongs to the nation. Individual peasants are given the right to possess and cultivate land in the interest of the nation and themselves.

(9) An army of landless peasants or a land army must be organized. They should be paid in kind, that is, all their necessity in food, clothing and other articles should be met, so that they can live and work in moderately decent conditions, compared to other classes of workers in the cities. They should be engaged in agriculture and other village developmental activities. In short, they must be given plenty of fruitful and useful work.

(10) Producing food from sources other than agriculture should be encouraged. Fishery, dairy, poultry, piggery, etc. should be developed.

(11) In order to save the rural population from the recurrent scissors operations industrial products of everyday necessity should be supplied through village cooperatives at prices commensurate with the income of the rural people.

What is to be Done About Defection

JAI B. P. SINHA

DEFECTION by members of political parties threatens the stability of our political structure. One of the suggestions advanced is to educate the public so that awareness may operate as a restraint on changing party loyalty. This programme, as it basically involves changing attitude and demand characteristics of the public, would require a thorough appraisal of the attitudinal frame of the people.

What is the frame of mind imposed upon us through hundreds of years? I believe it is the tendency of hero-worship, that is, respect and obedience to a father-figure. Ours has been a land of kings and queens who have been, more or less, regarded as incarnations. One's own father is considered the humblest point in this continuum. What they say has to be believed and obeyed. Authoritarian culture such as ours helps foster and perpetuate this "father-loyalty".

Nothing has changed in all this even after 20 years of independence. While Mahatma Gandhi was alive, he was Bapu. After him Jawaharlal Nehru—assumed this role. His vast popularity and his manner of dealing with politics were reminiscent of a typical, powerful and authoritarian father handling his family affairs (His own self-portrayal in the early thirties certifies this).

Once the father-image was gone, loyalty to the Congress crumbled. One giant father-figure gave way to several locally pertinent father images. Politically this meant an abrupt fall of an empire, but psychologically it seemed quite logical and meaningful.

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Our people have not been loyal to the various political philosophies. Rather, they have been loyal to the leader—local and national. Votes are cast not for or against a political party but for or against an individual leader. If it were not so, the giants of the Congress could not have been defeated while the minors won. It seems that the public either cannot critically judge political philosophies or does not give a damn. If so, why should they not believe what their defecting leaders have to say? For, it is the leaders who matter to them, not the ideology on which votes are solicited (and who knows in how many election campaigns even mention of an ideology is made?)

Why do these MLAs defect? Opportunism is the oft-mentioned answer. MLAs are not a completely horizontal group. There are hierarchies. There are bosses who have their lieutenants and regulars. Each big gun has his own empire which will remain loyal even if he crosses the floor. So why should he not, if opportunity beckons?

Rather, his "men" would tend to prevail upon him to move towards power because that is the surest way to cater to the needs of the sections (e.g., employment,

contracts, favours, etc.) whom they represent. In present-day India, effectively popular would be a leader who takes fatherly care of his men and bestows upon them all kinds of favours. In this country, where the struggle for survival is the most serious preoccupation of the majority, where political loyalties are yet to be established and where the father-kids relation is deep-rooted, defection is bound to occur whenever an opportunity arises.

Battles have to be waged on all these fronts. Changing an attitude and the political sensitivity of the people amounts to changing the whole culture which can be attempted successfully only if the material culture is sufficiently improved, and worries about physical survival are reasonably reduced. More feasible than training people in political sensitivity (which seems to be side-tracking the issue by directing us to the impossible) may be training for party members in party loyalty. Undue importance for any leader has to be discouraged. Cautious recruitment based on long-range party plans may help parties get more loyal bands of men. The desire to get power frequently induces parties to embrace men who are by nature fluctuators.

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Economic Stagnation of Under-Developed Economies

P. C. VERMA

IN the absence of State participation in economic activity, economic stagnation of under-developed economies becomes inevitable. It is necessary to understand and analyse the factors which cause lack of spontaneous economic development in under-developed economies; and in view of this lack participation by State becomes inevitable.

Economic development implies sustained growth of per capita output. Hence, economic development depends on growth of output in relation to growth of population. Growth of output is determined by long-term changes in the immediate determinants of output. Keeping in view the immediate determinants of output, the factors determining growth of output can be classified into three categories: growth of productive resources; growth in discovery and application of knowledge; and changes towards appropriate social, legal and political framework. In the absence of state participation, the obstacles in operation of these factors continue to exist. An attempt is made below to analyse the operation of these factors in under-developed economies, if economies are left free.

Obstructing Growth

Economic stagnation in under-developed economies is caused by obstacles to the growth of productive resources, lack of appropriate discovery and application of knowledge and inadequate attention to social, legal and political framework. In the absence of State parti-

cipation, the obstacles continue to exist.

Growth of productive resources—land, labour and capital—is impeded by various factors. In an under-developed economy marked by high density of population there is not much potentially productive land which is not in use. Qualitative increase in land is impeded by scarcity of capital inputs, small size of holdings and inappropriate land tenure conditions; also, its proportion to labour force is marked to be smaller in under-developed economies.

Main Reasons

This is mainly due to high birth rate on the one hand and high death rate in the working-age group on the other hand. Further, labour efficiency is low also because of low literacy levels and lack of health caused by under-nourishment and malnutrition. As regards capital formation, analysis of obstacles to it will be considered separately, as it requires a detailed study, a key factor in production.

Discovery of knowledge appropriate to conditions of an under-developed economy and its application is a necessary factor of economic development. Growth of knowledge has been divided into three stages: formulation of scientific principles, the application of these principles to given technical problems; and the development of technical inventions to the point where these may be ready for commercial exploitation.

Results of pure science developed in advanced economies are available to under-developed economies, but there is a great need for technical research. Even where results of technical research are

applicable, the development problems have to be separately taken up. Application of knowledge is hindered by resistance to required technological changes and social changes. Also there may be lack of entrepreneurs to undertake risks involved.

Certain aspects of social framework may also be not appropriate for development. Higher values to spiritual and lower values to material aspects reduce willingness and, consequently, retard economic activities. Rigid social stratification, particularly caste system, by prohibiting persons to leave caste occupations to enter new fields, puts a drag on freedom for economic activity. The institution of the joint family which requires individual to share the reward for his efforts with many others fails to protect reward for effort and therefore becomes deterrent to economic activity. As regards political framework, concepts and attitude underlying government administration in under-developed economies are not well adopted for the planning and the execution of the programmes of economic development. The primary loyalties and responsibilities that people recognise tend to be person-to-person type rather than person-to-state type. The legal system, its conceptualisation, principles, interpretation and administration too are not satisfactorily framed.

Obstructing Capital Formation

Capital formation implies that the whole of the productive resources is not applied to production of consumption goods but a part of it is directed towards production of capital goods. Capital

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formation involves three distinct though inter-dependent activities: Savings, Finance and Investment. Savings is the activity by which claims to resources, which might be exercised in favour of current consumption, are set aside and so become available for other purposes. Finance is the activity by which claims to resources are either assembled from among those released by domestic savings or obtained from abroad or specially created and then made available to investors. Investment is the activity by which the resources are actually committed to the production of capital goods. Capital formation depends on the intensity and efficiency with which these three activities are carried on. In under-developed economies, these activities are carried on at a low level. Low rate of savings, inefficient financial activities and low rate of investment cause low rate of capital formation.

Low Savings Rate

Income is the main determinant of savings. In an under-developed economy, low level of per capita income causes low savings ratio. Further, as Dusenberry has shown, the consumption function of individuals are inter-related and through the operation of the demonstration effect of superior consumption patterns, savings, depend not only on the size of the individual's income, but also on the ratio of his income to the superior income level of other people with whom he may come in contact. Demonstration effect, depending on relative income and its awareness causes propensity to consume to shift upward. Nurkse applied this hypothesis to international economic relations. Consumption pattern of developed economies generates demonstration effect on the consumption pattern of under-developed economies. Demonstration effect of superior consumption pattern of developed economies causes an upward shift in consumption function of under-developed economies. Consequently, savings ratio in an under-developed economy, already low due to low per-capita income is further lowered.

Further, inequality in distribution of income in under-developed economies does not result in more savings, given the same level of low per capita income. Large rent incomes do not result in savings because these are used to carry a large number of retainers, to extend charity, to entertain lavishly on feasts and to purchase jewellery. Peasants also spend, even the small incomes which they have, on feasts and ornaments for women. Large business incomes—profits—which can go towards savings mainly go towards conspicuous and luxury consumption. Hence, even the meagre economic surplus is usually frittered away in under-developed economies. The actual savings ratio, therefore, falls even below the low potential savings ratio.

Financial activity implies transfer of funds from savers to investors. But this depends on economic framework within which borrowing and lending takes place and the efficiency with which financial institutions function. Under-developed economies, left to themselves, do not have appropriate economic environment. The level of commercial honesty, the habit of security buying among the public and the attitude towards risks are not adequately developed. Financial institutions are not sufficiently grown. Commercial banks are limited in operations. Financial activity does not adequately take place.

Low Investment Ratio

Investment ratio is also kept low by various factors in an under-developed economy. Entrepreneurship is necessary for investment activity. Economic leadership of the entrepreneur determines the extent to which potentialities for investments are realised. Entrepreneur accepts the difficulties and risks in execution of projects. But entrepreneurship seriously lacks in an under-developed economy. Entrepreneurial role is given a lower social status due to other-worldly asceticism in the social system of an under-developed economy. Lack of entrepreneurship leads to failure to save potentialities for investment, which therefore keeps the investment at low levels.

Apart from this key factor, another factor which leads to low investment is the limited size of market, for it discourages or prohibits the profitable applicability of modern capital equipment by any particular entrepreneur in any particular industry.

External Economies

Further, absence, of external economies also cause low investment activity. Under-developed economies are characterised by absence of external economies due to lack of adequate social overhead capital—transportation, communication, power, repair facilities etc. A great number of individual projects becomes unprofitable under the absence of social overhead capital and therefore such investment projects are not at all undertaken.

Apart from the level of investment even the pattern of investment is inappropriate in under-developed economies. Large investments are directed towards real estate and inventory speculation due to extremely risky character of long-term investments in under-developed economies. Social prestige derived from ownership of large land-holdings and luxurious residential building also cause investment to go in such directions.

Foreign investments are also limited in under-developed economies in the absence of any deliberate effort on the part of the State. The small size of market does not provide incentive for investment in domestic industries. Direct business investments in export sector mainly comprising primary products is also limited due to slackening export markets for such products. Public authority-financed investments, whether in the form of loan to government or to public undertakings is limited due to political factors. Strings attached to such external loans cause political authority to hesitate in accepting. Moreover, external loans are generally tied to self-liquidating projects only; leaving out non-self-liquidating projects which are necessary for building adequate economic framework.

Due to operation of the factors analysed above, savings ratio con-

tinues to be low, financial activity remains inadequate and the investment level too continues to be low. Consequently, capital formation tends to be very low, causing small increase in output. Nurksian hypothesis of vicious circle of poverty operates. Low rate of capital formation generates low growth of output which in turn permits low rate of capital formation.

Population Growth

Small growth of output fails to result in any increase in per-capita income due to population growth. Under-developed economies have large potential growth of population. Economies which start having a better performance in growth of output start having high population growth at earlier stages of development.

High birth rate along with declining death rate generates rapidly growing population in such economies. Population growth adversely affects economic development not only by raising the denominator of per-capita output but also by adversely affecting the numerator. Population growth tends to reduce savings ratio resulting in lower capital formation and hence in smaller growth of output. As formulated by Singer, a very simple equation can be constructed which links D , the rate of economic development, defined as per-capita output, with the rate of growth of output S_p , where S is the rate of savings and p is the productivity of new investments per unit of capital and rate of annual increase of population (r).

The equation is: $D = S_p - r$.

In under-developed economies, D , rate of economic development (defined as per-capita output) is insignificant due to small value of S_p , which insignificantly exceeds annual increase of population r . Economic stagnation continues, if economy is left to itself.

In view of economic stagnation if economies are left to themselves, it becomes inevitable on the part of the State to participate in economic activity so that economic stagnation may break and economy may move along path of development. In order to promote eco-

nomie developments the State has to assume many functions.

Apart from discovery and application of knowledge and modification of social framework, the key requirement for economic development of underdeveloped economies is acceleration in capital formation. Acceleration in the rate of capital formation requires acceleration in the savings ratio, financial activity and investment. The primary task of the State is formulation and implementation of policies designed to accelerate capital formation.

Acceleration in the rate of savings can be considered in stationary as also in dynamic context. In the stationary context, potential economic surplus is to be fully mobilised. For this, all unnecessary consumption is to be curtailed. Curtailment of conspicuous consumption by the richer classes—the business class as well as the rentier class—and also curtailment of semi-luxury and luxury consumption becomes inevitable. The State is to formulate policies which may lead not only to voluntary but also to compulsory curtailment of consumption above the necessary level.

In the dynamic context, the growth in output provides the potential source for acceleration in the rate of savings. As output increases, substantial proportion of it can be saved without lowering levels of consumption. If the economy is left to itself, with low standards of consumption, increase in income may go towards consumption. Hence, the primary

task of the State is prevention of increase in income going into consumption. Within a relatively short period, a substantial increase in the average savings ratio can be accomplished if a high marginal savings ratio, by preventing increase in income going into consumption, can be enforced by the State.

For accelerating the investment activity, the primary task of the State is the creation of external economies through creation of social and economic overhead capital. With the creation of social and economic overhead capital, external economies arise which make projects profitable and thereby provide incentive for investment. Apart from the creation of social and economic overhead capital, the State has to undertake the responsibility of building heavy industries. Moreover, the State has to perform a negative task also. Investments in speculation and real estate formation are required to be curtailed. This is necessary for the proper utilisation of the meagre savings.

The State has also to take necessary steps for providing proper environment for the development of financial institutions. Apart from this, financial institutions are to be created directly by the State to ensure the mobilisation of savings and their proper utilisation.

The State has to carry out these tasks so that the stagnating economies start developing. In the absence of these tasks on the part of the State, under-developed economies continue to stagnate.

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CHINESE INTELLECTUALS
and
"CULTURAL REVOLUTION"—V

Cultural Revolution or "Defence of Mao Tse-tung?"

A STUDENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS

THE beginning of the Cultural Revolution dates back to 1964. It was then that the Chinese press began sharply criticising individuals who directly, or indirectly voiced doubt as to Mao's infallibility. This was done on Mao's initiative after he had spoken at a meeting of the Central Committee's Political Bureau making grave accusations against the intellectuals and the Party cadres.

At the end of 1964, in an unpublished report to the All-China Assembly of People's representatives, Premier Chou En-lai spoke of the need of re-educating the Chinese people and the entire Party in the spirit of Mao's ideas. This was declared as the goal of the Cultural Revolution which was to be carried out in close cooperation with another mass movement of recent years—the so-called movement for social education.

From this time on, the struggle against those who display even the slightest shade of doubt as to the correctness of Mao's course has been growing and assuming a formidable scale in China. It spreads to all spheres of public life in China and involves various social groups and political forces.

First Victims

The first victims of the purges, as before, were the creative intellectuals, workers of literature, the theatre, cinema, the graphic arts, workers on the ideological front. Chinese propaganda rained down critical articles on people prominent in the sphere of culture, both Communists and

non-Communists. The Minister of Culture, Mao Jun, was removed from his post. He was a writer with a world reputation. The same fate overtook his assistant as well as the leaders of more than ten creative unions (writers, musicians, play wrights, etc.)

It may be said without exaggeration that in 1964-66, the cream of the Chinese intellectuals were declared politically unreliable and subjected to some degree of repression beginning with humiliating public criticism, dismissal from posts and compulsory deportation to the countryside and ending with physical victimisation as has taken place in recent months. The *People's Daily* recently reported that during the past year and a half, 160,000 intellectuals had been sent to the countryside for physical re-education. Thus, the leading group in China deliberately removed one of the few detachments of politically conscious people in China from the sphere of active public life. As has already been mentioned, their blame was mainly that possessing a sober view on events in China they naturally drew the conclusion that theories and practice of Maoism were not compatible with the country's state and national interests. An indication of how strong and deep-rooted these sentiments were is the fact that up to now only one man Kuo Mo-jo has publicly admitted his mistakes and recanted. Not a single intellectual has followed his example.

Simultaneously with the repressions against the creative

intellectuals of China, the leadership organised a campaign against the favourite works of classical Chinese literature, poetry and the theatre. Prior to this, the Chinese propaganda branded as harmful literature the works of Tolstoy, Rabelais, Shakespeare, Balzac, Rollan, Chekhov and many others who "engender moods of depression, idealism and egoism" in their works. In ostracizing these names the Chinese press says that it is criminal to laud humanness, freedom, equality, fraternity since these are the sentiments accepted by that section of the youth which is poisoned by bourgeois ideology, that is by the young people who had not matured to accept the ideas of Chairman Mao, the stainless cog.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there have been exhortations in China to burn all books that do not reflect the ideas of Mao Tse-tung.

Against Individuals

Prior to November 1965, the political and ideological campaigns, the study of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung and the destruction of alien influences in the social sciences and art, although it affected fairly numerous sections of the population, still the Cultural Revolution was spearheaded against individuals.

In November 1965, in pursuance of the personal instructions of Mao Tse-tung voiced at Political Bureau meeting a month before, the Cultural Revolution began to develop into an extensive and deliberate political, organisational and

ideological purge of the entire Party apparatus, of the organs of education, culture, propaganda, etc.

This transition to a new stage of the Cultural Revolution was caused by the aggravation of internal tensions among Mao's closest associates and his possible successors. Apparently, at the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966, a sharp struggle took place among the leadership for power. As a result, the position of Liu Shao-chi was seriously weakened. Three Central Committee Secretaries Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Lo Jui-ching were removed from all posts, and in their place new persons were advanced to the foreground. Their main testimonial was that they were devoted disciples and interpreters of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. They are Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta, to mention just two of them. Lui Shao-chi was replaced by Lin Biao, now called Mao's closest associate.

Role of Army and Press

It is significant that army organs and for once, the army paper undertook functions unusual in ordinary conditions for initiating and carrying out the Cultural Revolution. Since the end of 1965, the *People's Liberation Army Newspaper* has been printing articles containing vehement accusations against those who allegedly oppose socialism, protect the Right-wing opportunists, etc. This press held up the following bogies—restoration of capitalism, palace coups, Hungarian events, restoration of the monarchy and regeneration of the spirit of modern revisionism.

At the same time, on the initiative of the army paper, a drive began for unbounded devotion to Mao's ideas. The Mao cult which had already been boosted to the maximum into a cult of the Leader, outgrew all conceivable limits and turned into a frenzied religious deification. One of the articles that laid down the principles of the new approach emphasised that the ideas of Mao Tse-tung were the ideological banner of the revolution and the

acme of Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The reform carried out in June last year in the system of education would mean that education in China would be replaced by a study of the ideas of Mao from the first form of elementary school to the last year of university.

The national and provincial papers flayed the enemies of Mao's ideas and threatened them with such words as: *we'll trample them down, we'll wipe them off the face of the earth, we'll grind them into powder, we'll destroy their prestige with clubs!*

In China today the criterion for a person's political and ideological loyalty is one's attitude to Mao's ideas. It is this, says the *People's Daily*, that makes it possible to determine who is a genuine revolutionary, a pseudo-revolutionary, or a counter-revolutionary. Now, as in future, he who opposes the ideas of Mao Tse-tung is a mortal enemy of the revolution, a mortal enemy of the people. Nobody will succeed in slipping away no matter what his position and influence may be, warn the organisers of the revolution in the *People's Liberation Army Newspaper*. The programme published by this paper goes into detail about the need to destroy authority with the help of clubs, to destroy those who attacked the Party in 1959-1962 and to implement the ideas of Mao among the people.

Official Propaganda

Official Chinese propaganda would have us believe that this struggle is against a handful of counter-revolutionaries, a small group of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who wormed their way into the Party and who were vested with power. But it already became clear in April-May when the Peking Committee of the Communist Party was wrecked together with the office of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, the editorial offices of the Peking newspapers and the Party organisation at Peking University that the struggle was assuming the country-wide dimension. In essence, the leadership no longer

trusted the workers of the Party and State apparatus, of the culture and propaganda institutions as well as the country's school executives; and they organised a campaign of hounding them out. In a number of cases these bodies were dissolved.

The press began printing the names of more and more "enemies". They branded the Secretary of the Peking City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Teng To, the Deputy Chief of the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department Chou Yan, Professor Li Ta, a member of the Communist Party since its foundation, and hundreds of others.

Mao's ideological enemies were scathingly labelled enemies of the people, traitors of the revolution, bandits, filth, and so on.

On June 2, 1966, the Peking City Committee of the Party was dissolved and a new leadership appointed. In similar fashion the Party Committees of the country's largest schools were dissolved as well as the Committees at the Party and State institutions and the like.

Birth of Red Guards

Apparently, the Mao group were still dissatisfied with the results of the purge in the first few months and in June decided to go over to new forms of struggle against their opponents. They organised and turned loose in the streets a mass of young people who were to play the role of the main instrument in the Cultural Revolution. At the end of August, following the Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee these young people were formed into Red Guard units.

The Chinese leaders chose young people for the following reasons. First of all, this is the most ignorant, politically immature and inexperienced social group. The age fluctuates from 15 to 20 years. Consequently, the outlook of these juveniles was formed at the height of the Mao Cult, in the years marked by a drastic worsening of the Soviet-Chinese relations.

Secondly, the bulk of the Red Guards are made up of children

of the nonproletarian city population.

As a result, the Chinese leaders gained the opportunity of using the demagogical slogans of "bourgeois regeneration" of Party and State workers and intellectuals so that the social and property inequality that does exist in China became a source of hatred for the Red Guards, for the ideological opponents, and helped to deal with them under the guise of a movement of popular indignation.

One of the darkest pages in the history of Mao's China begins with the appearance of these hooligan Red Guards. Prompted by the design to terrorise, humiliate morally and even physically victimise those who adhered to other views, Mao's group sanctioned mass hooliganism in the capital and elsewhere. This developed into violence and murder of Mao's opponents, into destroying and vilifying cultural treasures.

During the summer in the 400 centigrade heat in Peking, the Red Guards began to hold meetings of struggle against the "black band and public censure of these elements". These meetings could be attended by all who wish from the organisations and the localities notified. In these halls signs were hung up with the names of the "criminals" and their "crimes". Prior to the trial the audience could get acquainted with the indictment.

A Process Indeed !

The procedure was as follows: a group of the accused with blackboards on their chests are brought up to the stage. The presiding Red Guard appeals to the audience to read several quotations from Chairman Mao in chorus. Then the criminal first in the list is pushed to the centre of the stage and made to bow to the public. After this if the person's head had not been shaven he is pulled by his hair so that everyone might see his face. But if he had been shaven, the way prisoners are, he is punched in the jaw to make him raise his head. The chairman announces that today certain members of the "black band" are to be de-

nounced. The audience is called upon to express its indignation vociferously. The "criminal" is then made to speak out about his "crimes". The crowd shouts at him and interrupts with: "Lair! Tell the truth!" The crowd will also shout: "Scoundrel! Death to him!" The convicted man as a rule "confesses" that he committed "revisionist mistakes", that he tried to prevent the spread of the Chairman's "ideas", etc.

Some were made to get down on their knees then they were led off to the other end of the stage where they were to stand several hours in full view of the hall and under supervision of the Red Guards. They had to stand at attention holding high the board with their name and epithets qualifying their crime. This procedure was extremely exhausting on the elder people who constituted the majority.

Other Methods

At certain places, as for instance at the Peking Pedagogical Institute, changes were made in procedure at the whim of the organisers. Out in the courtyard a "live exhibition" or "zoo" was made up of members of the "black band." They stood in two ranks with these boards on their chests or on their backs and were made to stand this way from morning till evening. This "filth" (formed mainly of teachers) was formed into teams to clean up the campus, clean out the latrines. The professors were made to crawl by their torturers and to pull the grass out of sports grounds. These are just a few of the methods used.

It is considered to be highly revolutionary to stone the victims, or hit them with sticks. The students even hounded the professors' children, calling them "revisionist offsprings". Teachers branded as "traitors" were prohibited to leave their houses. They were to wait their turn at home, or made to work under guard on the campus. It was compulsory for such a person to wear an emblem proclaiming him to be a "member of the black band", or to put on a dunce cap. Even in the former canteen for professors they were

to sit at separate tables and get their meals from the window marked "meals for counter-revolutionary dogs."

The groups for the supervision of the Cultural Revolution sent to head the schools in place of the displaced administration and Party Committees, tried in some places to curb the Red Guards who had gone wild. They called upon the Red Guards to carry out a serious investigation before branding this or that person. They did not succeed in all cases. In fact they themselves fell often into the classification of counter-revolutionaries preventing the Cultural Revolution. This happened in Peking and other cities.

In 1965, Chou Yang, said in a speech to the young people: "You must act energetically, obey Chairman Mao and use your brains". Today these words arouse the unbridled frenzy of the Red Guards. One of them, a young military man wrote in a magazine: "Every word and every sentence of Chairman Mao is the truth. One of his sentences is higher than ten from others. We obey every word of Chairman Mao. We act in accordance with everyone of his sentences. What brains does Chou Yang want to make us use?"

And so the matter is clear. The Red Guards have voluntarily renounced their own brains. Now they want others to do the same. Otherwise they will find ways of making them.

Demands & Programme

"The Red Guards formulated their demands and programme of activity as follows: "To love Chairman Mao and to bow to him with unbounded fervour. To fulfill his lofty instructions with devotion, to act decisively, to advance head on, not to fear bloodshed or to lose our heads."

After the Eleventh Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party the leadership channelised the Red Guard activities mainly against the Party Committees at all levels, beginning with the Party Committees at factories and ending with the Provincial Committees which are being subjected to increasingly

strong attacks. Sometimes, this ends in real pogroms and violence.

In their leaflets, the Red Guards call for a shake-up and purge of all Party Committees. These actions are a direct consequence of the slogan of "open fire on headquarters", and stem directly from the decisions passed by the Central Committee at its plenary session in August. It virtually replaced the Party, the YCL and the state organs of power by groups or committees of the Cultural Revolution authorised to bring about a new revolutionary order.

Wreck Guards !

Crowds of youngsters break into the buildings of the Party committees, local government and courts. They seize these institutions and wreck them. The Red Guards raid the homes of Party officials, old revolutionaries, scientists and Communist writers. Observers have reported the suicide of prominent persons who could not stand this persecution and mockery.

The Red Guards continued to develop their activities with the encouragement of the leadership. They could no longer be satisfied to be confined to China, and declared their determination to extend their activities to the entire world. In one of their appeals published in the *People's Daily* they declared that they would fight to the end against the Soviet revisionist clique, that they would see the struggle to the end and depose them in the international arena." In another document the Red Guards say : "We are the makers of revolutionary storms. We are not only raising a revolutionary storm in China but are spreading it all over the world."

There is no doubt that all these actions within the framework of the Cultural Revolution have been organised and guided from above.

The careful planning of these pogroms is evident from the way the Red Guards are conspicuously soft towards the thriving representatives of the Chinese bourgeoisie; they do not extend their "activities" to the technical intellectuals, while the intellectuals engaged

in the humanities together with Party Officials have virtually been thrown to the mob for trial and sentence. This is also confirmed by the fact that the Red Guards possessed transport facilities, printing shops, reserves of paper; they were fed and serviced by the State organisations.

Finally, as is known, the Red Guards act under the leadership of the army and organs of State security as well as the Cultural Revolution group under the Communist Party Central Committee. However, it is also known that the Cultural Revolution is facing certain resistance. Of course, the information at our disposal does not enable us to gauge the full strength and degree of resistance. Reports coming from China mention the population's discontent over the Red Guards' lawlessness and open action against their outrages. There have been bloody clashes between the workers and the Red Guards. In the city of Chungking there was a riot in front of the building of the Provincial Communist Party Committee. There were more than 300 casualties. In Changsha the workers rose in defence of the provincial bodies of government; as a result, more than 200 people were wounded. In the city of Kweiyang in South China the Red Guards who arrived from the capital were met by a mass spontaneous demonstration. More than thirty thousand local inhabitants gathered in front of the premises of the Provincial Party Committee shouting slogans in its defence.

Red in Words

The Chinese workers are asking themselves : "Who are these Red Guards?" In words they are red; actually they are the enemies of the working people. In words, they are for the revolutions actually they are against the revolution.

At a number of places the Party Committees try to organise the population to rebuff the Red Guards. This is what the *People's Daily* had in mind when it threatened the Party Committees which "incite the workers and peasants to struggle against revolutionary students and in this way oppose

the directives of Chairman Mao."

Judging from available evidence the Chinese leaders still pinned great hopes on the Red Guards and encourage them to go ahead completing the tasks set before them. Speaking at a meeting in Peking on September 15, last year, Lin Piao called the Red Guards the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people. He said : "You are strongly supported by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the party...You are acting well and correctly".

Unforgettable Happenings

True, the Red Guards' movement at the end of 1966 was not what it was at the beginning of the year. In two months' time these "true revolutionaries" degenerated. In their midst appeared centrists, moderates, (already called "revisionists") and tested Maoists, who want to retain the purity of their ranks and teachings, and are prepared to smash the "dog heads" of those who professed to be likeminded only yesterday. But no matter what tempestuous changes take place in the Cultural Revolution it will not be easy for the world to forget what has happened to Chinese culture in recent months.

Some time ago Felix Green, a journalist known for his works about China, spoke at Georgetown University in the United States. He tried to convince his listeners that Peking needed this Cultural Revolution as a means of preparing for a big war. Green has no doubt that war between China and the United States is inevitable after hearing what the Chinese had to say during his five-week tour of the country. He is convinced that the Cultural Revolution is intended to eliminate persons alien to the revolution and to educate the youth in a revolutionary spirit.

When claims such as these are made by the Chinese propaganda there is nothing strange about it. But it is surprising that a man who lays claim to impartiality as an outside observer should seriously develop the thesis of the Peking leaders. If we are to believe Felix Green and Radio

Peking it is all very simple. During the Cultural Revolution the lawlessness of the Red Guards was needed against everyone and everything that showed traces of the influence of "imperialism" or "revisionism". The Peking leaders, in their preparations for war, want to safeguard themselves against a "Fifth Column". Luckily, this "Fifth Column" coincides in composition with all the people who had been subjected to "bourgeois regeneration" or who had become bureaucratic to one extent or another.

Yet, no matter how enticing this version might be it is not true to fact.

The facts which have been mentioned above indicate that power had slipped from Mao, that there were too many people in the country who did not share Mao's rigid doctrines, who sceptically regarded the rosy prospects that Mao promised China in return for renouncing close

economic and political alliance with the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

The people whom Felix Green calls "alien to the revolution" are actually alien to Chairman Mao—and this is not one and the same thing. We must not forget that the Red Guards were let loose with shouts of : "protect Chairman Mao". At that time the Communist press in China was more frank than Green, since it bluntly spoke of "frenzied attacks on Mao Tse-tung", and not of attacks on the revolution.

Consequently, it was a matter of purging the country and the Communist Party in particular of those who were a menace to Mao. The opposition of the Party apparatus and intellectuals was strong enough to be able, in the light of the other failures of Chinese domestic and foreign policy, to deflate Maoism during Mao's lifetime.

The example of Mao's attitude to the intellectuals from 1949, shows that not only has he failed to win them over to his side, but on the contrary, his relations with them worsened from year to year. By 1964 there was open hostility. The Cultural Revolution in 1966, became the culminating point of all the negative results of Mao's policy which turned into a personal tragedy for many thousands of Chinese intellectuals.

No matter what turn events take in the future, the spiritual and physical damage done to the intellectuals in the past ten years in China cannot be effectively compensated for to any degree. At the twilight of his life Mao Tse-tung can say that he is still strong enough to destroy. But he too is weak to create. Consequently, the demonstration of force in China is at the same time an admission of his weakness.

(Concluded)

Industrial Development and Non-Congress Governments

DHAN RAJ ACHARYA

For nearly four months now, Opposition parties have been the power in eight States. Indian people have very intelligently caught these political agitators so unawarely that they are finding themselves in a quandary. In order to play safe Dr. Lohia extended his support to these Government. Only for six months sensing by intuition that the economic crisis is so acute that it is impossible for these Governments to stand unless they resort to very revolutionary measures.

All these States in varying degrees are characteristically marked by high degree of economic dependence on agriculture resulting in low income levels. Earlier pattern of development in public-sector projects or big industrial establishments have in no way met the fringe of the problem of unemployment,

raising per capita income of the large masses of the people. The continuation of the same pattern will also not solve the problem unless a radical departure is made.

Let us turn to our past, when Gandhiji advocated village and small industries fully realising the employment problem to be faced in our country. In post-independence period the entire section of those capitalists who joined the Swadeshi movement against foreign imperialism got so fascinated with the idea of foreign collaboration that foreign technique, finance, and raw material became practically the base of all our industrial activity. Little efforts have been made to use and improve our indigenous resources because this requires sustained efforts and perseverance. But in this matter, we only carried out our old trading

tradition of earning quick profits. This tendency of earning quick profits resulted in securing premium on foreign-imported raw materials and naturally this necessitated a mechanism to influence and corrupt the politicians. The entire generation of freedom fighters and for that matter, great stalwarts have been made a purchasable commodity.

The non-Congress Governments of today have inherited corrupt bureaucratic machinery, economic concentration in the hands of a few and a vast octopus-like grip of various rules and procedures. Till now only Kerala and Orissa have come out with their industrial policy statements. So far as these announcements are concerned, there is nothing outstanding. These are more or less mere repetition of the old Congress statements. The Congress

has lost power not because they lacked in announcements but in implementation.

For example, Kerala has announced that they would offer schemes and feasibility reports on small and medium industries. Now entrepreneurs have enough experience of government agencies in this matter. The stereotyped schemes have no relevance with the practical aspect and the refore of no use to new entrepreneurs. Most of the reliable agencies are located at metropolitan centres and they are so heavily booked with the assignments of Big Business houses that, I am sure, they will not take any interest in such government work. Kerala Government must have now realised this practical difficulty and therefore the delay in meeting the initial requirements of obtaining a feasible scheme would dampen the enthusiasm of an entrepreneur. This would be nothing different than under the Congress regime.

States Position in Planning

During the last three five-year plans, the States had little say in the industrial planning. The centre was so powerful wherefrom big projects with enormous financial backing entered the States to influence the entire state politics. Small-scale industry fed on the residual material was the responsibility of the State. The new entrants coming to the industrial field suffered all disadvantages and State Governments could do little to alleviate their suffering. The Central Government periodically set up committees, invited foreign agencies to investigate and study the growth and problem of Small Industries. They were generous enough to accept their recommendation but nothing tangible in practice came out. The suggestions contained in *Ford Foundation Team* in 1964 have not been implemented upto now. For scheduled industries, there is only one Central authority to deal with, whereas for smaller units varying state set-ups are offered. In fact, the States were so weak in relation to scheduled industries that they were forced to accommodate their claims for electricity, water, land etc. whereas the sche-

duled industries did not even oblige the States with the growth of ancillary industries around their industrial complexes.

Employment—The Problem

Employment is the main problem which every State is facing. To create opportunities for the same is the biggest headache for any stable government. This can only be possible either by State itself or some big monopolists coming forward to oblige the state. Because to generate industrial activity on a small and village scale is rather a very troublesome job and it requires perseverance and better foresight.

Till now the Congress governments, because of their economic orientation towards big industrial complexes, never attempted to do anything in this direction. On the contrary, these small-scale units were fed with residual materials in all matters. The non-Congress Governments must make a break with this past, and this can only be done by orientating themselves towards the small-scale industry economy and providing better facilities to them. For example there is no reliable agency for the small-scale industry in the matter of technical, managerial assistance. Whatever assistance is offered by the Productivity Council amounts to very little beyond few extracts from American journals. This organisation is more in the service of large-scale industries than those of small scale. Besides the above, the State Governments should take up the following steps immediately:

1. It has been the procedure that scheduled industries involving a capital outlay of Rs 25 lakhs and above are to be sanctioned by the Central authority. In the Licensing Committee the opposition of the State is rather ignored due to heavy pulls by the monopolists. Now the State should decide with the Centre that any industry by big monopoly houses for their own States should carry the final sanction of the State authorities. Moreover, these large-scale industries are not under the control of the State authorities and as such, they at times do not care for State

directives. This situation should be altered and the State should have a full regulatory power over these units.

2. In every State, there are now district bodies like Zilla Parishads. They have got their own separate budget and sources of revenue. These bodies should participate in industrial activity by undertaking medium and large-scale projects like dairy, poultry, repair workshops, and should bring about development at the village level with a view to offer employment in the rural area. No serious attempts have been made in this direction. Once a proposal was made by Poona Zilla Parishad along such lines, but immediately it was opposed by the bureaucracy and it was dropped.

3. Planning Commission has many times stressed the need for organising the associations of industrialists only with the idea to fight out the bureaucratic structure. This has not been given a fair trial by the Congress Governments. There are many good institutions having much more insight into the industrial problems and even planning, but their co-operation is never sought except in a formal manner by taking them on certain committees. The bureaucracy should be made to feel that they have to co-operate with the associations and these institutions have a better say with the Ministers than what they can have now.

4. There has been a complaint from the industrialists for many long years that the rules and procedures are very complicated and they do not have any bearing on the subject. For scrapping them it is better to seek co-operation from the industrialists themselves rather than relying on the bureaucracy.

5. On the State level, there are many organisations like small-scale industries development corporations, industrial development corporations, state finance corporations and many others. Their utility to the industrialists is negligible, but it is a drain on the exchequer. There is a lot of duplication in their working. For example in Maharashtra, the Small Scale Industries Development

Corporation and Industrial Development Corporation, both participate in the tender business in the interest of small industries, without in any way causing any balanced industrial development. Such organisations which have absolutely no utility in the programme of industrialisation on a State level should be scrapped.

In all our three Plans, bureaucracy framed the targets, implemented it (or whatever it did) and the people were mere spectators. Now it is expected that the

non-Congress Governments will deviate from this path and the Industries Minister would not merely hear or scribble with the reports of the secretaries but would enthuse the people to galvanise their energies for productivity purposes. Moreover, the non-Congress Governments must hit hard at those who secured quotas and licences in an illegal manner and are still continuing. This step would restore confidence among the genuine industrialists.

The success in the industrial development programme would much depend on how these opposition ministries (of yesterday) invoke the people's co-operation and curb the bureaucratic power. Let this experiment usher in a new beginning in industrial planning in the country. The future lies with small and village industries, which alone can be the backbone of Indian economy and can rescue us from the mounting burden of imports and foreign aids.

INDIA AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Gleanings from Bengali Press

PANCHANAN SAHA

IN the year of the golden jubilee of the Soviet Revolution, it is pertinent to recall the glorious role of the Bengali vernacular press during the most critical days of the Russian Revolution when imperialists spared no attempt to malign the message of the new social order that had just been born and jumped like a pack of wolves against the first proletarian state of the world.

Reuter's distorted despatches were the only source for the, vernacular Press of Bengal to inform its readers about the October Revolution. There was of course confusion about the happenings in Russia. The British imperialists had virtually imposed a sort of iron curtain over the Soviet Union. At the same time their propaganda machinery was very active portraying the Bolsheviks as demons, anti-social, anti-religious and what not.

In this confusing state of affairs the vernacular press of Bengal took a bold stand on various occasions by publishing pro-Soviet news and even criticising the British stand on Russia. Anti-imperialist sentiment of the vernacular press of Bengal was res-

ponsible to a great measure for it to be able to take such a stand. The celebrated Bengali newspaper of those days—*Hitavadi* has correctly put it on June 2, 1922:

“When the fact of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia became known it was imperialistic England that felt a great fear. Great care was taken to prevent the Bolshevik principles from being disseminated in India. Many dreadful pictures of Bolshevism antagonistic to social order began to be imagined. Those who studied the history of Russia well were no doubt pleased at heart at the extermination of the autocratic government, but they could not openly discuss the Bolshevik principles; and because the circulation of Bolshevik Literature in India was forbidden by the ruling power, they could not learn about its real nature.”

“*Basumati*” Criticised British

With all that handicap, the best circulated vernacular newspaper of Bengal in those days—*Dainik Basumati* with all its vacillations and confusions due to British propaganda often published pro-Soviet comments and even some-

times criticised British policy on Russia. Of course the paper was also compelled to publish anti-Soviet propaganda materials. This is now confirmed by the disclosure of the British Government's intelligence reports for Bengal. On November 17, 1917 only a few days after the Soviet Revolution, *Dainik Basumati* commented favourably on the famous letter of Sir Valentine Chirol which appeared in the *London Times*. In that letter Sir Chirol stated that “the down fall of Tsarism heralded and was the precursor of the destruction of the alien bureaucracy in India.”

Mohammadi, a leading newspaper well circulated among Muslims commenting on the Bolshevik ‘atrocities’ wrote on February 15, 1918:

“The acts of confiscation being perpetrated by the Bolsheviks are the natural outcome of the exactions and oppressions to which they were subjected in the older days by the landlords and money-lenders. They feel that their turn has come now and they are repaying these moneyed classes a hundred-fold for the old exactions they committed.”

When the foreign interventionists were trying, in collaboration with the counter-revolutionaries to throttle the new-born Soviet State, the Bolsheviks were portrayed as 'cannibals'. At this very time, *Dainik Basumati* published an article on January 14, 1919 supporting the Bolshevik doctrine of equality. It traced the growth of Bolshevik ideals in Russia by saying that "it had its birth in Russia as a result of the persistent attempt of the ruling power to crush the power of the people and deprive them of all their natural rights. The people found that while they drugged and starved the sovereign and his favourites enjoyed all the good things of the world... Bolsheviks are the true followers of the doctrine of equality."

Bold Criticism

The Bengali press not only supported the political doctrine of the Bolsheviks but boldly criticised British intervention in Russia. The well-known Hindi newspaper, *Viswamitra*, writing on March 12, 1919 on 'Britain and Russia' commented: "The greatest mistake of Britain during the recent war has been her making an enemy of Russia... But it is rather a pity that inspite of a large portion of public opinion being against maintaining an army in Russia, the British statesmen sent an expeditionary force to Archangel. Really speaking, Britain committed another mistake in not recognising the Soviet Government of the Bolsheviks as the Russian government."

The same paper wrote on April 11, 1919 that "we have many times observed that the British policy towards Russia is not at all commendable and England should withdraw her forces from that place. This view has been expressed by the Labour Party in England. But the Government did not pay much attention to this view".

Nayak, another well-circulated paper of Calcutta correctly predicted on July 16, 1919. "All the attempts of America, England and France to preserve the old order of things are destined to fail.... The new doctrine will reconstruct Europe. It is the herald of a new age. However much we may decry

it or offer it armed resistance, it will never be suppressed.... the new tenet is already knocking at the gates of India. The new influence is now reaching India in secret, but it will sweep the old order out of existence as soon as it gains sufficient strength."

The Bengali press had no illusion about imperialist propaganda. They expressed doubts about the authenticity of the *Reuter's* despatches on Russia. Commenting on news supplied by *Reuter* on Bolshevik activities, *Viswamitra* wrote on August 6, 1919: "The information supplied by *Reuter* and other agencies is incomplete. It has been several times given out that the power of the Bolsheviks is breaking up, that Lenin and Trotsky are about to fall out and that the Red Army is deserting the Bolsheviks. But curiously enough almost immediately after these items of information had reached us, we received wires informing us about the Bolshevik victories and an increase of their power. It is now certain that the Bolsheviks will rule Russia. It was on that prospect of help from those Bolsheviks that Sirder Ali Ahmed (of Afghanistan) used strong words at the Rawalpindi conference."

Instrument of Expiation

Supporting the Bolshevik ideals, *Bangali* wrote on August 15, 1919: "Bolshevism is nothing but the extension of power by millions of labourers over a handful of capitalists. This tenet is now prevalent everywhere in Russia. We hardly think that Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin have been able to achieve anything substantial.... The White nations have acquired great wealth and power at the expense of other nations. But the hour of expiation is at hand and Bolshevism is the instrument for expiation."

Severely criticising British intervention in Russia and supporting the 'Hands-off-Russia' movement in England, another influential Bengali newspaper *Dainik Bharat Mitra* wrote on October 28, 1919: "Why should England alone take upon herself the responsibility of the world's welfare? Probably she is fighting out of regard for

her self-interests there. If England wanted to do disinterested good, why did she not take upon herself the task of remedying the evils of O'Dwyerism in the Punjab? Why has she left Ireland in the condition she is in? The only answer is that politics is full of selfishness. England has important interests in Russia and she is fighting to save them. Moreover, if Russia is left to do what she pleased, Bolshevism may extend over these countries and thus prejudicially affect the British Empire." The same paper even urged the British government on November 9, 1919, to conclude a treaty of friendship with the Bolshevik government.

Superior Regime

On November 25, 1919, *Dainik Basumati* came forward to denounce all hellish propaganda let loose by the imperialists against the Bolsheviks by praising the Bolsheviks' "honesty, genuine patriotism, devotion to leaders, self-sacrifice and unique practice of equality."

"They are now trying to bring back peace to Russia", it continued. "The Bolshevik regime is admitted to be much superior to the former Czar's rule, but it has no room for capitalists. It is most unjust, therefore, to try to bring the Bolsheviks into disrepute. Some Western governments did not hesitate even to accuse the Bolsheviks of the hellish practice of nationalising women, in order to blacken their fair name. But it is an utter fabrication."

It is the robust patriotism and loyal adherence to a progressive outlook that enabled the Bengali press in those days to cut through the wall of lies of imperialist propaganda and recognise the truth about the new order in Lenin's Russia. This is an example which the affluent press of today in this country will do well to emulate instead of lapping up in a servile and mercenary manner—as many of them are doing today—all the false propaganda against the forces of freedom and socialism doled out by imperialist agencies.

DR. LOHIA'S EXPENDITURE CEILING

ONE may have little regard for other brain-waves of Dr. Ram Lohia, but his latest suggestion about the ceiling on expenditure at Rs. 1,500 for an individual has the merit of being the most outspoken and honest statement of a socialist. No wonder the suggestion could enlist unexpected sympathies of a large number of Members of Parliament belonging to different parties and groups.

If anything the Congress Party has abused the word socialist the most. Without considering for a while that belief in socialism involves seeking one's own interest in the context of larger social interest, black marketeers and exploiters of labour have been calling themselves socialists by the Congress definition of socialism.

In a modern society, socialism is indeed a byword for nationalism. If one has love for his countrymen, the socialist way of living is only axiomatic. Except for lip sympathies for stopping ostentatious way of living the Congress leadership has scant care for the feelings of those oppressed by the greed of the rich.

Control on expenditure cannot be decried on the argument that it might take away incentives for work. A civilised society is expected to evolve other satisfying measures to keep up the zest of workers in different jobs. But then, why should we disbelieve in the ultimate goal of economic activity which is satisfaction from work itself? If today we are far away from such a position, it is due to wide disparities in incomes in different professions and senseless wage differentials in the same type of jobs.

Rather than derisively treating the suggestion of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Government should catch the spirit of the proposal. It can throw up immense possibilities of economic gain to our developing economy. Nor is the scheme utopian. Rather many of the problems that beset the economy at the present moment are directly the result of little atten-

tion paid to the control on expenditure.

The planning in this country has run into difficulties partly because of a lack of policy on private spending. The current inflationary-recession conditions can also be partly explained by this lapse. At a time when large investments were contemplated on heavy industries, rationalisation of existing capacities of consumer goods industries and even controlling of distribution of necessities of life should have been taken up, side by side. Under rationalisation of production, only such items, their qualities and varieties of consumer consumption might be allowed to be produced which people earning upto some maximum limit say Rs. 1,500 (a little less or more) can afford to buy. The policy would give such orientation to the productive apparatus of the economy that lack of demand cannot be conceived of.

The figure of Rs. 1,000 crores given by Dr. Lohia about the saving that can be affected through putting a ceiling on individual expenditures may be disputed. But the fact that a standardized pattern of production will release vast resources for investment cannot be denied.

It will be a fruitful exercise to study family budgets of persons in the income-group of Rs. 1,500 and above; to find out first, the areas where standardisation of items of expenditure can be applied and secondly, the items the production of which can wait.

In big cities the two glaring items for standardisation are housing and education. In both these respects much economy is possible without impairing either the comfort or efficiency of incumbents. A scheme for social control on housing was set out in these columns (*Mainstream*, July 15, 1967) and sufficient thought has by now been bestowed upon "neighbourhood schools". By now it is well known that Kaldor's prescription of expenditure tax cannot help; major maladies need drastic remedies. It will not be early in the day if the Government musters courage and takes

this, perhaps the first step towards socialist planning.

New Delhi

—T.D.S.

WORKING JOURNALISTS AND FEDERATION

SRI Chitta Ranjan does me, himself and the organisation to which we both belong an injustice when he suggests (*Mainstream*, August 5) that I am sniping at the Federation of Working Journalists.

To snipe is to "fire shots from hiding, usually at long distance, into enemy's camp." I have never hidden myself. Nor have I kept myself at long distance. Nor is the Federation enemy camp for me; I belong to it to the exclusion of more rewarding platforms like the AINEC.

I hope he won't press the logic of his argument that I should be a leader of the Federation before I criticise. If he does, he will also deny me the right to criticise the Government of India until I become a Congressman and join the Union Cabinet.

Bombay

—T. J. S. George

CHITTA RANJAN'S REPLY

I appear to have offended Sri George quite unwittingly. I never said he was among the snipers but merely pointed out that he was aware of their existence. As for the right to criticize the Federation, or any other organization for that matter, no one can take it away.

My point was that working journalists in high positions who do not have to bother too much about mundane things like basic pay and D.A. and to whom membership of the Federation is open can be members and take active interest in it. If more journalists who value professional standards more than wages are active, obviously the Federation, which after all is the only all-India organisation of working journalists, can be made much more useful to the entire profession than it is today.

Far from criticising Sri George, I have only suggested that leading journalists like him should take the lead in this matter in the Federation too.

New Delhi —C.N. Chitta Ranjan

PLACE OF ENGLISH

THE cry has been rising from many quarters for the last several years—and it has become more and more persistent recently—that after independence, education in India has been the first casualty under our *swadeshi* Government. Nearly every measure sought to be adopted with regard to education at every stage has made confusion worse confounded. Today the reputation of many of our Universities in India or abroad is mud. In a brief compass I can only touch upon a few glaring facts.

Our Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen is more than right in his proposal to bring about a phased change in the medium of instruction which he says should be the mother tongue from the lowest to the highest standard. In this he ought to have the active support of all right-thinking Indians.

But there is a fatal omission in the enunciation and the announcement of his policy. He is inexcusably silent about the place and importance of a reliable knowledge of English not as a medium of instruction and examination but as an indispensable subject of study specially for those who would pursue higher education in the mother tongue. The incursion of English and very adequate and efficient teaching of English alone will and can maintain the academic unity of the country.

There is no escape from it unless an Indian language is accepted as a subject of study in each State not as a medium of instruction but as a language to be mastered in addition to the mother tongue. But will this do? Does any Indian have the required literature in all the branches of knowledge and higher studies? Will translations of the minimum number of required books of learning be available in any one Indian language in less than fifty years? Is it intended that our professorships and other highest ranks of all other Indian services should be manned by men and women ignorant of or with a mere smattering of English?

I have grave doubts about this. Things are said and words are bandied about European literature and books of knowledge which are

comic if they were not tragic resulting in the deplorable fall of the intellectual life and the capacity of the products of our Universities.

The other day my friend Sri Sumitranandan Pant roundly condemned as slave mentality the praise bestowed on the best European thought in India. He said that Dr. Radhakrishnan was far ahead of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Spinoza and other European philosophers. I felt tempted to tell him that if Dr. Radhakrishnan knew as much (or as little) English as Sri Pant knew he would be Sri Pant and not Dr. Radhakrishnan. I can only call this state of mind as a tragic instance of inferiority complex.

Dr. Triguna Sen is very right in saying that education in the mother tongue would bring about a renaissance of creative thinking and creative writing. But we can only forget at our peril the undeniable historical fact that in the Renaissance in Europe a double process was at work, namely, the rise of vernaculars and the widespread interest in and study of Greek and Latin classics. For the last one hundred years worthwhile creative writing in every Indian language has been given to us by Indians who were masters of English.

Allahabad

—R. S. Firaq

BRAIN DRAIN

THE article "The Drain and the Influx" by Gadfly in *Mainstream*, July 15, 1967 presents certain important facets of the "Brain Drain" problem in perspective.

It is high time our Government took proper steps to stop this drain. "Steps" does not mean only restrictive measures on intellectuals wanting to go out of India, but also measures in the right direction like proper incentive, facilities and necessary material for research and study work in India.

The "West" which is always short of man-power to staff its mighty and ambitious projects of advancement and improvement has no qualms whatsoever in offering all kinds of tempting incentives and bright prospects for luring our "brains". And

does the Indian "brain" need any "luring"?

Our "patriotic" ruling class, i.e., the ministers and the bureaucracy, want their children to be educated and employed in the West, far away from this "God-forsaken" land. Could they be persuaded not to forsake their motherland?

It was reported last year that the UN headquarters had three times its quota of Indians in high jobs. Consequently the UN Secretariat building was unofficially referred to as "India House."

The American Foundations are indeed highly profitable "investments" which cause a steady increase in the brain drain westwards. While imparting education (which may also include political indoctrination) the Foundation projects take great pains to display their affluence and offer tempting prospects.

Nor is such brain snatching confined to India. The rich and developed West is perpetually engaged in snatching doctors, scientists and other professional men from the entire under-developed East, thereby leaving them poorer after the West's educational "aid".

Iranian sociologist Ehsan Naraghi, who was asked by the UN in 1965 to investigate the "brain drain" question, reported that whereas American hospitals require 14,000 medical graduates a year, they produce only 7,000. Naraghi further says that in 1965 there were more than 20,000 foreign doctors in the USA, though there was a desperate shortage of doctors in the under-developed world.

Will the West, so keen on luring away intellectuals from the poor countries and thereby seriously hampering their development, take on the uneducated and illiterate also?

The move to stop the sending of students at the secondary stage to the USA is a step in the right direction. But that is hardly enough. More drastic measures are needed to stop the exodus of talent.

Bangalore

—A.B. Shetty.

From Vietnam to Negro Revolt

I. F. STONE

Here below is reprinted the distinguished American journalist's comments on the Negro rising that has engulfed US today. This appeared in I.F. Stone's Weekly, July 31, 1967..

"It is as if a flight of bombers had passed over Detroit," said a TV reporter on the CBS 11 p.m. news last night, describing the smoke and flame that billowed up from no less than seven different areas of our No. 1 industrial center.

If I were religious in any conventional sense, I would see the hand of God in the spreading devastation of our cities, exacting retribution for the mindless cruelty with which our bombers day after day have been setting the cities and villages of Vietnam ablaze. Suddenly the guerrilla warfare we have tried to suppress by mass destruction abroad has made its appearance at home; the asphalt jungle of metaphor has taken on a new dimension of reality; guerrilla snipers appear on the rooftops who are as elusive as their counterparts in the underbrush of Southeast Asia.

It is to Ft. Bragg, home of the Green Berets, and the "Screaming Eagles" of the 101st Airborne that the President turned at midnight when Detroit asked for Federal troops. The Special Forces we have trained in the belief that they could provide a military solution to the revolt abroad of what Gunnar Myrdal has called the "under-class" now have work to do at home.

The tanks of colonial war appear in our streets and the helicopters in our skies. We reap the whirlwind; the bitter taste in our mouth is the taste of our own sins. The bill for racial humiliation has come due.

In the ghettoes and the *barrios* the striking change is that where the people once feared the cops, the cops now fear the people. The mob has clashed with the man in uniform and discovered

his impotence. The looters carry off their booty under his very eyes.

"We arrest ten guys," said one weary police sergeant in Detroit, "and while we are taking them to jail, 100 others join in the rioting." The sheer power of numbers makes itself felt.

This is the real breakdown of law and order, the appearance of anarchy, the eruption of a human volcano. What is thrown up from below is very different from what any radical or intellectual imagined. "We are now dealing," Congressman Conyers told a TV interviewer last night, "with a part of the population we have known only in statistics. They do not relate to us." This, from the ablest and most radical Negro representative in Congress, was quite a confession. No abstract issue, not even the war on which Conyers has tried to rouse them, brought these mobs into the streets. The carnival atmosphere which so appalled observers in Newark and Detroit and East Harlem was not the reflection of any ideology, racist or political. This was a mob joyful with the chance to loot, as exuberant and mindless as any mob in an Asian or African bazaar, at one moment friendly and the next bloodthirsty.

The agitation which had mobilized them was the steady indoctrination of advertisement in the good things of life just beyond their reach. The commercials had a lot more to do with this than Stokeley Carmichael. Not Marx but merchandising bears fruit in this insurrection.

The Newark black Power conference, like any gathering of ideologists, was an attempt to ride and rationalize the whirlwind. But there was a big gap between

even the most far-out Black Nationalist raising the ante of demagoguery in Newark's finest air-conditioned hotel and the mob in those shattered streets into which so few of these self-appointed spokesmen—many of them on white payrolls—ventured.

The revolt is not simply racist. In Detroit whites joined blacks in looting. Nor was it simply a class phenomena; many well-to-do people in good cars turned up to "shop." At the Newark conference any "soul brother" from the most reactionary press was welcome while white reporters who have tried sympathetically to interpret the Negro's struggle were barred or beaten. But in the streets the pattern was not purely racist.

"Look at him," one Negro cried out to a newsman in Detroit, pointing derisively at the portly Negro Congressman Diggs. "He ain't never been hungry." Even Conyers, a very different breed from Diggs, only got rocks in return when in his effort to make peace he tried to tell the crowd, "We're with you."

These are people who, in a real sense, had never heard of politics, conventional or radical. The human depths had been churned up, not just within society but within each participating individual.

This, in the seventh of our successive hot summers, is the black spiral cloud of an oncoming tornado that is beginning to tear our country apart. Two years after Watts there is still no sign that the country is awake to the proportions of the challenge. After Watts even an investigating committee headed by a man as far to the right as John McCone said a social revolution was necessary to avoid the explosion brewing.

But on Capitol Hill one can hear the same comforting self-delusions that have blinded other societies and ruling strata on the eve of upheavals. To listen to the House debate over the anti-riot bill was to believe that Stokeley Carmichael was a Black Batman who need only be shot down to end the trouble; it is as if unconsciously the House was seeing the crisis in terms of

TV and newspaper comic strips about wicked Supermen. To hear the insipid and inhuman jokes next day in the debate which defeated the rat-control bill was to see again how shallow was the reservoir of sympathy and understanding on which we can draw.

It was appalling to hear young Herman Talmadge of Georgia, by no means a benighted race-baiter, tell the Senate yesterday, "Lest there be any misunderstanding, however, I do submit that I do know where blame *should not* (his emphasis) be blamed. And that is, on poverty, poor housing or unemployment." This is the classic voice of social bankruptcy, the authentic and familiar blindness.

It is time fully to recognize the Negro's powerful position. The core of the cities have become Negro and the destruction in the cities hits at those urban property values on which so much of our

basic financial institutions rest, particularly the insurance companies and mutual savings banks.

The city is the inner nerve ganglion of our society. The Negro can destroy it. A handful of snipers can do in the ghetto what a handful of guerrillas can do in the countryside. The anger that might turn against the militant few as the pitiful belongings of the poor themselves go up in arson turns instead against the occupying power when incoming police or troops, in their search for that hard-to-get handful, kill the innocent and mobilize the whole community behind the guerrillas.

This is what happened in Newark and Plainfield and it is this polarization which most needs *to be understood and avoided if order is to be restored*. The best results, it is already clear, are obtained when police restraint and troop withdrawal

make it possible for the saner elements of the community in revolt to take over the task of calming the mob.

A race is on, and the outcome will determine the future of our beloved country. On the one side are the forces of reason and compassion, prepared to understand the agony of the Negro and the other "colored" components of our white-dominated society.

On the other side are the forces of fear and hate which have been building up in the white community, so far expressed only privately. This can easily turn orgies of ghetto self-destruction and looting into real race war between white and black. The unwillingness of Congress to enact gun control is of terrible significance. As the social fabric frays, more and more households are stocking arms, like suspicious

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

New U.S. Look at Jordan

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

STATE Department sources have now revealed that during the mapping out of US West Asia policies (after the Arab-Israeli conflict) in the National Security Council Sub-Committee, a number of representatives of the Johnson Administration came to conclusion that in the nearest future the United States should not strive for the restoration of the military potential of such a country as Jordan.

This is motivated by the argument that Jordan, after sustaining heavy losses in the war with Israel, has stopped being a significant factor in the new balance of forces, which has shaped out in this area.

The latest developments in West Asia have shown that US policy in this area should be aimed at ensuring that Israel's encirclement

consists of weak Arab states. This takes it for granted that Washington must not only give up any idea of restoring Jordan's military potential, but should probably also seek ways and means of dismembering other Arab states in this area. Herein, Syria and even Saudi Arabia were named.

The Sub Committee is believed to have pointed out that in solving the problem of the Arab territories seized by Israel, it would be necessary to take into account the immediate interest of the Johnson Administration on the eve of the elections; the substantial voting strength of the Jewish community in the United States can hardly be overlooked.

Some of the Sub committee members noted that at one stage of the Arab-Israel conflict, the United States had lost control

over the use of American weapons by Jordan. They are reported to be of the view that this was apparently made possible because the responsible American experts failed to place a correct emphasis on the specific aspects of the internal situation in Jordan which are closely linked with the Palestine problem. It is obvious that the Palestine problem exerts a permanent influence on Jordan's stand. Today, after the latest defeat sustained by Jordan, this will evidently play a yet greater role in the life of that country.

According to the same sources, the State Department is also inclined to believe that aid to Jordan should only be granted in restricted volumes, that is, in quantities just sufficient to keep that country within the orbit of the United States.

What's Wrong with Our Private Industry?

AMIT KUMAR GUPTA

THE heavy losses in our public sector industries and evidences of negligence and inefficiency of their operation have led many, in reaction, to believe that our private sector industries are the very epitomes of efficiency and profitability.

But the profitability of our privately owned industry is only a false notion. It is not due to efficient working but is occasioned by the predominantly seller's market in India. Over and above this, most of our industrialists prefer to venture, as far as possible, into monopolistic fields, and can quote their own prices without having to worry about the quality.

Under the present system of operation Indian private industry cannot hope to compete successfully in the international arena. This is because our private industry is characterised by three peculiarities—low productivity, erratic quality and high costs. No wonder we have been able to secure only a handful of international contracts.

A primary cause is the obtuseness of our industrialists in refusing to recognise the crucial importance of the management function. Instead of entrusting it to specially trained and competent professionals they prefer to hand over the governing of their industries to ignorant relatives or close acquaintances.

Obviously, they do not believe in the adage that a foolish friend is more dangerous than a wise enemy. Naturally enough, these inept, puppet "yes men" bungle the management of the industries, having absolutely no idea about the science of management.

Upto now the grievous harm caused by these "relative mana-

gers" was covered up by the high profits accruing from monopolistic positions. But with the onset of competition these industries have begun to wilt, and the bungling of unscientific management has been exposed.

Even when professional managers are put on the job their financial powers are so badly curtailed that decision becomes impossible for them. And under such constrictive conditions no manager can function properly.

Despite the existence of very cheap labour, the product cost from Indian private industry is very high in comparison to world standards. This is because our industrialists are money conscious but not cost conscious. To them the phrase, "penny-wise, pound-foolish", applies very aptly.

Cost consciousness requires a broad minded perspective and far-sighted approach. Unfortunately, our industrialists do not aspire towards these qualities. This stems from two facts: one, they are not true industrialists but businessmen, financiers and traders whose sights are concentrated on short-term investments and quick returns, secondly, the sales are at present assured, hence product cost is not worth much consideration.

Instances of lack of cost consciousness are not hard to find. Take their attitude towards personnel, for example. They prefer to employ unskilled labour at cheaper rates rather than take in dear yet dependable skilled persons. It never strikes them that ultimately they lose more on breakages and breakdowns and lower productivity than they gain by the difference in wages.

In purchase, they consider cheapness as the main and often the sole criterion, not realizing that a cheap product; say a machine, may turn out to be a

very costly proposition because of its frequent breakdowns and short life. They seldom think of striking a proper balance between purpose, quality and price.

Similarly, in raw material purchase, many of our industrialists short-sightedly think only of buying for the need of the hour, and then suffer later on when there is a shortage and production is halted. A proper cost-conscious industry will try to strike an optimum between the projected demand, projected prices and the inventory costs.

Cost-consciousness is not merely an ability to prune expenditure. It is a quality with a much broader scope, far beyond the narrow mindedness of most of our industrialists.

A major weakness of our industrialists is their reactionary attitude towards research and development and a craze for mere copying from abroad. The number of Indian industrial enterprises in the private sector which have research or even development sections can be counted on one's fingers. And even those that have, spend only a minute fraction of their outlay on these sections.

What is the consequence? Indian industry has to depend on obsolete designs bought at heavy royalties from foreign countries. Naturally, we can never hope to compete in the world market.

It is worth considering here the reason behind Japan's industrial success. It is that her industrialists were sufficiently progressive to encourage research and development. Consequently, Japan has often been able to export back at cheaper rates and of better quality and improved design, products whose ideas it had originally borrowed from abroad.

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India cannot do this so long as our industrialists, to state it bluntly, are too content with the demands of the local market to worry about the future or about competing in the world arena : this is at the root of the difficulty in our current export production drive. Leave alone product development, they have not even encouraged improvement of the methods borrowed from abroad.

Another extremely annoying weakness of Indian industrialists is their blind faith in the foreign technician and contrastingly utter lack of confidence in Indian technical personnel. This mistrust of the Indian technician goes to such an extent that, sometimes, the same argument forwarded by an Indian engineer is disbelieved and, when put forward by an ordinary technician from abroad, is immediately listened to.

Foreign collaborators take full advantage of this servile attitude and send their second-raters to India at very high salaries. Thus, we have to pay a heavy price for a quality of help and advice which can be much better given by Indian technicians.

All this adds up to one thing: Indian industry will always remain helplessly dependent on foreign technical know-how. This means we will never be working with the latest equipment and processes and can

never hope to win a respectable place in the world market.

In the matter of labour relations Indian private industry has absolutely antiquated and obsolete ideas. Even the attitude of public-sector management is much more advanced in this respect. Our industrialists, with a few rare exceptions, still cling to the Victorian calculations that the lowest expenditures on labour will be most profitable.

Their policy towards trade unions is outdated. Instead of encouraging strong representative labour unions which will be responsible for labour discipline, our industrialists believe in splitting up labour into many weak unions. This policy results in an ultimate loss to the industry; for, a multiplicity of unions means more labour unrest, frequent stoppage of work due to strikes and very low labour productivity due to unsettled conditions.

Labour turn-over in Indian private industry is very high, thanks to the narrow-minded attitude of our industrialists. Labour turn-over entails a considerable loss to the industry in terms of displacement of production schedules and the cost of training up new workers.

But our industrialists seem to prefer this heavy, though unapparent, loss rather than invest a small amount in investigating the causes of this large-

scale labour turn-over. Only in a handful of concerns (most of them with foreign managers) is any attempt made to ease the genuine grievances of the workers and thus retain their services.

A major portion of the blame for the industrial unrest in the country and consequent low productivity in industrial enterprises is due to this callous attitude of our short-sighted industrialists towards labour welfare. The day our industrialists come to realize their responsibility towards workers, industrial productivity in India will reach new heights.

Last but not the least of the weaknesses of our private industry is the indifferent attitude towards product quality. This outlook has arisen due to the easy way they can capture the Indian market where anything sells. Quality control is the least heeded of all aspects of industrial production.

No wonder Indian goods by and large do not have much of a reputation abroad. In fact, even in India, if the foreign equivalent is available, the Indian product is not used. If this continues to be the trend of Indian manufacture, then we might as well give up any hopes of establishing a substantial export of industrial goods.

So long as a competitive market is not established in India there is little chance of the private sector industry improving itself.

Problems in Tribal Blocks

P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Community Development Department in the States has spent lakhs of rupees over the blocks specially meant for the tribals but after years of existence they do not seem to have done much good.

A weak statistical base is the first handicap. To give an exam-

ple the population of the Scheduled tribes in the district of Saharsa (Bihar) in 1951 census was 28,356. This has come down to 7,850 in 1961 census. On a spot enquiry it was found that thousands of the tribals in Supaul subdivision had been enumerated otherwise. Some of the tribals

mentioned in 1951 as belonging to particular pockets were found totally non-existing. The Kharis, once a formidable tribal group of Singhbhum district (where the steel city of Jamshedpur is located) dwindled to 587 in 1931 census. There has been a considerable drop in 1951 census.

As every district has now got a number of Blocks under an administrative officer there should be no difficulty in having a more or less reliable data of the tribals in the blocks. Without a proper statistical base it is difficult to have proper welfare programmes. The District Welfare officer and the Department of Welfare at the State level are poorly equipped with even approximate statistics, but they are spending or wasting money over the tribals' welfare.

Christian Villages

The Christian Missions pioneered in taking education and medicine to the most inaccessible tribal areas when there were hardly any road facilities. Even the Christian villages in very remote areas have an entity of their own. But with all the present facilities of road and conveyances the schools and dispensaries sponsored by the State government through the Block Development officers have not even touched the fringe of the popularity of the Christian villages with their schools and dispensaries. At Kanjia village in the jungle area of Palamau district the mission dispensary gets about 200 patients a day while at the State dispensary at Bhandaria within two miles and under a qualified doctor, there are hardly 20 patients a day.

The doctor in a remote Block thinks he has been punished by being posted to a Block. Dearth of medical personnel has been responsible for putting several tribal blocks under the same doctor with the result he hardly visits the dispensaries more than once a month. None of the blocks get a proper medical service, and once disappointed after trekking miles to a dispensary a tribal thinks very poorly of the Government dispensary. The Government Doctor sadly lacks in most cases the missionary zeal although he has got a jeep under him and other resources common to both tribal and non-tribal blocks.

Paper schemes

Schools in the Tribal Blocks have been mechanically opened

after a set pattern. At Adhaura in Shahabad district (Patna Division) a higher standard tribal school has been opened although there are hardly any feeder tribal schools. The result is that the school has more of non-tribal students and the tribals do not get a fair deal. What is necessary is to open more of lower standard tribal schools in the area. With one basic middle school in Adhaura Block the opening of a high school was just to follow the pattern set in the office and not to meet a real demand. Paper schemes are far too many.

Set schemes are drawn up in the offices and they are sought to be implemented without a reference to the particular needs of the area. The Japanese method of rice-cultivation needs plenty of irrigation and is not for the hilly tribal regions without adequate irrigation facilities. Yet this method has been demonstrated in some such tribal blocks with poor results and a very poor demonstrative impact. Instead of trying to implement these fanciful ideas, piggery and poultry could have been developed. There also one or two boars supplied had died for want of care. One day pullets were distributed to the tribals who could hardly be expected to rear them up. The tribals love to keep poultry and piggery of the indigenous type. This is an excellent field which could have been tapped with some imagination.

Pedigree bulls have been supplied to tribal blocks which have indigenous cows of very small stature. Unsuitable rams have been wasted. Against this picture, we find well-run and profit-making piggery and poultry farms in some of Christian missions in Simdega and Gumla subdivisions of Ranchi district. They maintain a regular supply of their products to the steel factories at Jamshedpur and Rourkela and to Ranchi city which has the Heavy Engineering plant and other industrial zones.

As a rule, the personnel in the tribal blocks do not know the tribal languages and dialects. They do not like the environs and

the discomforts of a tribal area. They are always trying to get away. The key worker is known as the Village Level Worker. He has been put in charge of eight to ten villages, all scattered and at a great distance from one another. The hilly zones cannot be covered by cycles. The result could well be imagined. The VLW hardly visits his villages.

Christian cooperative societies in the tribal blocks have been a great success and the Christian tribals are not heavily indebted. The State-sponsored cooperative societies have not been well received and the fault appears to lie more with the rigid personnel who apply the Government rules with such a rigidity that the objective itself fails. Money-lenders are common in non-Christian tribal zones and in a village in Santal Parganas district a money-lender was found realising loans with 50 per cent interest.

Intelligent & Quaint

This tribals are intelligent and have a quaint sense of dignity and humour. They have adaptability but would not respond to a revolutionary scheme which goes violently against their indigenous social ideas. The Paharias, a very primitive tribal of the Santal Parganas, live at the top of the hills where their deities live. Attempts have failed to settle them in the plains and naturally. Instead of a gradual attempt, there was a move to bring them down in a body and settle them in the plains.

The Birhors, a wandering tribe of Chota Nagpur, live in leaf-huts with a small opening at ground level for entrance. But if the leaf huts leak which is a rare event, they leave the huts as leak is a bad omen. Planned tin-roofed housing was made for them and they were settled there after some persuasion. With rains the tin roofs leaked and the Birhors who had very unwillingly come to the colony being attracted by cash doles and livestock, immediately ran away.

Indigenous tribal institutions like their village heads of *Mahato*

and *Pahan*, their community *Panchaits* could well be utilised for solving their problems. Statutory *Gram Panchaits* or village councils are looked at with some suspicion by the tribals. The statutory *Gram Cutcheries* for settling disputes are almost in clash with their traditional *Panchaits* which used to settle their disputes. Some of the provisions of the Indian Penal Code are still an anathema to the tribals as they are in conflict with their traditional law.

A New Problem

A new problem has come in. There is both a horizontal and a vertical move for uplift among the tribals. Some of the tribals are *sanskritising* the mselves and now claim to be Rajputs or of some other higher castes. Some of them are horizontally moving and assuming new attitudes. The

Kharwars of the tribal Adhaura block in Sahabad district claim to be a kin to the backward tribal Gonds of Chota Nagpur. There are no reasons why some of the tribals should not be de-tribalised when they resent being called tribals.

Another problem is that not much is known of a large number of smaller tribals. This is general throughout tribal India. Even now there are hundreds of tribals who have not been properly studied. Most of the current studies are still confined to the major tribals who have already been studied. The Block Development officers in the tribal Blocks have a wonderful opportunity for making this study but they are hardly interested or if interested, they say they have no leisure from the load of routine work.

Village based agencies

Village based agencies and *Ashram* type institutions may do a lot of good to the tribals. Such institutions are rather rare. They will not have a large area nor will they be administering more of the rules of Government. No one wants now to keep the tribals in a National Park but a human touch is more necessary to bring them out, without a revolution in their ideas.

The author was the State Editor for the rewritten District Gazetteers of Bihar till recently and has published the gazetteers of 15 out of the seventeen districts of Bihar. At present he is engaged in an editorial assignment of the Gandhi Centenary Publications.

Opium Smuggling Racket in India

BISHAN KAPOOR

RECENT seizure of a big haul of contraband opium weighing more than 1,17,500 grams from the secret cavities of a car near Mughalsarai on the UP—Bihar border has highlighted the widespread dope racket in the country.

It is interesting to note that the earliest records of the cultivation of this narcotic drug go back to fifteenth century. In those records, Cambay and Malwa are mentioned as the two principal producing centres. Today the main production centres are Rajasthan, UP and Madhya Pradesh.

After Independence and the promulgation of the Constitution of India, control over the cultivation and manufacture of opium throughout the country passed into hands of the Government. Earlier the All-India Opium Conference, decided that within a maximum of ten years, the consumption of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes should be totally

prohibited. Consequently, oral consumption of this drug for non-medical purposes was banned from April 1, 1959. As result of these restrictions, the oral consumption of opium had decreased from 150 tons to 2.5 tons. Likewise, the number of registered addicts has decreased from 200,000 to 124,904 at the end of year 1963 and the opium smokers whose number stood at 2,504 during 1953 have been reduced in number to 1,822 within one decade.

Surprisingly enough, India had a long tradition of opium addiction. French adventurer Bernier during his visits to Mughal Court recorded that Rajput nobles were 'great takers of opium' and further he remarked: "It is an interesting sight to see them on the eve of battle with fumes of opium in their heads."

Both Mughal Emperors Humayun and Jehangir were opium addicts. According to Christian Father Ridolfo, 'Akbar used to

take *post*, a preparation of opium, diluted and modified by various admixtures of spices."

This drug had a firm foothold on India during beginning of sixteenth century and was spoken of by foreign travellers in 1516 as one of the highly-priced articles of merchandise.

While during the Mughal Rule, opium was farmed, the East India Company established complete monopoly over this trade. British rulers set up two opium agencies. One was at Patna and another at Gazipur in Uttar Pradesh. The latter became one of the most important centres of collection of this drug, while a huge factory was also established at Gazipur.

Cultivation of poppy was not only confined to the northern and eastern territories administered by the East India Company but it was extensively sown in the princely states scattered over Central India. Some of these princely rulers under the aegis of Britishers amassed

their wealth in foreign countries particularly in Britain and USA on the earnings of contraband supply of opium cultivated in their areas.

The whole clandestine trade of this drug passed through the port of Goa which played a key role in the dope racket during the Portuguese occupation. Goa was captured in 1510 and in 1547, opium appeared in the revenue list of the Viceroy of that dependancy.

After the Maharatta war of 1818, the new territory of Malwa famous for its rich yield of opium was annexed by the British who embarked on the full-scale export of this valuable drug. This reached the total of about £ 14 millions in one year. The Opium War in China it may be recalled resulted in the occupation of Hongkong by Britishers.

The stoppage of export of opium to China during 1912-13 and lack of control by the British Government over the cultivation of this drug in the princely states, caused a spurt in smuggling which centered around the major ports. Calcutta soon developed into one of the principal places of operation of the smugglers. The dope racket initially began in the nature of barter with cocaine coming from China, ended up also in the exchange of gold.

During years after Independence, smuggling has acquired almost a new dimension with the development of road and rail links and improvement of airways. Besides, the prohibition of the use of opium other than for medicinal purposes has resulted in the highly developed underworld market inside the country. The occupation of Tibet by the Peking regime also dealt a stunning blow to this clandestine trade across the border.

According to official reports, during 1956-57 about 397.968 kgs of opium was intercepted from 148 cases of seizures. After a decade, the figures for 1966-67 show that although cases of seizures have increased to 216, the quantity of opium thus seized has decreased to 253.808 kgs.

The world requirements of opium is about 1000 tons per annum out of which India alone contributes 750 tons. There is at present under cultivation of opium about

1,75,000 bighas of land in the country. It cannot be denied that part of the opium yield goes to the underworld because of leakages in monopoly procurement of this highly sensitive drug.

Although there are different methods for carrying the drug to the underworld, the most successful has been system of carrying it in cars. For this purpose, second-hand cars are purchased and they are fitted with secret cavities. Special mistries are employed for this job who are paid exorbitantly ranging from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000. Ordinary police officers cannot detect these cavities because they are secretly placed within body of the car that it is very difficult to trace them. These cars are registered in fake names and normally sold at cheap prices after making few trips so as to avoid suspicion.

Besides the driver, there are carriers who are paid Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per trip excluding their expenses. A pool of such carriers are believed to have been formed whose jobs are to smuggle opium. The Number of such carriers are stated to be about 100.

According to narcotics intelligence, there is a wide network in which High Finance plays a leading role. There are about 10 big gangs who handle this clandestine business of more than Rs. 15 crores in a year.

These smugglers are powerful and influential persons who have amassed tremendous amount of money. Risen from the ranks of carriers, these smugglers have gone up high, commanding powerful influence. Strangely enough, the smuggler himself does not come out directly although he finances the entire underworld operations. He engages one or two assistants who manage the illicit traffic on his behalf. These assistants are normally paid on the basis of 10 to 20 per cent of the total profit. Under these assistants, a whole network of carriers operates.

There is an interesting aspect of the personal lives of these big smugglers. Curiously, they are never married happily and they invariably keep two to three concubines. They are champion boozers who flaunt their ill-gotten wealth.

The vital link in the dope racket is constituted by the carriers who are constantly warned against giving out anything about their connections with the gang when they are nabbed. If they dared to disclose their identity, they are invariably liquidated by the gang. The opium smuggler is a dangerous and desperate character and he would not hesitate in the least to order physical liquidation of a carrier, an informer or even the officer of Narcotics Department if he thinks that his 'business' is in danger. Homicide is part of the dangerous game of opium smuggling. This is mainly so because the man who is at the helm of affairs is a ruthless person. If he is caught, he loses everything including wealth, respect and honour.

Sex also plays a key role in the high drama of smuggling. Handsome and young women are generally employed to accompany the carriers in the vehicle to provide respectability to the trip. Like the carriers they too have their pool and are available for this purpose alone. They generally belong to the community of dancing girls who move in fast vehicles across the country either in Burka or open. Because of the queer combination of the carrier and the girl, Enforcement authorities sometimes find it difficult to intercept the illicit traffic. Although most of the carriers have married these girls, sex plays the least part during the hazardous trip. There is a strict code of discipline among them and they are forbidden to make love while carrying the drug. It is the speed of the vehicle that matters and all other considerations are insignificant.

There is a big margin of profit in the dope racket. Opium like the crude adulterated gum available near Lucknow at prices between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per kg is easily carried and sold near the port towns at Rs. 1000. From there, it is taken outside the country and sold to the clandestine laboratories in Eastern Asia or Europe where it is converted into costly Heroin and then smuggled into USA. By the time this opium becomes white powder in the refined form, the price of the same kg. of drug purchased from poppy producing

(Continued on Page 38)

marx in distress

I know all about Marxism... I was myself a Marxist... I believe if one is not a Marxist before thirty, there is something wrong with his mind. If he continues to be one after thirty, there is something wrong with his head.
—Y.B. Chavan

KARL Marx was twenty-nine years, eleven months and twenty-nine days. Midnight, Karl sat up in bed.

'What's it dear?' asked Madame Marx.

'A contradiction,' said Karl.

'Oh, that,' said she, 'sleep off. Count sheep going over a stile.'

'Can't do that,' said Marx.

'That would be Platonic, Hegelian.'

Madame Marx was irritated. 'You and your materialism,' said she, chiding gently. For, though she wasn't a Marxist, she liked to pretend to be one, because she didn't want to admit she would cross thirty, and so never really repudiated Marxism. She took an infantile left turn and feigned sleep facing the wall.

Karl Marx's thoughts went grossly materialistic.

'What's a Marx,' asked he, 'without deutschmarks?'

'He's like mustard without beef,' said Madame sleepily.

Marx looked out into the night. The objective situation was dark.

'A spectre is haunting Europe,' he said.

With a start Madame Marx sat up.

'Where?' she demanded.

Marx refused to answer. He sat still, looking into the night outside.

Madame Marx relaxed.

'My dear,' she said, 'You've been reading too much of Allan Poe. Read something bright and humorous and optimistic. Or else you're going to produce a sombre variety of Marxism that won't be any good.'

'What' asked Marx desperately, 'do I read?'

'Here I have this Publications Division pamphlet of all of Mr. Chavan's speeches.'

'Humorous?'

'Mighty.'

Karl read.

'All communists are the same. The Russians will come to aid of the Chinese in a war with India...' That was Mr. Chavan, speaking in Bombay, on his way to takeover as Defence Minister.

'Ha, ha, ha!' said Marx. He held his sides and rolled over.

'Ha, ha, ha!' he said again.

'Now, isn't that funny?' demanded Madame Marx.

'Isn't it!' said Marx, still holding his sides as though he were protecting its stitches.

'Isn't it sunny?' asked Madame Marx.

'Terribly,' said Marx.

'And witty and informed?'

'Like an elephant!'

'Okay,' said Madame Marx, 'I've a whole collection here of the awfully clever and funny things Mr. Chavan had said. Read them Karl, and go slow on the heavy stuff you're swotting. It'll do you a foul lot of good.'

Marx turned his mangy head with the grandeur of Greek tragedy to regard the calendar on the wall.

'The date,' he moaned, 'the date!'

'What about the date?' asked Madame Marx.

'After ten-thirty this night,' said Marx stricken, 'I'll be thirty.'

Your fault, Karl, said she. 'You did nothing to make good. You got yourself lost in that stupid dialectics of yours. And you even stood poor Hegel on the head, which you oughtn't to have done.'

'Poor Hegel,' said Marx. 'I'm sorry.'

'What's the use of being sorry, Karl? It's just Platonic to be that. I hate to see you Platonic. Look at the other Marxes, Groucho and the lot. They didn't waste their time reading Edgar Allan Poe. They made good, Karl,

they made good. Sit up, Mangy Head, and do something.'

'Do what?' pleaded Marx.

'Go and do something constructive,' said Madame Marx, with a woman's natural sense of the practical and socialistic. 'Invent the Surplus Value.'

'I'm working on it, to tell you the truth.'

'But what sort of surplus value? That's the question all real socialists ought to face.'

Marx sat back and pondered.

'My theory,' he said, 'is that capital is crystallised labour.'

'No,' said Mrs. Marx. 'That's so only if you're going to stay a Marxist after thirty. Otherwise the theory ought to be: all bright ideas are crystallised nonsense. Can you face it, Karl!'

Marx was sobbing.

'And', continued Madame Marx, vehemently, 'what do you think of Surplus Value itself?'

'I don't know,' said Marx. 'I do don't know any more.'

'After thirty you ought to be able to have deutschmarks in your pocket. Then after forty you ought to be able to pilot a roadster. At fifty you ought to be able to live in a bungalow and spend a thousand deutschmarks a month on electricity. At sixty you ought to be on somebody's pay roll and talk of socialism humorously, and your children be covenanted officers in the private sector. At eighty you ought to be threatening not to die but to cross the floor.'

The clock struck ten thirty.

'Ooooooh,' cried Karl Marx, 'I'm thirty, and still Karl Marx.'

'My poor dear,' sobbed Madame Marx, stroking his beard.

Outside, in the blue night, the spectre was haunting.

—Charvaka

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND

nations in the tense wider world.

"We gonna burn America down," a Negro rioter cried on TV last night. It's not going to let itself be burned down. The Negro need to hate after so many years of oppression has evoked a counter-hate. The secessionist and separatist slogans of that Newark conference, where moderates were afraid to be moderate, can bring us to a second civil war.

The Newark programme of partition, violence and race hatred can destroy the moderates on both sides and burn the bridges to reconciliation. We cannot fight apartheid in South

(Continued from Page 31)

Africa and advocate it in the United States. We cannot fight White racism and applaud Black racism.

Perhaps the wisest words spoken at Newark came from Dick Gregory after the conference was over when he said, "This is what happens in a revolution. The oppressed have assumed the personality of the oppressors."

But there is no way out, except to learn to live together. The other way lies Negro suicide and mutual destruction. You need only look around at the realities of the world—Nigeria's tribal civil war, for example—to see

that America's pluralism and social conscience makes the fight for its preservation in a peaceful solution a duty not only to ourselves but to a world poisoned by fratricidal irrationality. For the black man, too, America offers something better than Africa. Out of this turmoil let us together build a better America, at last fulfilling the great egalitarian vision of its founders.

The first, the essential step, must be to end that insane and costly war in Vietnam before it engulfs us in the final cataclysm of war with China.

OPIUM SMUGGLING IN INDIA

(Continued from Page 36)

centre in India, reaches nearly to Rs. 1,00,000 in Indian currency.

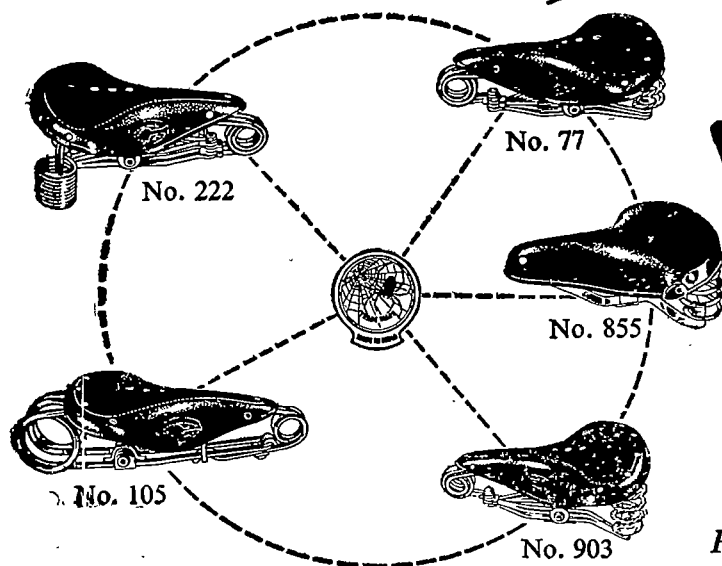
Because of the high margin of profit in the international market, formidable gangs operate this dope racket. There has been large-scale buying from the local 'dealers' for the external markets.

Since underworld operations are governed by the golden principle of two-way traffic, contraband opium is exchanged with gold, watches and other goods smuggled into this country.

The most prominent operation relates to 14 miles of sea strip

dividing India and Ceylon where these smugglers operate like sea bandits with fully armed and powerful launches. Because of the speed at which they move about and their intimate knowledge of the area, they often escape the striking force of the Government.

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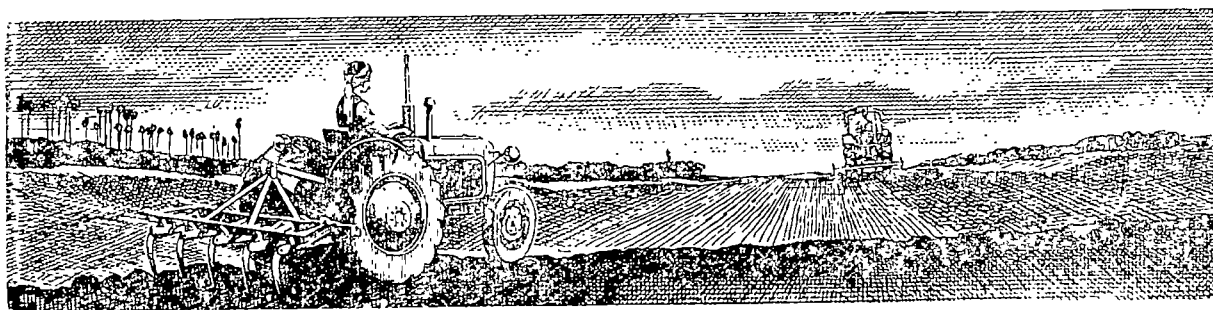
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RAJASTHAN MARCHES AHEAD

Position at the				Position at the			
Unit	Beginning of first plan 1950-51	End of third plan 1965-66		Unit	Beginning of first plan 1950-51	End of third plan 1965-66	
AGRICULTURE				TECHNICAL EDUCATION			
(i) Production				(i) Intake capacity			
(a) Foodgrain	Lakh tons	29.00	44.69*	(a) Degree level	Number	60	670
(b) Oilseeds	Lakh tons	0.80	0.56	(b) Diploma level	Number	—	1180
(c) Cotton	Lakh bales	0.90	1.74	(ii) Technical and professional colleges	Number	8	32
(d) Sugarcane (Gur)	Lakh tons	0.53	0.68				
(ii) Agricultural colleges				INDUSTRIES			
(a) Intake capacity	Number	—	410	Small scale Industrial units registered	Number	16 (1956)	5863 (1966)
(b) Agriculture colleges	Number	1	4	Loan Advanced to Small scale units	Rupees	1,22,500 (1954-55)	1,18,95,349 (1964-65)
(iii) Total wells	Number in lakhs	6.16 (By the end of 1955-56)	7.52 (By the end of 1963-64)				
IRRIGATION				ROADS			
Area irrigated (Gross)	Lakh acres	28.93	51.41	Total mileage	Miles	11371	18909
(i) Firm power available	M.W.	7.5	106	HEALTH			
(ii) Localities electrified	Number	32	1233	(i) No. of medical colleges	Number	1	5
CO-OPERATION				(ii) Primary Health Centres	Number	—	230
(i) Co-operative Societies	Number	4908	22,571	(iii) Family Planning Centres			
(ii) Membership	Number in lakhs	1.99	14.33	(a) Urban	Number	—	55
(iii) Percentage of rural families covered	Percentage to total	1.5	33	(b) Rural	Number	—	232
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT				(c) Mobile	Number	—	23
(i) Rural population served	Percentage to total	—	100	(iv) Dispensaries	Number	143	215
(ii) Panchayats	Number	2475	7388	(v) Hospitals	Number	223	320
(iii) Panchayat Samities	Number	—	232	(vi) Inpatient beds	Number	4996	11775
(iv) Zila Parishads	Number	—	26	WATER SUPPLY			
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY				(i) Urban water supply schemes completed	Number	5	71
(i) Veterinary dispensaries	Number	88	127	(ii) Rural Piped water supply schemes completed	Number	—	94
(ii) Veterinary hospitals	Number	57	204	LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT			
GENERAL EDUCATION				(i) Intake capacity in craftsmen training institutes	Number	—	4168
(i) School going children				(ii) Labour Welfare Centres	Number	6 (1954-55)	29 (1965-66)
(a) 6-11 years	Percentage to total	14.8	54.0	(iii) Employment provided	Number	9012 (1957-58)	1,49,387 (1965-66)
(b) 11-14 years	Percentage to total	5.0	21.0	TOURIST TRAFFIC			
(c) 14-17 years	Percentage to total	1.7	10.0	Foreign Tourists	Number	1500 (1955-56)	25,200 (1965)
(ii) Educational Institutions				Income from foreign tourists	Rupees in lakhs	5	50.4
(a) Primary Schools	Number	4336	19038	Home Tourists	Number in lakhs	6.5	12
(b) Middle Schools	Number	732	1756	Income from Home tourists	Rupees	1975 (lakhs)	2.40 (crores)
(c) High Schools	Number	175	398	ELECTIONS			
(d) Higher Secondary Schools	Number	—	336	Total number of votes polled		1952	1962
(e) Colleges	Number	32	88	Assembly		32,61,442	54,06,350
(f) Universities	Number	1	3	Parliament		35,26,957	54,15,561

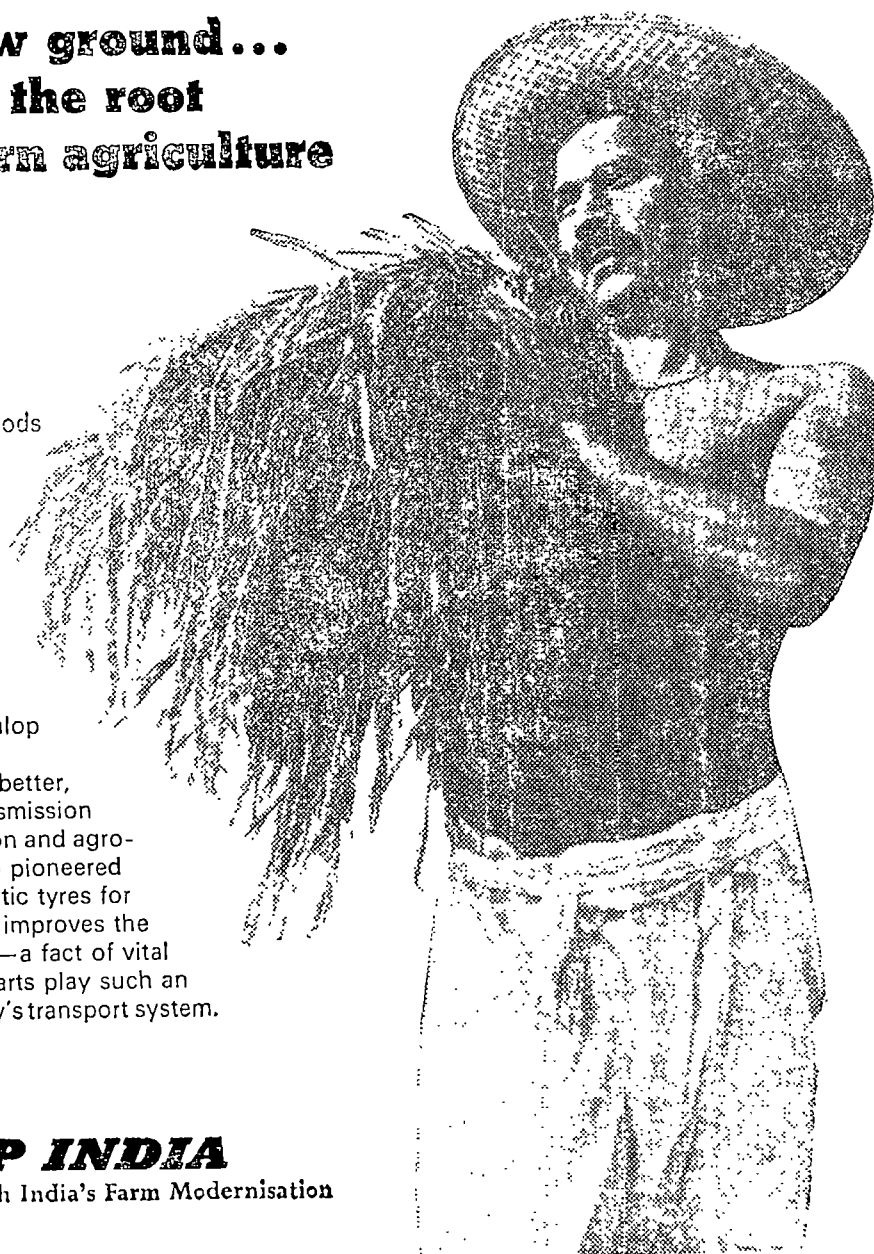
*Based on four yearly moving average from 1962-63 to 1965-66.



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Mainstream

ISLAM
in
INDO-PAK RELATIONS

SATURDAY,
AUGUST 26, 1961

35 P

CHANGE-OVER
to
REGIONAL LANGUAGES

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VIETNAM AND AFTER

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★ CUSTOMS DUTY

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may please be made out in favour of Prime Minister's Drought Relief Fund.

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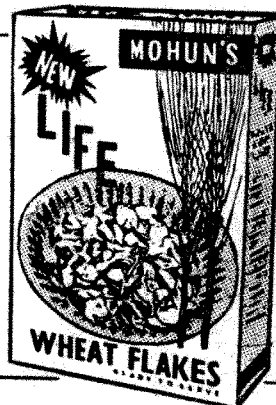
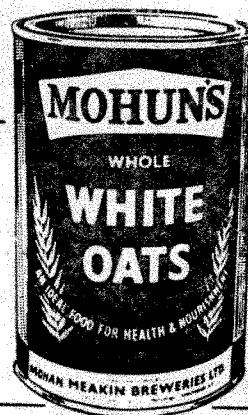
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NEW LIFE
WHEAT FLAKES

MOHUN'S
PEARL BARLEY

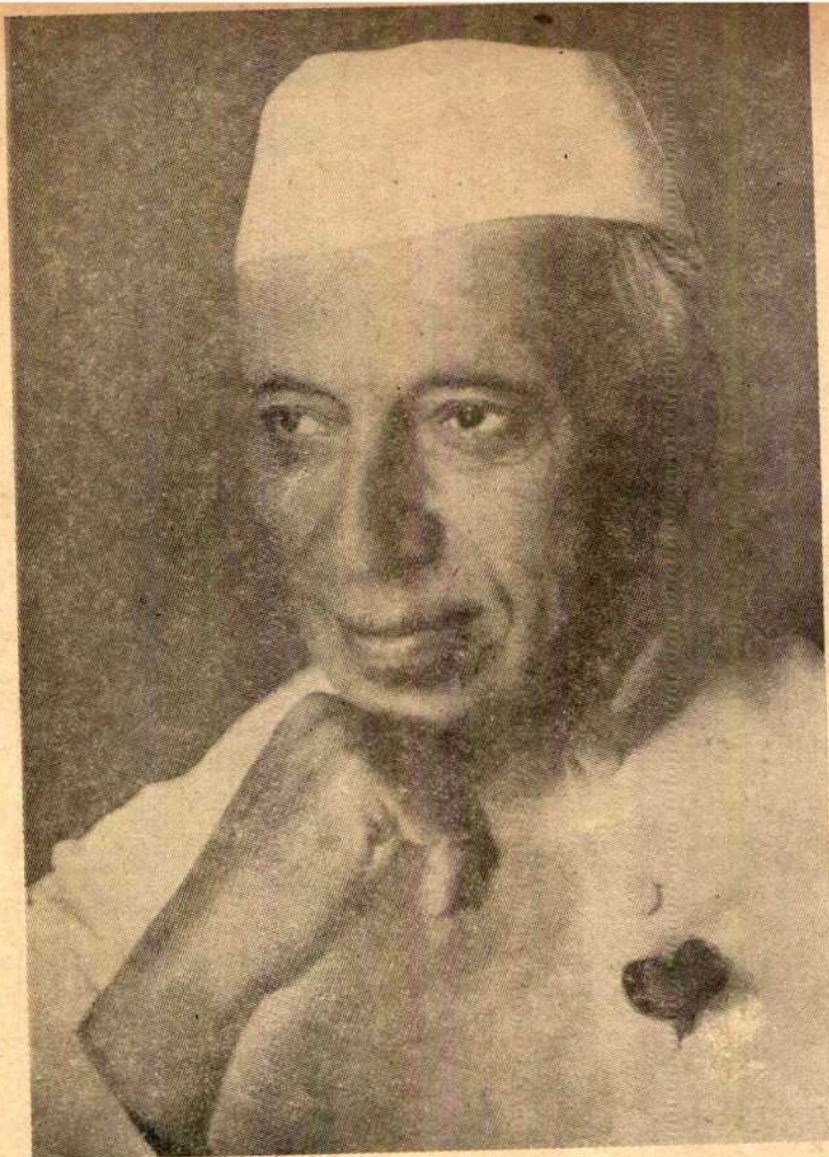


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OUR final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural level, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love, ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

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STOP THIS DOUBLE TALK

IT has become a matter of habit for the Central Government to deny almost as a matter of routine that there has been any discrimination in the Centre's treatment of the States with non-Congress Ministries in the matter of food allocation. And in this game, the Union Food Minister seems to have excelled others: and everytime the charge is made, he comes out with a torrent of figures to confound the public.

The Union Food Minister's denial of Central discrimination was effectively punctured by Sri Nambudiripad during his last visit to New Delhi when he pointed out the amazing discrepancy between the Centre's announced allocation and the actual arrival of stocks in Kerala. Of course, in the propaganda ballyhoo that the Centre keeps up, this uncomfortable fact was sought to be played down.

This week the visit of the West Bengal Ministers to New Delhi has exposed another canard by the Centre. Only the day before the arrival of the West Bengal Ministerial team, Sri Jagjivan Ram gave a demonstration of his capacity for equivocation when he threw the blame for West Bengal's acute food crisis at the door of the State Government for its failure to implement its own procurement programme.

This was very lucidly refuted by West Bengal's Information Minister before the New Delhi press. Sri Sommath Lahiri disclosed that last year when the food deficit in West Bengal was 21 lakh tonnes, the Centre had supplied over 16 lakh tonnes; while this year, when the State's deficit is estimated at 24 lakh tonnes (that is, three lakh tonnes more than last year's), the Centre's allocation for West Bengal—

even taking the latest promised quota—would be around ten lakh tonnes by the end of the year. Out of consideration for the acute food difficulty all over the country, the West Bengal Government has demanded only 15 lakh tonnes, that is, less than what the Centre had actually supplied to the State's Congress Ministry last year.

In this context, Sri Jagjivan Ram's tactic of blaming the West Bengal Government's procurement record for the State's acute food shortage is misleading and dishonest. For, the procurement target of the State Government itself was only two lakh tonnes, of which it has so far been able to collect just over one lakh tonnes; in other words, the shortfall in West Bengal's procurement programme was less than one lakh tonnes, while the Centre has so far committed itself to giving this year six lakh tonnes less than what it gave West Bengal last year.

Apart from this record of dereliction of responsibility at the governmental level, the Congress leadership at the Centre cannot escape political responsibility for what the West Bengal Congress had done to sabotage in advance the State's procurement programme for this year. Towards the end of last year, as part of the election-eve strategy, the Congress Ministry in West Bengal had abolished the levy system, obviously as a desperate vote-catching move among rich peasants and also to placate the big rice stockists who are its patrons. The effect was that in the high season of procurement, that is, between December and February, the big traders could corner the bulk of the stocks. The weakness of the United Front Government—which has made no bones about it—has been that it did not go in for drastic measures immediately on assumption of office. However, even if it had done that, the internal procurement in West Bengal could never have been such as to cover up the Centre's patent lapse in meeting the admitted deficit in a State with the lowest per capita acreage of food production in the entire country, a State which has the largest bloc of industrial population.

The Central Government is thus holding back West Bengal's barest requirements while blaming the United Front Ministry for its procurement shortfall, a state of things which has largely been the creation of the very party which is ruling at the Centre.

It is time that the Centre refrains from such tongue-in-the-cheek attacks on non-Congress Govern-

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ments by deliberately trying to mislead public opinion. No one denies that the Central Government is faced with a difficult situation with regard to food-stocks position; the Union Food Minister has himself complained that the crisis has been aggravated by President Johnson personally holding up the sanction of wheat sale to India. Instead of indulging in double-talk in its dealings with non-Congress Ministries, Sri Jagjivan Ram will be spending his time and energy profitably if he seeks the support of all the State Governments for a nation-wide campaign of protest against American blackmail. This will

not only bring about the necessary pressure of world opinion on Washington, but will also create that climate inside this country, in which all would be prepared to share the shortage equitably, and the surplus areas will volunteer to come to the help of the deficit pockets.

National will to face the food crisis can be generated by only such a political crusade against Johnson trading on our adversity and not by pettifogging discrimination against the States which have thrown the Congress out of office.

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

IMPORTANCE OF BIRLA PROBE

THE Birlas are deeply shocked that politicians should seek to malign them and call their network of industries an "empire."

Through their chief executive they have made it clear officially that the vast network is being run entirely in the public interest and out of purely patriotic and altruistic considerations. They are in short nation-builders and not empire-builders. If their companies make huge profits it is only in the national interest. Their innumerable shareholders are mightily pleased with the way the brilliant Birlas run their industries and are more than satisfied with the dividends so charitably distributed to them. They do not ask questions like ignorant MPs of the Left variety. The Birla family is full of geniuses who have received excellent modern education abroad and have travelled widely in the national interest. Even if this was achieved at the expense of the various industries controlled by them, it was done only so that so much genius might not be lost to the nation. Second and third generation Birlas have their own networks, and the principles of natural justice require that they should not all be clubbed together and described as the "Birla Empire."

Considering the great sacrifices they have made the Birlas are naturally amazed at the demand for a thorough investigation of their affairs instead of loud acclamation of their patriotic endeavour to keep the maximum number of industries possible under their own control entirely in the interests of efficiency and good management. All of which only shows that there is nothing so obnoxious as man's base ingratitude.

There is surely no need to go deeply into the Birla chief executive's statement that the poor Birlas had to state their case through the Press only because they could not go to the august Rajya Sabha and they felt called upon to clarify matters in the interests of

the thousands of shareholders of the Birla companies. The role of the Birlas and their money in the elections to the Lok Sabha and some of the State Assemblies has been widely discussed in the country and needs no recapitulation here. What is of immediate interest to the public is the extent of growth of Birla House in the last twenty years in terms of control over vital sectors of the national economy as well as influences over the nation's political structure and administrative apparatus, the methods employed by the Birlas to bring about rapid expansion of their industries and the place and role of the thousands of shareholders who are so much talked about now.

The chief executive's generalized narration of the

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Birlas' business methods cannot cut much ice in view of the fact that the structure of all companies is more or less the same and this fact did not prevent the many malpractices eloquently brought out by the Vivian Bose Commission in respect of another empire of the same variety. Every company has shareholders—and not only the Birla firms—and everyone knows that these hapless creatures have little say in running the companies concerned. They are satisfied with a minimum dividend and have neither the time nor the inclination nor the resources to look too closely into company affairs. What happens to shareholders who show too much unhealthy curiosity is not altogether unknown.

The point is that allegations have been made against the Birlas by responsible and duly elected Members of Parliament, and no democracy can shirk full investigation into these charges except at the cost of undermining popular faith in the democratic system of government. Public opinion will not be satisfied with loud protestations of innocence from the chief executive of the Birla concerns. The Hazari Report has provided enough indication to warrant a full-fledged inquiry into all the business practices of the Birla industries.

It is not for the Birlas or their chief executive or their newspapers to lay down what is in the public interest and what is not. Public interest in our country demands first and foremost that the stranglehold of a handful of affluent families on the national economy must be ended as the first and most vital step towards the establishment of the egalitarian society on which the people of India have set their sights.

Even more urgent is the study by an impartial high-power body of any charges of a serious nature brought by representatives of the people against the biggest of private sector houses. The people have a right to know whether these charges are true or not, and then to decide what should be done if they are proved to be correct.

If the record of the Birlas is as clean as it is claimed to be, there seems to be no valid reason why they should create such a furore over the suggestion for an impartial and thorough inquiry; in fact, they should welcome an opportunity to place all the facts before investigators so as to maintain their image untarnished not only before their shareholders but before the public at large. The plea that an investigation of the kind suggested will be "a dangerous precedent" is spurious: past inquiries into the affairs of respectable big ones in the private sector have been quite revealing, despite the severe limitations imposed by the enormous "pull" of the "captains of industry" concerned. In fact, considering everything, the patriotic Birlas whose only interest is the welfare and prosperity of thousands of shareholders should have voluntarily submitted their accounts and conduct of business to impartial scrutiny under the aegis of Parliament, democracy's most vital instrument.

The chief executive who says with a touch of melodrama that "there is nothing to hide" and that "we are open to questions and will have no hesitation

in answering the same" should have no difficulty in persuading his bosses that the best way to invite purposeful questions and provide convincing answers is by insisting on a thorough investigation by a high-power body made up of competent, impartial men. But this is precisely what the chief executive appears to be at great pains to prevent.

The charges that have been made amount to accusing the Birlas of acquiring enormous wealth at the cost of the people, of building up an empire of vast dimensions in the years 1947 to 1967, of cornering and pre-empting licences, of exercising undue influence over politicians and officials in high places, of being in a position to snuff out competitors, of utilizing moneypower to secure deals most favourable to themselves at the cost of the public exchequer, of moving steadily towards a position in which they can hold the nation totally to ransom. It is absurd to suggest that "specific charges" are needed to warrant an inquiry of the kind demanded. Specific charges can arise only out of investigation. It is such an investigation that the Birlas make it appear that they are most anxious to prevent.

The Birlas will no doubt make the fullest use of their great influence and power to prevent an investigation. It is up to Parliament and the Government to convince the people that it is possible in this country to investigate the affairs of even the Birlas. They owe it to themselves and to the democracy which they represent.

—C. N. Chitta Ranjan

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Morarji Desai's Battle Order

SATISH LOOMBA

SRI Morarji Desai has spoken. He has declared his firm resolve to freeze wages and Dearness Allowance.

The working class has answered. It has unitedly declared its firm determination to fight wage and DA freeze. As a first step a nation-wide general strike has been called on September 11.

What is the issue? The issue is no longer confined only to the immediate implementation of the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission appointed by the Government itself to determine the quantum and mode of paying DA to the Central Government employees. The real issue is the present economic crisis and the effort of Big Business to solve it at the cost of the working class in the first instance, and generally of the people. Thus from a narrow question concerning only the Government as an employer and its employees, it has become a question which has national importance.

The background to the present situation is the struggle of the Government employees to secure full neutralisation for rising cost of living and the demand of the State Government employees for parity in pays with their colleagues in the Central Government.

The Central Government employees including those in the Secretariat, PWD, Defence, P & T, Railways, Civil Aviation etc., and various public-sector employees (to whom the pay structure of Central Government employees is applicable) had been getting DA as recommended by the Das Commission, which offset the rise in cost of living, in the case of class IV and class III employees from 90 per cent to 70 per cent. When the cost of living index rose to 155, the Government refused to implement the same and withheld the increase from 145 points to 155

points since adjustments are made only if a 10-point rise has been registered. Instead, it unilaterally imposed a cut and paid DA varying from 75 per cent to 70 per cent neutralisation. This was in May 1965. By June 1966, the index had jumped by another 10 points to 165. This also was paid at the arbitrarily reduced rates. The Government employees reacted sharply to this; demonstrations were held before the residence of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister and ultimately the Government appointed two Commissions, both under the chairmanship of Sri Gajendragadkar. The first was to determine the question of balance of payment from 145 points of the cost of living index. And the second was to go into the question of quantum of neutralisation. The first Commission upheld the arguments of the employees and ruled that the balance be paid as per the Das Commission Report. In the meantime, the index had gone up to 175 points.

The Second Commission was boycotted by most unions of Central Government employees as the term of reference was clearly loaded against them. However, it proceeded to give its findings in June 1967 and recommended neutralisation at rates which were totally unacceptable to all organisations of employees. In the meantime, the price index has moved up to 195 and is now at 206 (May) though if the average is taken, 10 points have not yet been reached beyond 195. Nevertheless, even the unsatisfactory DA for 20 points (175 to 195) remains unpaid.

Besides the unions of Central Government employees, all Central T.U. organisations—the INTUC, AITUC, HMS, UTUC—have declared the neutralisa-

tion rate recommended by the Gajendragadkar Commission as unsatisfactory. The Central Government employees continue to press for 100 per cent neutralisation.

There are two other important recommendations of the Commission. One is that there should be parity in payment between the Central Government and the State Government employees. The second is that the wage structure should be revised after two years or when the index reaches 235 points, whichever is earlier. The Finance Minister has decided that the Government will not accept the recommendations regarding revision of wage structure and will not pay the DA due in cash.

As could only be expected, these decisions aroused instantaneous and widespread discontent. The INTUC-led National Federation of Indian Railwaymen declared its intention to go on a one-hour protest general strike on Sept. 11. Other organisations of Central Government employees including the All India Railwaymen's Federation, the All-India Defence Employees Federation, the National Federation of P & T Employees, the Confederation of Central Government Employees, uniting various unions of Central Government employees, have all joined in a joint Council of Action and have called for a 24-hour General Strike on Sept. 11. The INTUC's Defence Federation has also decided to fall in line and has called for a 24-hour general strike on that day. The AITUC has fully supported the call for a general strike and has decided to call out workers in all industries on a solidarity strike on Sept. 11.

In this situation Sri Morarji Desai made a further move. At a meeting of leaders of all Central TU organisations and

Central Government employees unions on August 11 he declared firmly and frankly that the non-payment in cash of DA and freeze on wages will not be confined only to Central Government employees but will cover all sections of employees and workers—in the States, in local bodies, in public sector and in the private sector. Thus what was intended was a total DA and wage freeze to cover all office and industrial workers.

Sri Morarji Desai had carefully planned his move. He knew that in all states, State Government employees had been agitating and struggling for parity of wages and DA with those of Central Government employees. Now the Gajendragadkar Commission had recommended this. He knew that with the limited financial resources of State Governments they will have to depend upon Central Government to implement this. At the meeting of the Chief Ministers held recently at New Delhi, the proposal to freeze DA and wages was put forward. However, a packet deal was presented—wage freeze, dividend freeze and price freeze, all nicely wrapped up under the attractive cover of "national interest".

It is a matter of deep concern that the Chief Ministers of all States except that of Kerala agreed to the proposal. Morarjibhai declared with great complacency at the meeting called by him on August 11 to discuss the matter with TU leaders that all Chief Ministers except one supported his proposals.

Having secured this consent, the Central Government moved quickly. It called a meeting of Party leaders in Parliament on August 10 and of TU leaders on August 11. The Government was represented at these meetings by Sri Morarji Desai, Sri Chavan and Sri Hathi. Their case was put forward by Morarjibhai.

What is it that they say? Briefly put, the argument is as follows as explained at the meeting with T U leaders on August 11 where I was present on behalf of the AITUC.

According to Morarjibhai, we are in a serious situation. Due to

the failure of monsoons, foodgrains are in short supply. There is a slump in many sectors of industry. Prices are rising. The vicious circle has to be broken and this calls for sacrifice. So there is a three-point proposal.

The first point is that DA increase to Central Government employees and to all other employees and workers, whether in public sector or private sector, should not be given in cash. According to his calculations a sum of Rs. 30 crores would be needed to meet the DA increase accruing to Central Government employees with the index at 185 points; and another Rs. 30 crores upto 195. To meet the liability to State Government employees a sum of Rs. 32 crores for 10 points would be needed. In the public-sector enterprises, Rs. 11 crores for 10 points will be required, and in the local bodies Rs. 14 crores for 10 points. Since liability has already accrued for 20 points this makes a total of Rs. 174 crores.

According to Sri Morarji Desai, if all this money is injected into the economy, there will be a steep rise in prices. Hence, he could not agree to it. As he put it himself "to give cash would be a dereliction of duty." However, he said, his proposal was not a wage freeze, but only deferred payment. No cash would be paid upto March 31, 1968 when the position would be reviewed. As he put it, he was accepting the recommendation of Gajendragadkar Commission for DA except with regard to immediate payment of cash.

The second point of the proposal is that prices must be controlled. One step towards controlling prices is the 'deferred payment' of DA. Another would be severe punishment to those who sell foodgrains beyond the stipulated prices. Morarjibhai made it plain that Government cannot accept the responsibility of supplying foodgrains to all. At present, it is supplying them in some form or another to 12.5 crores of people and has to subsidise it to the extent of Rs. 118 crores. Secondly, there are no supplies. If the monsoon favours, and is neither more

nor less, then the position will ease. If not, then Morarjibhai said the position would be much worse and many more sacrifices would be called for.

The third point of the proposal is a dividend freeze. What exactly does it mean? Dividends will not be allowed to be distributed beyond a prescribed limit. Of course, this does not mean profit freeze, concluded the Finance Minister. "How can profits be controlled, he said. "All that can be done is to ask the companies not to distribute the profits beyond the laid down limit but retain them in the shape of a reserve fund for ploughback."

Morarjibhai's statement in Parliament the next day was essentially along the same lines.

These are the proposals. What is the reality?

The reality is the present economic crisis in which the policies of the ruling party have enmeshed the country and their efforts to get out of it by throwing the burden entirely on the working class and the people.

By now everyone is aware of the recession which has overtaken heavy industries like steel, coal mining, structural engineering etc., and light industries like textile, light engineering, sugar etc. In all these thousands of workers have been thrown out of jobs through closures, retrenchments, lay-off. Earnings have been cut by reducing production, proposals are there for a four-day or even three-day week (cutting wages by 50 per cent) even in such reputed public sector enterprises like HMT. But this has not proved enough. Now wage freeze and DA freeze is being brought in.

A feature of the present situation is that with the recession, prices have not come down—they continue to soar. The reason for this is the monopoly grip on our industry and finance.

Sri Desai talks of 'dividend' freeze and poses this as an equal sacrifice with wage freeze. But dividend freeze is a hoax. All the profits above those whose distribution as dividends is frozen, will remain with the capitalist. True, the frozen DA is contemplated to be put

in Provident Fund and is returnable to the worker. But no one can equate DA, which is supposed to partially offset rising prices, with dividends. A frozen DA which cannot be used by the workers to buy necessities of life now, is a negation of the very logic of DA. A piece of bread, a spoonful of 'dal', and a shirt cannot be equated with the conspicuous spending on limousines, wines and pleasure jaunts. Besides, dividends are only a part of the story. What about the huge salaries, the commissions, the perquisites? Freezing these at the present level of several thousands each month per person cannot be taken as equal sacrifice by any serious minded person.

And what is the truth about the wage-price spiral. The facts—proverbially hard nuts to crack—tell a story which should really be captioned, "price-wage-spiral." The wages are for ever trying to chase prices in India. Take only one instance, while the Gajendragadkar Commission was sitting, the DA had already been in fact frozen. But the prices jumped from 165 points to 175 points, to 185 points, to 195 points and now the monthly figure is 206 for May 1967! A rise of 31 points for which DA has not been paid. No money on this account has been pumped into the economy, and yet prices continued to rise.

If payment of DA was a factor of importance, even if it was not the sole factor as the 'wage-price spiral' theory would make it out to be, why did prices rise in this period and why do they continue to rise?

This is so because prices are determined in India not by workers' spendings, but by the monopolists who have a stranglehold on our economy.

It may be said by some that prices of non-agricultural goods have risen because of the lag in agrarian production and more specifically food shortage. And food production depends on a kind monsoon. The argument is self-defeating. For, if this is true, all that we need to bring price down is an invocation to Indra (the god of rain) to forget our

sins and be kind. But prices move upward inspite of the greatest kindness of Indra. Favourable crops may temporarily bring down prices to a very small extent. The trend over the years has been of a consistent and sharp rise in prices.

As to the determination to hold prices—the decontrol of sugar is sufficient indication of the seriousness with which the Government is fighting inflation. Coal prices have jumped up inspite of what the Government wanted. The Annual Plan for 1967-68 itself makes it clear that prices cannot be held under the present scheme of affairs.

Hence the talk about a nice package deal handed by the wizard Morarjibhai is in fact nothing but an attempt to hit the employees, the workers and the common people and save the monopolist, the landlord and the Big Business.

To curb prices, the most essential first step is nationalisation of banks. This one step will go a long way to break the grip of big finance on our resources, will hit speculation and will yield a good revenue to the state. But this the present Government will not do because nationalisation of banks will hit the monopolists. Steps must be taken to loosen the stranglehold of these gentlemen—the 75 houses of monopoly on our finance and industry. Unless this is done, all talk about curbing the price line is a mere eye wash. But can the servant check the master. The servant is vacillating to act even in a limited way in the case of just one of these 75, the House of Birlas—despite an able exposure by the Hazari Report and despite prima facie evidence on other counts.

Food production may rise in any year if monsoons are good. But must we depend on the fickleness of the clouds and the bounty of the US? The only way-out is land reforms in the interest of the peasants. However, the tie up of the rulers with big landed interests prevents this.

Thus, the issues on September 11 are not merely the issues of Gajendragadkar's recommenda-

tions. Due to Morarjibhai's effort to extend the proposal of wage freeze (which in reality is a wage cut in real terms) to all workers, his anxiety to put forward phoney solutions like dividend freeze and good monsoons spread in right proportions over September and October, his desire to bolster the economy by spurious measures and safeguard the profits of monopolists and the loot of landlords—due to all this, the real issue now is whether the people of India can force this Government to take measures which will go towards a lasting solution of the problem.

Morarjibhai's package deal is opposed by the people's package deal—No wage or DA freeze, nationalise banks, introduce immediate land reforms, hold prices break the grip of the 75 monopoly houses.

At a time when the Finance Minister talks of withholding cash DA as an anti-inflationary measure, a sum of Rs 268 crores as revealed by the Economic Times, has already been injected into the economy by him since February this year. Simultaneously with the proposed withholding of workers' DA, a bill has been introduced in Parliament for creating a special security force for industrial establishments (we all know it really means a police force to fight the workers on which Rs. four crores will be spent).

Hence the trade unions are justified if they do not believe in the bonafides of the 'solution' offered by Sri Morarji Desai.

Democratic opinion in this country must grasp the real facts. Government will make an effort to paint the workers' claim to DA as if it is against the interests of the nation, and thus, try to create a gulf between the two. But in reality, there is no such gulf. The Finance Minister's proposals hit the entire nation and shield those who are responsible for the present situation of rising prices, recession, shortages and dependence on US for food. The workers' struggle though couched in terms of their own demands, is in reality a struggle for a better deal for the entire nation.

Change-over to Regional Languages

ANJANI K. SINHA

SOON after the last General Election, the State Education Ministers met in Delhi under the leadership of Dr. Triguna Sen, the new Union Minister of Education, and recommended that education "at all levels and in all fields", including technology and medicine, should be imparted in regional languages.

They decided that every effort should be made to 'complete' the change-over in five years, but as a "minimum programme it should be completed at *undergraduate level* during the period." They recommended adequate safeguards for linguistic minorities, including the people of the hill districts of Assam who have adopted English as the medium of education.¹

MPs' Committee

The MPs' Committee on Education, which met soon after the Education Ministers' Conference, welcomed the decision for the change-over to the regional languages as the media of education in universities and suggested a time-limit of five years for the completion of the process *both at the undergraduate and post-graduate levels*. It also suggested that it should be an objective of national policy to maintain college teaching through Hindi medium in non-Hindi areas. This, it thought, would meet the needs of the minorities and "of those who desire such education". The Committee suggested that all-India Institutes should use Hindi and English as the media of education.²

The Education Ministers and MPs made these recommendations after discussing the Report of the Education Commission.

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The Education Commission has favoured an early switchover to regional languages as the media of education on sound pedagogical principles. It is of opinion that learning through the foreign medium has not only prevented the spread of knowledge to common masses, but has also created a barrier between them and the elite. Not only that. It has made the process of learning very difficult. It has compelled the students "to concentrate on cramming instead mastering the subject matter." The change-over to regional languages will make education "more effective and useful" for it will facilitate grasp and understanding of the subject-matter and will enable students to express themselves with clarity and ease.

Another significant point, the Commission emphasises, is that the change-over is necessary in view of the fact that regional languages have already been adopted as the media of education at the school stage all over the country and a sudden change-over to a foreign language as the medium of instruction at the college stage is a great handicap for students. English as a medium of expression is a tremendous handicap for them.

Change-over Urgent

The Commission looks at the problem not only from a pedagogical point of view but also from the point of view of the larger interest of the country. It finds the change-over to regional languages "both urgent and essential for the development of Indian people and as a way of bringing together the elite and the masses."³

Secondly, it can "make scientific and technical knowledge more

easily accessible to people in their own languages and thus help not only in the progress of industrialisation but also in the wider dissemination of science and the scientific outlook."⁴ The Commission quotes Rabindranath Tagore to substantiate its point:

"In no country in the world, except India, is to be seen the divorce of the language of education from the language of the people."⁵

Protest Against Change-over

This recommendation of the Commission, and of the different bodies set up to discuss the Report of the Commission has provoked a lot of controversy throughout the country. Some people call it the product of a policy based on "the lowest common denominator of regionalism, faddism and obscurantism";⁶ others see in it a deliberate attempt to erect "barriers to the free movement of the educated" and to make it "difficult for different language groups to understand one another."⁷ Those who are not so vehemently opposed to regional languages want to keep the recommendations unimplemented in the name of non-availability of text-books, reference books and research journals in Indian languages. Some of them want to prove that "the conversion of higher education to 16 regional languages is not technically feasible whether in 5 or in 15 years; and that an attempt in this direction would be disastrous both financially and in terms of academic standards."⁸

The first question which the opponents of this switch-over to regional languages pose is that it will lead to "fragmentation, exclusiveness and linguistic rivalries" inside the country. To answer this

question one can look at multi-lingual nations like the USSR and Switzerland. In the USSR, fifty-nine languages are used as the media of instruction, most of them upto the university stage, and yet there is nothing like linguistic rivalry threatening the unity of the country.

Many people dismiss this example by referring to the Communist Party machinery inside the Soviet Union which, they say, is the real uniting force. Even if one accepts this logic, what can one say about Switzerland which has a population of only about five millions but uses three principal European languages—German, French and Italian—not only as media of instruction but also as official languages? If a small country like Switzerland has strong sense of nationality despite the fact that there is nothing to distinguish its people racially, religiously or culturally from their neighbours speaking the same languages as sections of them do, there is no reason why a vast country like India whose people are bound by cultural, religious and racial bonds should be afraid of disintegration or balkanization simply because people will be educated in their own mother-tongues.

Contrast

One may point out the contrast by bringing in the cases of such multi-lingual States as Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines where linguistic diversity is a real threat to national unity. But that would be over-simplifying the issue. All these countries have been under colonial rule till recently and the rivalry we find within different linguistic groups is the rivalry between different regions trying to divest "the mainstream of economic development to its main territory."⁹

This is true of India as well. That is why the Bengali population comes in conflict with the Bihari workers in industrial and mining areas in Bihar and with the Assamese in the tea plantation area of Assam. That is why the people of Andhra Pradesh and Madras are out to agitate for the location of the fifth steel plant in their respective States. As each linguistic group is becoming conscious, it wants to

prosper as fast as it can. Not only that; it is ready to be dominated by any other linguistic group.

Economic Issues

The fact that the Economic issues are there in the mind of the opponents of the switch-over to Hindi and other regional languages can be illustrated by an editorial of *The Hindu* (August 9, 1967) :

"It should be observed that, while language barriers will be raised against the educated in the non-Hindi States, the Hindi speakers will have the advantage of movement over a wide region of northern India. Thus the policy favours a minority of Indians at the expense of majority. . . .

"It is not likely that the coastal States, which owe their advanced position to their link with the outside world, will easily jettison the use of English which is vital to their economy. What is more likely that they will increasingly ignore the Hindi region which is the most backward area in the country."

The argument emphasises two points :

(i) the use of English has been of economic advantage of the coastal States;

(ii) the switch-over to Hindi and other regional languages will give more employment opportunities to Hindi speakers than to others.

Both these points are inter-linked. *The Hindu* wants English to continue not because it is essential for the unity of the country, but because it provides more employment opportunities to some people than to others. It is, thus, an opposition based on economic considerations, the slogan of threat to the unity of the country is raised just to disguise the main issue.

The democratic public opinion will not be, I hope, misguided by such arguments. It will not allow those who are in favour of the continuation of English as the medium of instruction to have this say because it puts those who are educated in English-medium schools in an advantageous position. And it has been already pointed out in an article by this writer in the *Mainstream*,¹⁰ who

those people are and from what section of society they come.

At the same time the progressive people should see to it that the new situation is not exploited by one section of people to its advantage at the cost of others. If Hindi alone is used as the medium of instruction in all-India institutes of learning, including the medical and engineering colleges run by the Central Government, the fear that it will "give an immense advantage to the students from the five Hindi States which will be using their mother-tongue"¹¹ may prove true.

Flexible Approach

Such institutions can safely be made multilingual; apart from Hindi and English, those regional languages should be used in such institutes which are used by a sizeable number of their students. For instance, I.I.T., Madras, will have more students from the southern region than I.I.T., Kanpur, and there is no harm if some South Indian languages are also used as media of instruction in the Madras Institute. Only such a flexible approach can eliminate the fear of the non-Hindi speakers and make them willing to accept Hindi as a link language. As *The Hindu*¹² has pointed out, "Nobody in effect is opposed to the development of Hindi as a link language which may gather importance as an all-India medium in course of time. What is unacceptable is the attempt to force Hindi down the throats of everyone alien to Hindi in the space of a few years". The comment reminds one of what A. M. Dyakov has written on this issue in *the National Problem in India Today* : "It is most probable that Hindi will be regarded as the most convenient means of communication throughout India after English has ceased to be the official language of the country and the medium of instruction in all educational establishments. But this can only be achieved when the vernacular is used in the administrative apparatus of the non-Hindi speaking States and in teaching at all levels, that is not only in primary schools, but also in secondary schools and universities."¹³

The point that switch-over to regional languages will make it

difficult for different language groups to understand one another is based on the assumption that the students will not be taught any language other than the mother-tongue. It is needless to say that this assumption is completely baseless. The Education Commission has endorsed the three-language formula worked out by the Government, the MPs' Committee has favoured a two-language formula but nobody has advocated that students should be asked to learn regional languages only. If economic considerations work as a powerful motivating force (and there is no doubt that they do), the non-Hindi speaking students will voluntarily read Hindi to equip themselves for jobs in regions outside their own. Besides, they will learn English or any other foreign language in order to qualify themselves for higher education. The Commission has realised the significance of foreign language teaching very unambiguously : "To avoid any misunderstanding we would emphasise that this (in the switch-over to regional languages) does not mean the shutting out of English or other world languages. In fact, we will profit from these languages all the more when our education becomes more effective and useful."¹⁴

No Burden

If Hindi and/or English is learnt by the people of different linguistic groups, there is no reason why India will be divided into isolated intellectual pockets. Hindi and/or English will be a powerful tool for inter-State communication whereas English and/or other foreign languages will be used for international communication.

It will be incorrect to say that this sort of arrangement will be a burden on students. There are many countries where a foreign language is taught. Compulsorily in most of the advanced countries majority of the people read a foreign language even if it is an elective subject. That is what we find in the USSR, Germany, Japan, Turkey and Egypt. In all these countries the medium of instruction is the mother tongue; but most of the students learn at

least two languages, the mother-tongue and a foreign language.

People are apt to be multi-lingual without much difficulty provided they realise the need for being so. This can be proved by analysing the language-habits of people living in cosmopolitan cities or in border areas. A Kannada speaker who has been living in Hyderabad for a considerable period of time knows nearly three other languages: Urdu (Hindi), Telugu and English. Bihari students know mostly two languages, Hindi and English but the author has met many Bihari settlers in Darjeeling who can fluently read and speak Bengali and Nepali. All these facts refer to the point that the fear of intellectual isolation because of the change-over to regional languages is a highly exaggerated one.

Our Languages undeveloped ?

The view that Indian languages are not developed enough to write research articles and carry on higher education through their media is erroneous. This argument simply proves that Indian intellectuals are not accustomed of using their mother-tongue for these purposes. Once they start the process, all the difficulties will be gradually overcome. The moment the academicians start working in their own languages, the language purists, who are making a lot of fuss in preparing dictionaries and coining queer words and technical terms, will be overwhelmed by new words, and expressions borrowed from English, German, Russian and other languages and new dimensions will be given to existing terms and expressions.

That is how the undeveloped languages of the past have become developed languages today. If the Soviet Union has succeeded in adopting some such languages as the media of instruction which had no written literature before the Revolution, there is no reason why our languages, which are well developed and are deeply rooted in our soil, cannot be used as media of education at the higher level as well. Were not Sanskrit, Persian and other Indian languages used for literary and philosophical intercourses before the Britishers came to India? Is it not a fact

that the East India Company was itself divided in the beginning whether to introduce English or Sanskrit and Persian as media of education ?

Equally erroneous is the view that the switch-over to Indian languages should be postponed because there is an acute shortage of textbooks, reference books and research journals in these languages. It is true, we do not have any books of high standard available in these languages but how can they be available unless they are not needed? To quote Sri A. L. Mazumdar, a Gandhian educationist : "Books are not going to fall from heaven! What writer or publisher would care to bring out college books in Gujarati, Marathi or Bengali when there is no market for it? If a university decides that from a particular year instruction will commence in a particular language, books are certain to flow soon in the market. It is a simple question of demand and supply."¹⁵

The fact that no Secondary School Board has complained about the dearth of text books in the mother tongue bears testimony to the validity of Sri Mazumdar's logic. There may be some difficulty in getting standard original books for postgraduate classes in the beginning, but the problem is bound to be overcome in course of time. On the other hand, if the decision is postponed in the name of paucity of books, the difficulty will never be solved.

Many people question the feasibility of translating a large number of textbooks in regional languages within a period of five years. It is high time such strenuous calculations are stopped in favour of something concrete and constructive. One can find out how the old Osmania University of Hyderabad could get all the text books translated in Urdu when it was the medium of education in medical and engineering faculties as well. One can as well find out how Rabindra Bharati University (Calcutta) is imparting education through Bengali medium. Perhaps more concrete issue will come out for discussion if those who have the experience

of working in these institutions come forward to share their views with others.

So long as English is read as one of the languages by the students of higher classes (the Commission has recommended that it must be used as a *library language*, and also that the knowledge of another foreign language besides English should be a requirement for a doctorate degree and, in certain subjects, even for the Master's degree) there is no reason why each and every book and/or journal should be translated in Indian languages. And will it be an uphill task to translate all standard books within a period of five years if the job is taken up not only by the government agencies, but also by universities and private publishers?

Translational Difficulties

Whatever difficulties the educationists may feel at the moment because of the switch-over to regional languages will not last long. And these difficulties are bound to arise even if the decision is postponed for five or ten years. Nobody is going to translate and publish textbooks in regional languages unless there is possibility of their large-scale consump-

tion in near future. The Government alone is not capable of fulfilling this task because of the chronic diseases from which it suffers. What is to be done then? Should the decision remain indefinitely postponed so that some persons who have a better background of English education may go on dominating in all walks of life, or should a break be made boldly?

The teachers of the present generation (even the young ones) are bound to face a lot of difficulties because of this change-over, simply because they have formed the habit of delivering their lectures in English. But teaching does not mean delivering lectures only. If it means communication and exchange of ideas, is it not a fact that most of the students find it difficult to follow what their teachers speak in the classroom, and more so when they are made to speak in tutorial classes and seminars? If the author is forgiven for this frank confession, is it not true that many college teachers find it difficult to discuss their problems in English and what they do is a mere reproduction of a few sentences from a number of books, sometimes holding conflicting views? Is it not true that

sometimes even a doctor's thesis is nothing but a collection of sentences borrowed from different sources, not because the candidate does not have origin ideas, but because he hesitates in producing his ideas in his own language?

If all these are facts, it is high time we give up hypocrisy and switch over to regional languages for all educational purposes. Only then our education can be more purposeful and more democratic than it is today.

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The Land System

ASIT BHATTACHARYYA

WE went to the Sub-divisional court at Siliguri and found Sri Bidhan Maulik, the Bangla Congress leader of the place. From the time we met him he remained with us throughout our stay in Siliguri. He helped us a lot by introducing us to all political personalities in the town. Later he put us in touch with the local leaders of Naxalbari. He also helped us in many ways to understand the situation. As a lawyer he is well acquainted with the nature of litigations between jotedars and share-croppers. From the facts and explanations given by him I could see clearly where the gap lay between the official version on the land system and the reality.

He took us to the bungalow of the then SDO of Siliguri, Sri Deepak Ghosh. After the Prasad-jote firing, Sri Ghosh had become a controversial figure. We found him to be a young man, aged about 25 or 26. We learnt that he was living practically alone in that big bungalow, with only a servant. He was then busy writing a report to the Government on the tragic firing at Prasadjote. He seemed to be worried and under pressure. There was none by his side with whom he could hold any consultations.

Naxalbari, he told us quite emphatically, was a political problem. At first he was not willing

even to concede that the political objective of the rebel leaders notwithstanding, there was an acute land problem behind the movement. The increase in population, he said, was not much of a problem, because the increase had mostly been in the urban areas. He adduced various facts and tried to refute the argument that irregularity in the distribution of surplus land of the jotedars that had vested in the Government was responsible for the genesis and popularity of the movement. Before going into this aspect of the matter we should mention the facts given by him on the land system in the Terai region.

Ryoti Title

A 200-square mile area of the Terai region (excluding 45 square miles covered by forests and tea plantations) has always been in the *khas* possession of the Government. Unlike in the rest of Bengal, the system of Permanent Settlement with the Zemindars was not introduced here. Under Act X of 1859 and later under Act VII of 1879, *ryots* used to get land on lease from the Government for specified periods. In legal parlance it was called *ryoti* title and not Zemindari title.

Ryots holding this title are called jotedars. Before the Estates Acquisition Act of 1954 came into force, there were 860 jotedars in this area. The economic condition of the jotedars varied, though they held the same kind of title to land. Some of them used to pay an annual revenue running into thousands of rupees, while some were small peasants engaging a few hands for cultivation. Obviously, they cannot be lumped together as a class, even though

they have equal status so far as title is concerned.

The primary objective of the Government, it is said, was to ensure that a class of intermediaries did not grow up under the jotedars enjoying *ryoti* title. In many parts of undivided Bengal, for instance in Barisal (now in East Pakistan), there grew as many as 24 categories of intermediaries between the actual tiller and the Zemindar who paid revenue direct to the Government. These intermediaries used to get small quantities of share of the "farm surplus" and all of them had the legal right to alienate land through gift or sale. (The even tenor of village life in East Bengal began to be disturbed from the beginning of this century or even earlier than that, not only because the price of jute, the main cash crop, was subjected to artificial fluctuation in the interest of British capital, but equally due to the enormous number of intermediaries who had no responsibility in cultivation but who enjoyed title to land. But that is a different matter.)

It is claimed that in the Terai region the Government was, from the very beginning, determined to prevent the growth of intermediaries at different levels. The Government, therefore, made appropriate laws and declared that it might at best recognize a class of under-*ryots* just under the *ryot*-jotedars, but it would not recognize any other category of intermediary or inferior tenurial form.

The intention of the Government, no doubt, was honest, but it was found invariably—from the British period to the post-independence period—that the more progressive a law or its avowed aim was in theory, the

The previous four instalments of this reportage appeared in Mainstream, July 8, 15 and 22 and Independence Day Number. Two special articles by Sri Pannalal Das Gupta in Mainstream, July 8 and August 19 also deal with Naxalbari.

more reactionary it became in practice. It was inevitable, because the socio-economic reality was not taken into account when the laws were framed. The result was, the attempt to impose well-intentioned legislations from above, without changing the objective conditions or the correlation of class forces, failed. Reality invalidated the law and reasserted itself.

Tika System

The same is true of the Terai region. The SDO told us that though the Government never wanted a host of under-ryots coming up, that is precisely what happened. Like the *chukani* system in the adjoining district of Cooch-Bihar, the *tika* or *thika* system arose in the Terai region. Since it was not sanctioned by law, the whole thing developed as a totally illegal practice. Under the *thika* system, an under-ryot would cultivate a land taken on oral lease from the jotedar. In the same way some one else under him could take the land on *thika*. As the law did not recognize the right of the under-ryots, the *mukh-thika* system—or taking *thika* by word of mouth of the jotedar or his representative—came into vogue to evade the law.

The under-ryot has no document to prove that he has cultivated a certain piece of land and therefore he cannot go to a court when faced with eviction. He is left completely at the mercy of the *jotedars*. In other words, a progressive legislation creates objective conditions advantageous to the reactionaries. Bargadars or share-croppers are deprived of legal rights to the land they cultivate and therefore they have to depend helplessly on the jotedars for their living.

There is little doubt that a section of the Terai peasants have lost all faith in law and therefore have taken the law into their own hands. The *thika* system is mainly responsible for this situation. In fact, the law never recognized the reality; consequently the people living in the world of realities could never get their very real grievances redressed through lawful means. Ultimately they took

the course of striking at the law itself.

When these realities are borne in mind, the facts furnished by the SDO appear in a different light. During the period from January 1964 to May 1967, he told us, only 11 cases of eviction of share-croppers were registered at court. During the same period, altogether 160 cases relating to share-cropping were filed at court, of which only 11 were decided in favour of the jotedars.

From these facts, the SDO wanted to reach the conclusion that the discontent of the share-croppers was an empty slogan. Actually, however, his conclusion betrays his ignorance of the realities of the situation. There is an uprising of the peasantry in the villages. In 1959, also there was a strong movement for land in the Terai. The small number of litigations, under the circumstances, points to one conclusion: the peasants have neither the means nor the opportunity nor the right to go to the court. They do not appeal to the law because the law gives them no protection. How can a share-cropper who has taken land on *mukh-thika* get a *locus standi* in a court of law? Figures divorced from socio-economic realities prove nothing or may be used to prove anything one likes.

False Records

Sri Bidhan Maulik later informed us that the jotedars do not use the share-croppers for share-cropping, but for committing breach of the peace. Under section 107 of the IPC, they are detained and their crops are taken away by the jotedars. It is an open secret. This was also confirmed by Sri Sourin Mitra, the CP(M) leader, in a separate interview.

What then is the remedy? Legislations will be of little avail, because one law can change another, but no law can change the reality. Sri Maulik suggested that jotedars should be required to keep registers of their share-croppers in which full details about the land, the amount of revenue and the time from which the land is being share-cropped would be entered against the

name of each share-cropper. If share-croppers are changed, such changes should be recorded in the registers without which they would not have legal validity. Copies of the registers would be kept at the sub-divisional and district headquarters and all changes of share-croppers would have to be notified to the authorities concerned.

Sri Sourin Mitra held that a new survey should be made so as to reveal the true state of affairs with respect to actual possession of land. Such a survey will make it possible to prepare a genuine record of the jotedars and share-croppers. The old records are full of false entries and quite unsuitable as a basis for introducing effective changes.

The proposals given by Sri Maulik and Sri Mitra are complementary to each other. Without a fresh survey and records made thereon, the proposed register of share-croppers cannot be prepared. There is little possibility, however, that their proposals can be put into practice easily. After the Moghul period, when the Kanungo system as well as the documents prepared by the Kanungos were destroyed, repeated promises of granting tenancy rights were given to the peasantry, from the time of Warren Hastings right up to the present day, only to be broken repeatedly.

We are all too familiar with that history to believe in rapid changes being possible readily.

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Islam As a Factor in Indo-Pak Relations

DEWAN BERINDRANATH

COL. Mohammed Ahmed, an official biographer of President Ayub Khan has reproduced in his book *My Chief* an interesting conversation between his Chief and the late Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in early 1950. President Ayub who was a General at that time is reported to have advised his Prime Minister for taking military action against India. His advice was based not only on what he considered 'growing bellicosity of India', but also on military and strategic considerations which seemed favourable for Pakistan.

But to General Ayub's utter dismay, the Nawabzada brushed aside his suggestion by saying, "while you have in mind only military and strategic considerations, I have to think of the whole of the sub-continent. Have you ever realized what would happen to the Muslims on the other side in case of an all out war?" Col. Mohammed Ahmed has cited this incident to show that while his Chief had a "realistic" approach to Indo-Pak relations, the "politicians" at the time dominated by the refugee elements were obsessed with what he called 'emotional and irrational considerations'.

This shows that of particular importance to the Muslim League leadership of Pakistan was the fact that a large number of Muslims lived in India. No doubt, they had done precious little to save their interests, except for issuing statements and taking

steps which had proved sources of agony and embarrassment to millions of Indian Muslims. Yet, a remote feeling of identity did linger on in the minds of the Pakistani leadership that an all out war with India would directly harm Indian Muslims, and thus should be avoided.

On the other side, a man like Jawahar Lal Nehru, born and bred in the traditions of national unity, could not become oblivious of the ugly repercussions, the conflict could have for the Indian Muslims. He said so quite a number of times in his speeches. He could not also ignore the emotional attachment he had with a large section of the Muslim population, especially the Pathans and the Indian Muslim refugees. This is perhaps as important, if not more, as the feelings he had for the well-being of the Hindu population of East Pakistan.

Love and Hate.

We thus see a peculiar phenomenon of love and hate in the relations of two countries till the old guard leadership remained in power, either in India or in Pakistan. This also explains the fact that in spite of an intense cold war lasting over years, and an actual military confrontation in Kashmir for about 15 months, the avoidance of a full-scale war remained an important object of the policy of the two countries vis-a-vis each other.

With the rise of military leadership in Pakistan, the earlier feelings of kinship which some of the Muslim League leaders had with Indian Muslims had been pushed to the background. This along with the Chinese involve-

ment, American arms aid and an over-simplified view of India's various difficulties provided some of the most important causes leading up to the tragedy of 1965.

One of the fundamental factors, however, was a feeling among the leaders of Pakistan that so little was common between them and India that a war on Kashmir, which they were sure to win, could be regarded as a fair solution of the problem. Unfortunately, the same attitude persists till now in that country. In fact, its dimensions have assumed proportions much more frightening and alarming than even before the conflict.

What is the solution? To answer it, let us first begin with a couple of truisms. The first one of them is that we have to live with Pakistan. The second is that the creation of Pakistan was neither the result of the so-called inevitable clash between the Hindu and the Muslim cultures, nor was it due to any inherent inability of Islam to co-exist with other religions. It was mainly due to the policy of British imperialism which was aimed at encouraging clash of interests between the economically dominant and politically ambitious classes of both communities.

To these two, we may add another truism by saying that since Pakistan has already been created and has been legitimized by our sincere acceptance of the fact, and India has adopted a secular Constitution, the grounds of a conflict on religious basis do not exist, even if some could say that they ever existed.

It also goes without saying that the only hope for the future of over 600 million people of the sub-continent lies in the improve-

This contribution is based on a paper submitted by the author at a seminar "India and Contemporary Islam," held under the auspices of Indian Institute for Advanced Studies, Simla.

ment of relations between the two countries. This in turn is dependent on various factors both material and psychological. For example, it is obvious that even if we wish today, we cannot for all times to come ignore the geo-political dictates of destiny which have moulded the sub-continent into a single economic, strategic and political unit. Without mutual cooperation, India and Pakistan can neither face the danger from without nor tackle the challenge of poverty from within.

Such cooperation will as much depend on concrete steps of political and economic nature, such as a solution of Kashmir and joint scheme for the utilisation of waters of common rivers, as upon emotional and psychological factor. Keeping the past history in mind the psychological and emotional factors seem to be of much greater immediate importance than the steps of essentially political and economic nature.

Strong Footing

In this respect we in India stand upon a very strong footing. When accused by Pakistan of being a Hindu State we can justly point towards our secular Constitution. As compared to us, Pakistan in spite of the facts to the contrary, professes to be a State based upon Islamic ideology. The ideological cold war is thus reduced to a somewhat unreal confrontation between the secular and the Islamic ideologies. In the heat of the controversy, we seem to forget that in India too live about 60 million Muslims, the third largest population bloc in the world. Islamic roots of these Muslims are perhaps deeper than those living in Pakistan. We have, of course, been talking with pride about the fact of having so many Muslims. But this is done either to counter Pakistani allegations of India being a Hindu State and following an anti-Muslim policy, or as a publicity point to popularise ourselves in Muslim countries.

As an integral component of our national life or as an important factor in our relations with Pakistan, the significance of the crucial position Islam occupies in

India is yet to be worked out. Islam, or more precisely speaking Muslims, can play a vital and in fact, decisive role in the improvement of relations between the two countries. The Islamic affinity based upon cultural ties, family connections, and above all, on a very special type of personal affiliations among the Muslims of the sub-continent, can go a long way in providing a feeling of community between India and Pakistan. It is the absence of this feeling of community which has been one of the important factors responsible for the present impasse.

Mother's Agony

How strong this bond of kinship could be is evident from the fact that even during the last conflict in 1965 there were instances where two brothers were found fighting against each other, on the opposite sides. One could not easily imagine the agony of a Muslim mother who was found praying for the safety and the well-being of both her sons. This analogy of a Muslim mother can be taken as a symbol of the unbreakable bonds of kinship between the two countries. But in our pre-occupation with acrimonious debate we seem to have forgotten even her very existence.

Just like the attitude of the Hindu extremist, who wants to disown any impact of Muslim culture and religion, the leadership in Pakistan for various socio-political and economic reasons, seems eager to repudiate all the ties of our common heritage. Yet, even the Pakistani leaders have not been able to escape history. Attempts by Pakistani historians and intellectuals to do away or to Pakistanize anything connected with India and our common culture have borne little fruit. Perhaps as a reaction to this exercise in futility is the emergence of a new trend among Pakistani historians and intellectuals to own wholesale everything on the sub-continent connected with the Islamic past. Not only Aurangzeb, but even Muslim rulers of Gujarat and Deccan thus become the great Pakistani rulers, and cultural figures like Khusrô are owned as the leaders of the

Pakistani culture.

On a more popular plan, the attachment to the Indian past is expressed in the deep and continued reverence shown to the great Muslim divines of India like Hazrat Khwaja Nizammuddin Aulia and Hazrat Khwaja Mainuddin Chisti. Since chances of pilgrimage to their Mazars in India, have become difficult and indeed rare, the tendency now is to have local "Gaddis" of such Dargahs in Pakistan. Recently for example, there arose a dispute in Karachi among four claimants for the Sajjada Nashini of the Dargah at Hazrat Nizamuddin in New Delhi.

The adoption of Urdu, which is not the language of any region of Pakistan, as also of Bengali, which is common to both India and Pakistan, shows that, however hard one may try one cannot possibly disown one's heritage.

In East Pakistan especially, this trend is more evident and Indian cultural heritage is being owned on a more secular basis with a pride due to it. But since our survey is not connected with Indo-Pak relations as a whole, we confine ourselves to the tendencies in West Pakistan alone which is politically and culturally the more dominant partner in the affairs of Pakistan.

Indian Attitude

Thus coming back to West Pakistan, one cannot fail to note that a good deal of work is being done there on personalities like Maulana Azad, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and other nationalist Ulemas, in spite of the fact that they were bitterly opposed to the creation of Pakistan. In Lahore, a publishing and research institute has been established under the name of Abul Kalam Academy for the collection and publications of Maulana Azad's works.

The Indian attitude towards such attempts has either been of apathy and neglect, or of a self-righteous superiority complex based on a cynical delight over the feeling that Pakistanis have not yet been able to find their identity. This attitude is neither fair to Pakistan nor as a matter of fact, is helpful for us. We must instead welcome and encourage

all such efforts aiming at stressing the common Islamic affiliations between the two countries.

A strong movement towards liberalism, and modernization in Islamic thought is in progress in both the countries. In India it is taking place because the Indian Muslims, as Dr. Zakir Hussain had once said, have for the first time in the history been placed in the position of being "co-rulers" in a secular democracy, instead of being the rulers or the ruled. The attempts to adjust themselves to the situation and at the same time face the challenge of forces of science, technology and modernism are bound to encourage intellectual trends of great significance and benefit for the development of Islamic thought in Pakistan.

Trend Towards Liberalism

In Pakistan, Muslim thinkers and intellectuals have to face the challenge of a modern Statehood. The process of adjustment between the dogmas, some of which are supposed to have been the very logic of existence of Pakistan as a State, and the realities of modern world has already produced many a dilemma for the religious thinkers as well as political leaders. The trend in this confrontation between the modern realities and attachment with medieval ideas is unmistakable towards liberalism.

This was initiated by Mr. Jinnah himself. In his inaugural address to the Pakistan National Assembly he made it clear that he wanted a fully secular and modern state in which there could not be any place either for a Muslim or a Hindu in the political sense of the term. He was categorical in stating that from points of view of law and politics, all citizens of Pakistan constituted one nation and there could not be any distinction among them.

President Ayub in spite of his recent obsessions with the so-called dangers of Hindu imperialism has also been taking a remarkably modern attitude in matters like family laws, birth control and the supremacy of secular law. His recent theories about the so-called Islamic

nationalism do of course look dogmatic and retrogressive. But they could be treated as an attempt by a desperate politician to play to the gallery. More significant is the fact that he has consistently refused to translate such slogans of his into any legal or constitutional framework.

Interestingly enough, even the so-called reactionary and obscurantist elements in Pakistan are taking a remarkably secular and modern attitude on some of the most important problems of the day. Maulana Moudodi of Jamat-i-Islami for example, has declared that Islam is incompatible with any form of dictatorship and in the realities of modern world, parliamentary democracy is the best suited institution for the purposes of fulfilling Islamic aspirations.

All this could be of utmost significance for the development of Islamic thought in India. The result of this contact could thus be, that while the influence of Indian Islam on Pakistani thinking would help in checking chauvinistic tendency in that country, Pakistani experiments of co-relating dictates of religion with modern realities could provide a pertinent example for the solution of a number of problems of Muslim Law and society in India.

Some Barriers

Unfortunately, situation in India has been such, that there did exist some barriers against adopting such an approach, till very recently. But the present trend is definitely towards a more rational and liberal direction as compared to a few years ago. Muslims have started playing an important role in Indian politics. It has become customary in this regard to point to the election of a great Muslim scholar of the stature of Dr. Zakir Hussain as the President. In some ways, of still greater significance is the fact that in India of 1967, a Zakir Husain could be elected President in spite of the apparent weakness of the party which sponsored him. Compared to this, in spite of the strength associated with the overwhelming popularity of Jawaharlal Nehru

and the nearly totalitarian influence of the Congress party, Maulana Azad could not even be considered for the Governor-Generalship or for the Presidency. It is well known that Nehru strongly desired it.

The difference between 1947 and 1967 is thus a very important one for the Indian Muslims. It not only shows the growing strength of secular forces in India, but also of the position of importance Muslims are likely to occupy in the Indian body politic. The crucial role Muslims have played in some States like Kerala, U.P., Bihar and West Bengal in tilting the fortunes of political parties during the General Election is another pertinent example.

No Ground For Fear

In such a situation there exists little ground for a fear complex among the Muslims. Without fear they can adopt any attitude they like, on problems including that of relations with Pakistan. Muslims in fact could render patriotic service to India's national interest by providing human channels of communication with Pakistan.

Moreover, with the rise of local leadership in Pakistan and the stabilization of political situation in India, the earlier position of Pakistan acting as a self-styled protector of the interests of Indian Muslims in whose misery she seems to have developed a vested interest, has become obsolete and redundant. Especially after the conflict of 1965, it must have become clear to the Pakistani leaders, almost with a dramatic impact, that Indian Muslims neither need nor desire any interference from them in the internal politics of their country.

This can help Indian Muslims to break some of the self-imposed mental shackles. Towards Pakistan, too, they can adopt a more rational, honest, sympathetic and a self-confident approach. The fact that the official Indian policy is sincerely desirous of having good relations with Pakistan, could provide an added impetus to the belief that the Islamic link personified by the

60 million strong Indian Muslim community could be a positive factor of great importance in Indian policy towards Pakistan.

It can be said that acceptance of an Islamic link of a positive nature would as much depend on Indian attitude as upon Pakistan herself. It is thus argued that since Pakistan insists that without the solution of the Kashmir problem to its satisfaction no cooperation between the two countries can take place, it is futile to imagine that any psychological approach could bear fruit. Mention can also be made of the recent anti-Indian tirade by the Pakistani politicians and the publicity media.

Main Cause of Conflict

As a matter of fact, it is to counter all such tendencies that Islamic link between India and Pakistan is sought to be emphasized. It is in India's national interest not to pay too much attention to the periodic outbursts of frustration of the Pakistani leadership. We must go on patiently and systematically in our efforts to build as many bridges of understanding as possible.

We should, therefore, not be unduly excited about the Pakistani threats, nor we need feel disheartened over Pakistan's apparent refusal to respond to our friendly overtures. As a senior partner in the common destiny of the sub-continent, having a vital interest not only in the maintenance of territorial status quo, but also in the peace and stability of the whole region, it is incumbent on our part to go on opening maximum avenues of dialogue with the people and if possible with the leaders of Pakistan. Only then India will be able to create a body of people in Pakistan whose vested interests may lie in having good relations with India. As has already been said, the main cause of the conflict of 1965 was the absence of any group in Pakistan which had a vested interest in peace with India.

The question now arises, what can we do about it? This would demand both a long-range and

a short-range approach. The long-range approach demands a change of our basic attitude towards Pakistan. We should not feel shy of owning the common Islamic heritage of the two countries. Indian Muslims particularly will have to adopt an attitude which clearly demarcates between a deep sense of patriotism towards their own country and a sincere desire for the well-being of our closest neighbour, Pakistan.

Interlinked with this approach is the future of some of the important manifestations of Muslim culture such as the Urdu language, and important Muslim institutions like the Muslim University at Aligarh. India can make little use of Islam as a positive factor in her foreign policy, if her politicians follow an unsympathetic attitude towards Muslim problems at home. The growing importance of Muslims in Indian politics in itself is a guarantee that we can visualize the future with a fair degree of optimism.

As regards short-range measures, the situation is complicated because of Pakistan's refusal to open any channels of non-official communications. Yet, it can do immense good if India goes on persisting in her efforts towards improvement in means of communications and transport between the two countries, free exchange of books and periodicals and establishment of mutual trade relations and facilities for easy travel on the entire sub-continent.

All this will not only help normalization of relations on a general plane but would directly help in re-emphasizing and in fact re-establishing an Islamic link which at the moment looks shaken, if not broken. This in turn, could play a major role in the improvement of Indo-Pak relations. As a gesture of her sincerity, India can provide generous facilities to all the Pakistanis desirous of making pilgrimage to holy shrines and places in India. We should also welcome Pakistani scholars for study both in our secular as well as theological institutions.

Immediate Need

An immediate but imperative need in this regard is for our universities to interest themselves with Pakistani studies either as an independent subject or as an important part of Islamic studies. It is indeed a pity that in spite of our growing awareness of the importance of Islamic studies on the one hand, and need for improvement of relations with Pakistan on the other, not much thought has been given to the problems of study and research of what actually is happening in Pakistan.

The study of Pakistani problems, especially in relation to the position and role of Islam as represented in its various cultural, religious and social manifestations could provide valuable guidelines to our efforts towards creating a feeling of community of destiny between the twin nations of India and Pakistan.

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Vietnam And After

D. F. FLEMING

AMERICAN foreign policy in East Asia is a disastrous mixture of anti-communist ideology, containing China as a great power; smashing guerilla war, once and for all; economic imperialism; belief in our duty to police the world and in our invincible power; step by step involvement; and, finally, blind leadership. It must always be remembered also that all of these drives have behind them a vast military-industrial complex, ready at all times to supply the power and to profit from the successive wars of *Pax Americana*.

Manifest Destiny

Throughout our history we have faced West with great confidence. Beginning as colonials on our Eastern seaboard in the early sixteen hundreds, we gradually subdued the mid-continent and took it from the Indians and the Mexicans. It was our Manifest Destiny, our leaders told us, and all believed it. Arriving on the Pacific Ocean we acquired Alaska and Hawaii and seized the Philippines from Spain in 1898.

Toward Europe we had an

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inferiority complex. We had fled from her shores, in great numbers down to World War I, but we faced West with full confidence, so much so that the Texas frontiersman who now occupies the White House can rationalize his terrible predicament in Vietnam by talking expansively of our mission in Asia, even proposing to bring the Great Society to Asia, while it is withering at home.

Of course our manifest destiny is another term for American imperialism. A long time friend of the United States, Sir Denis Brogan, accepted us as "the new imperial power" in a recent series of lectures. He did not discuss the powerful expansive forces generated by our dynamic economy, with immense profits constantly demanding investment and reinvestment, but he did find a great deal of our activity abroad to be "innocently imperialist in the sense that it does expect the world to turn American."

He warned also against our pre-Vietnam assumption of our omnipotence, saying: "The world cannot be made, by any exercise of American wisdom or power, a safe and agreeable place to live in.... There are many problems in the world which the American people did not create and cannot solve." He cautioned, too, that "the leaders of the new countries cannot be conjured out of the earth by the most massive doses of military aid or straight economic aid."¹

Pax Americana

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, until recently at least, our current leaders felt it to be their duty to police the world, certainly the "free world".

All possible doubt about the determination of the Johnson Administration to suppress any violent outbreak of social discontent anywhere in the "free world" was removed by the Pentagon's current proposal to build a fleet of 30 FDLS—"fast deployment logistic ships". Each would be filled with heavy military equipment for two divisions—helicopters, trucks, mobile guns, etc.—to be stationed in harbours or cruising around the world, ready to dash to any "trouble spot" to meet the C5A jumbo jet transport planes that will be ready in two years to carry 700 American troops each and rain them down wherever discontent raises its head.

Fortunately, that impeccable conservative, Senator Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has blocked this fully revealing proposal, for the time being, telling the Senate on March 21, 1967, that "we should not unilaterally assume the function of policing the world.... If it is easy to go anywhere and do anything, we will always be going somewhere and doing something."

Nothing could be more painfully evident, but Senator Russell's time in the Senate is short and the Pentagon, from McNamara on down, is determined to press the proposal in succeeding Congresses. Only a national rising of disillusioned citizens can really block this final preparation to forever forbid all revolution in the "free world", lest it turn Red or expropriate our properties.

Since the vast underdeveloped world will seethe increasingly as its social problems grow more

acute, and since other peoples will continue to assert their right to settle their own problems, nothing but a national decision to turn off the Imperial Way can avert a long series of Vietnams.

American policy toward East Asia has been dominated since the end of World War II by deep disappointment over the Communist takeover in China and by a firm determination to "contain" both Chinese Communism and China as a great power.

Stimulated by the Korean War we have built a tremendous ring of armed power of every kind around China—in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Okinawa, Formosa, Quemoy and Matsu, and now in South Vietnam and Thailand—backed by the immense strength of our Seventh Fleet, constantly patrolling China's coasts. This mighty encirclement, supported by an attempted economic and diplomatic blockade of China, has not unnaturally produced an angry, sullen dragon, convulsed with a great effort to maintain its Communist purity and pushing its atomic and nuclear armaments with astonishing speed.

Red Monolith

The American attempt to contain and confine the most numerous and perhaps the most gifted people on earth was grounded originally in the belief that the entire Communist world was a giant monolith, commanded and directed by a super-brain in Moscow. This was never true, but the idea persisted even after the death of Stalin, early in 1953, and long after the rapid splitting apart of Russia and China was evident. Long after the separate evolution of Communism in each East European Communist state was manifest, beginning with Yugoslavia in 1948, our leaders continued to talk of "the Communist conspiracy". As late as January-February 1966 Mr. Rusk was talking about "the Communists" and "their world revolution".²

It became constantly clearer that the law of social evolution is inexorable and that it works relentlessly in both Communist and capitalist countries, yet we

clung to the myth of the Red monolith. This was because there was continuing fear of Communist power and because the Communist abolition of private profits was regarded as the ultimate sin which must be eternally fought, since any extension of Communism contracted the area in which private profits could be freely earned.

Vietnam

It followed that after World War II the people of Vietnam could not be permitted to win their war of independence from France, because they had Communist leaders. We therefore poured nearly three billion dollars worth of military and economic aid for France into Vietnam and Secretary of State Dulles did all that one utterly determined man could do to prevent France from making peace. When he failed he refused to accept the Geneva settlement of 1954 which divided Vietnam purely for the temporary purpose of liquidating the war and our government worked to make the division permanent.

This had three effects: (1) it frustrated independence for the South Vietnamese; (2) it reimposed a feudalistic social system on the South Vietnamese peasants, involving the restoration of hated landlord rule; and (3) our mandarin tyrant Diem plunged the country into bitter and widespread revolt.

After his fall, other alleged "governments" in Saigon failed and in desperation President Johnson began the bombing of North Vietnam on February 7, 1965, alleging that the whole trouble was due to North Vietnamese "aggression". It was claimed that the trickle of aid in men and supplies coming to the aid of the rebels in South Vietnam constituted aggression against the "nation" of South Vietnam.

This is the great myth under which the tragedy of Vietnam grinds on. There is no nation in South Vietnam, either legally or actually. There are the old possessing classes, the 700,000 Catholic refugees from North Vietnam who came South after 1954, liberal patriots in the cities who want a

new order and the peasant majority which wants no more tyranny from Saigon. Certainly the bulk of the South Vietnamese want independence and liberation from the corrupt and reactionary South Vietnamese army, which fights so little and deserts so freely. It is highly significant that only one officer in this army above the rank of Lt. Colonel did not fight on the side of the French during the war of independence.³ All the others did, including General Ky, and to the Vietnamese nationalists they are all traitors.

War for Independence

That the great majority of the Vietnamese are still fighting for their independence is clear to most observers. UN Secretary-General U Thant has no doubt about it. Nationalism, not Communism, inspires the resistance; he says, and "the war cannot be brought to an end until this fundamental fact is recognized."⁴

Nothing less than a burning nationalism could have sustained the Vietnamese, South and North, under our daily bombing for the past two and a half years, during which incredible tonnages of bombs and bullets, napalm and crop destroyers—every kind of fire except atomic—have been dropped on them.

As the spectacle has unfolded, few people abroad have been able to believe that the little brown people under the bombers are aggressors in their own land. Yet no government, however mighty, can admit that it is an aggressor and our leaders have called the North Vietnamese "the aggressors" so long that they may believe their own charge by this time.

To believe otherwise is to admit their own blindness and ineptitude. Johnson and Rusk, McNamara and the Generals—all had seen the indecisive and counter-productive effects of the wholesale bombing of Germany from 1941 to 1945. They had all observed during the Korean War that the lines of communication of an Asiatic Army in favourable terrain could not be destroyed by bombing. With total control of the air over North Korea we could not do it. Yet they blindly and confidently

tried to do the same thing in Vietnam.

Even from the standpoint of self-preservation as leaders, they might have remembered that the Korean War put the Democrats out of power in Washington in 1952, and purely as a skilled politician Johnson might have seen the unwisdom of making the Democrats "the war party" for the fourth time in this century.

If they thought about these things at all, they must have decided that the destructive power at their command was now so tremendous that they could not fail.

Escalation

Besides, they had the new theory of escalation. All you had to do was to start the escalation machine and keep it running until the adversary yielded. They never thought that a little Oriental people would fight on to the point of annihilation, a point which is now visibly in sight, as the *New York Times* warned recently.⁵

In the early days of the bombing of North Vietnam it was frequently suggested in Washington that they would soon "get the message" but they didn't, and as the weeks wore on, President Johnson made a formal address, on April 7, 1965, in which he declared that his will must prevail. "We will not be defeated," he avowed. "We will use our power with wisdom and restraint, *but we will use it.*" (Italics added). Mr. Johnson is a proud man. Indeed, Walter Lippmann, the distinguished dean of American journalism, believes that "the root of his troubles has been pride, a stubborn refusal to recognize the country's limitations or his own limitations. Such pride goeth before destruction. . . . and an haughty spirit before a fall."⁶

The same sense of deep foreboding is shared by the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, who says that in Vietnam we are moving "step by step to tragic disaster." We cannot win, he says, regardless of the number of "successful air strikes and clean-up operations we complete," since each step increasingly isolates us from the rest of the

world and falsifies our ideals. "Month by month and year by year we strengthen our foes as we use more violent power against them. Everybody in the world sees it, protests it and is ignored as we push on blindly to disaster."⁷

We are in the midst of a spectacular demonstration of the ancient maxim that "where there is no vision the people perish".

But to stop the bombing without bringing Ho Chi Minh bruised and bleeding to the conference table would be a confession of failure for Mr. Johnson and his aides, so they periodically stage peace offensives, sending missions all over the world to plead for someone to negotiate with. I want to negotiate, the President complained on April 27, "But I just can't negotiate with myself."⁸

Of course it has long been evident that he cannot get negotiations without stopping the bombing, definitely, and he will not do that unless Hanoi will agree to stop supporting its troops in South Vietnam. This, in turn, is something that no undefeated government could do, as Senator Charles Percy pointed out in an outstanding speech on April 22. He condemned as unrealistic the demand to Hanoi "virtually to abandon its forces in the South."⁹

To End All Guerrilla Wars

So the bombing of North and South Vietnam thunders on, and there is a further reason why it must. Washington is determined to prove that guerrilla based wars cannot succeed. Vietnam's General Giap defeated the French by this method. Mao Tse Tung won China by it and under the spur of our encirclement China has planned a campaign to defeat capitalism throughout the hungry Southern hemisphere by guerrilla action. Therefore, it is said, the issue must be decided now. Washington cannot admit that its incredibly mechanized arsenals of destruction can be defeated by little Vietnamese men on the ground, fighting with what they can carry.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. writes that our tragic entanglement in Vietnam is not due to deliberate consideration, "but through a series of small decisions" when

each proposed step plausibly promised success, and when other high priority crises claimed attention. There is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in this.¹⁰ Yet certain decisions have been long range and decisive.

The determination of Mr. Dulles and his aides to prevent the independence of Vietnam under Communist leadership was crucial, and every succeeding Administration has sustained it. Similarly, President Kennedy, who knew well that each small step in Vietnam was "like taking a drink", nevertheless took several. In particular he was determined to work out methods of defeating a guerrilla war and he instituted a vast apparatus of counter-insurgency training against guerrilla action which presently attempts to train the free world against insurgency.

This whole concept is now at stake in Vietnam, or at least the Pentagon thinks it is. So the Vietnamese fight on with "idealism and dedication" against the "galling status quo" in Saigon which is the creation of Washington, to quote Neil Sheehan, ace

HANOI

SANTOKH SINGH DHIR

Far away
Twinkles a lamp,
Frowns and fumes
A black cobra
An eye-sore to it.

The lamp
The night it pierces
It pierces the cobra's heart.
Outraged cobra
It frowns, it fumes
Again and again
The lamp it attacks;
Napalm bomb
Rain of fire
Hisses the bloody tongue
Extinguish but the lamp won't—

Foolish cobra,
Donkey's wit!
A lamp it is not
It is the Sun.

(Translated by Darshan Nat from Punjabi).

correspondent of the *New York Times* in Vietnam.¹¹

America in Vietnam

What we are doing in Vietnam has been indelibly recorded in a series of articles by the author Mary McCarthy.¹² She found the American presence simply overwhelming—Saigon full of Western cars and white men, cheap new office buildings arising, hardly anything native to buy but every kind of American goods—a giant PX by day and a pseudo-World's Fair appearance at night. In the villages she saw zealous young Americans, all indoctrinated to believe that North Vietnam is "the aggressor", engaged in spreading the American way of life, especially free enterprise. American Aid was being "applied, first of all, to achieve stability, that is, political stability for the present ruling groups," which had always been corrupt. Everywhere she heard the same stories of graft and corruption at the expense of the poor.

From the air she saw the country dotted with fires and burned over areas, from the bombing, noted plane and helicopter crews "alert for the slightest sign of movement below" and marvelled that the Anglo-Saxon sense of fair play had so atrophied. If a Vietcong threw a bomb that was an atrocity, but if an American bombed civilians in a village their deaths were always accidental. "Each time it was an accident". An estimated onequarter of the peasant population would be killed or die of war related causes.

Her over-all conclusion was that "The worst thing that could happen to our country would be to win this war," and a similar conclusion has been reached by Senator McGovern, one of the most clear-sighted and courageous men in American life today. "Vietnam", he says, "is degenerating into a defeat for America whether we 'win' or 'lose' on the battlefield.... Our deepening involvement in Vietnam represents the most tragic moral failure in our national experience. This mightiest nation in history...is, with allegedly good motives, devastating an impoverished little

State and ravishing the people whose freedom we would protect.... We are being pulled step by step into a jungle quicksand.... a fearful path which our ablest generals have warned against for decades."

There was, continued McGovern, "no American interest, no issue of political freedom, no moral imperative for sending our troops and bombers into Vietnam" and "no reason for placing our power in opposition to basic historical forces, including the current revolutionary nationalism and social ferment which is convulsing most of Asia."¹³

This is a stern judgment but a just one. President Johnson and his aides have shamed and disgraced us, a Christian people, by surpassing the worst days of European colonialism. They have professed to defend the freedom of the South Vietnamese against Communist regimentation, while fostering in Saigon an incredible mixture of corruption and misrule. They have brought to a devastating conclusion the doctrine issued by President Truman forbidding all popular revolutions, lest they might turn Red.

Talking liberty when their purpose was power, they have denied the American dream itself. The principle that every people has a right to revolt against oppressive government is the very tap root of American history, and the beacon light which has guided all men until lately.

Tragic Awakening

Fortunately, the American people are awakening to the full enormity of the disaster into which they have been led. In mid-June Anthony Carew, Chief Foreign Correspondent of the Conservative London *Daily Mail*, made a 6,000 mile tour of the United States and published his findings on June 13 and 14. Everywhere he saw the agony of a people "who have been half led, half pushed" into policing the world. All over America one heard the questions: "How long can it go on? Where can we draw the line?" The "terrible embroilment in Vietnam" was "reaching out its jungly fingers and touching the lives of every

ordinary American" and "the prospect of this sort of thing being extended indefinitely and in many parts of the world was appalling everyone." It was "clear that Americans of all types and races and political opinions are beset by doubt and a sheer uncomplicated fear of what their nation has taken on.... They question the whole role America has assumed.... For many the Great American Dream has turned into a nightmare."

"America" Carew's report continued, "is a divided nation. The most powerful country in the world is presently engaged in a kind of moral civil war, and the damage now being done to the very fabric of America will take generations to repair if it can ever be repaired."

"Every American", he added, "whoever he is and whatever he is, is obsessed with Vietnam. It colours his thinking on other matters, warps his judgment and twists his attitude to the rest of the world."

However it ended, he predicted that Vietnam will be "the costliest war in history," as "the expenditure of blood and cash and human spirit mounts higher each day." Outside Washington "the enormity of what the Vietnam mess is doing to America is everywhere apparent. And.... there are many sensible men who can discern, not too far away, an American physically exhausted and morally bankrupt." Those who had always considered the bombing indefensible were now joined by others who see that it is not even successful, but they were being attacked by a strong revival of McCarthyism.

In Washington, Carew reported that "The White House lies in a torpor," with no apparent policy except to stumble on, without realizing or caring that "America's spiritual credit is lower in the world than it has ever been." The Administration was "a body of tired, spent men, more interested in saving face than saving South East Asia from Communism." The President was "tragically out of his depth".

One must have a modicum of pity for Mr. Johnson as a human being, as the great Escalation

Machine which he started so suddenly and so confidently destroys so much of Vietnam, along with so much that was promising in American life. But unfortunately he has shaken confidence in the democratic process itself by gaining election, overwhelmingly, as the man who would not escalate the war in Vietnam and then promptly proceeding to do so. Also, James Reston of the *New York Times* has recently predicted on July 1, 1967, that under Johnson's leadership the voters will be "overwhelmed by all the accumulated rubbish of the centuries in the 1968 election campaign."

It will not be easy to get a new leader who will withdraw from globalism and begin to repair the Vietnam damage. The election could even give us warhawk leadership and it is not too late to escalate the war into a global conflict. One of the marvels of our policy is that our leaders profess unbounded faith in the law of the falling dominoes, yet they assume that they can apply endless, cold-blooded destruction to a red domino with the indefinite acquiescence of China and Russia, both of which are competing for the leadership of communists everywhere and committed to help Vietnam.

It has to be recognized also that there are very powerful forces which are committed to subduing Vietnam. In his Farewell Address as President, General Eisenhower warned in all solemnity that America might come to be dominated by what he called the military-industrial complex, a union of the military officers and the great industrial and business interests which profit from war contracts. He saw its influence extending into every government office—national, state and local.

Today the military have their prestige committed to "winning" in Vietnam and the war contracts are bringing great profits and high wages to their allies in industry and business. This combination of interests is so powerful that it would require a very strong President to over-rule it. As Eisenhower recognized, this is a permanent problem of great gravity, for as Senator Fulbright said recently, the military-industrial complex

considers Vietnam to be "a nice little war—not too much killing, but a big help to the economy."¹⁴

Nevertheless, in early May a staff report of the Senate Republican Party Committee was highly critical of our involvement in Vietnam, concluding that we were really fighting Vietnamese nationalism. It was reliably reported that the report represented "the feeling of a powerful 'coalition' of conservative politicians and moderate financiers and business men that the war may quite possibly ruin the country, and that it most certainly threatens their economic and political interests." It is possible that this group sees that the dominance of the military industrial combination represents "a real and present danger of disaster."¹⁵

Never Again?

There is hope, too, in the reaction of the American people to the onset of the Israeli-Arab war. The London *Sunday Telegraph* reported, on May 28, 1967 that "Nearly every American was in some degree hawklike (about the Middle East), but the consensus was that, after Vietnam, there must never be another lonely crusade." General Eisenhower had added his oracular voice to this thesis.

What was lacking, said David S. Browder of the *Washington Post*, was moral leadership in the presidency, the voice of wisdom that would "utter some of the truths this sorely tried, angry and guilt-ridden country needs to hear, if it is to save itself from the quicksand of fear, distrust, selfishness and hypocrisy, in which it is sinking."¹⁶

Altogether, there is now ground for hope that the American people may escape from the escalation train, on which they have been riding so long, before it reaches the fiery furnace. If they do, we can begin to repair both our damaged life at home and our place in the world.

If we are to make a real turn away from a succession of Vietnams and rapid national decline, it will have to be through the acceptance of principles such as these :

1. That a lasting settlement for Vietnam involves :

(a) A stoppage of American efforts to control it. This does not mean a sudden withdrawal.

(b) An announced willingness to negotiate with the National Liberation Front (the Vietcong) and to admit it to a significant role in a provisional government.

(c) Elections strongly supervised by the United Nations to produce a much more broadly based government, one not controlled by the generals and capable of preventing the restoration of feudalistic misrule over the peasants. After these ancient abuses have been ended in China and North Vietnam they cannot be preserved in South Vietnam.

(d) A willingness to permit such a government to work out its own arrangements with North Vietnam for renewed intercourse and for an eventual federal union. There is strong evidence that the NLF itself does not desire any sudden one-sided union with the North.

(e) The UN presence in the transition period should be strong, to assist in the settlement of millions of helpless uprooted refugees and to supervise the withdrawal of foreign forces.¹⁷

2. *The United States has no mission to enforce a world Pax Americana.* The two world wars have destroyed Western imperialism and it cannot be restored. Nor can communist imperialism make headway. The rivalry of democratic-capitalism with communism precludes a world police role for either. If the world is to be policed, it must be done by a strengthened United Nations.

3. *It is not necessary for American capitalism to suppress social discontent or revolt throughout the "free world" in order to progress.* It can find ways of doing business with new regimes, even Communist ones. European capitalists are doing it successfully. Moreover, our own country still needs vast capital expenditure, especially for socially useful purposes. The backlog of needs for reconstruction at home is immense.

4. *Our country must solve the problem of living with the new China in a mature, long-visioned manner.* Though she appears to

be a very dangerous neighbour now, she must gradually be brought into the world community and made a part of it. We must also relax our military encirclement of her in time to make it unnecessary for her to force her way out a decade or two hence, at the cost of the final world war.

In a far-sighted current article Alastair Buchan, Director of the British Institute for Strategic Studies, foresees a future decision by India and Japan "to take Sino-Asian relations into their own hands." He does not suggest any role for the United States in managing Asia, a natural omission, since every Asiatic people knows that it must find ways of living in peace with the awakened, rapidly developing Chinese giant.¹⁸

5. *There is still a great role for the United States to play in the world*, as a leader in organizing it for peace and in united action to meet the crucial problems of hunger, underdevelopment and exploding population, which menace all humanity.

1. D. W. Brogan, *Worlds in Conflict*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1967 pp. 5, 33, 57, 60, 126.

2. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy*, Boston, 1967, p. 68.

3. Jonathan Randall, from Saigon, *The International Herald-Tribune*, June 12, 1967, p. 7.

4. *The International Herald-Tribune*, April 28, 1967.

5. Andrew Kopkind, "Report from Washington," *The New Statesman*, May 5, 1967, p. 606.

6. *The Observer*, May 21, 1967, p. 11.

7. *The International Herald-Tribune*, April 28, 1967, p. 2.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *The Guardian* (Manchester), April 24, 1967.

10. Schlesinger, *The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy*, pp. 22-3, 31.

11. *Ibid.* p. 44-5.

12. First published in the *New York Review of Books*. Reprinted in *The Observer*, April 30, May 7 and 14, 1967.

13. *The Guardian* (Manchester), April 26, 1967.

14. *The International Herald-Tribune*, May 5, 1967, p. 1.

15. Kopkind, *Supra*, p. 606.

16. *The International Herald-Tribune*, May 26, 1967.

17. I have drawn considerably on Senator McGovern's excellent four points for a settlement.

18. Alastair Buchan, "How the Asians Will Live with China", *The Times* (London), May 12, 1967.

Portrait of Recession

VIKRAM

GENERALLY when slump or recession afflicts a country, there are conditions of over-production in terms of demand for most commodities. To offload the stocks, producers reduce prices, which impinge upon profits thus dissuading them from producing more. Accordingly, in a perfectly competitive economy, recession is supposed to be a corrective for the economic health of the nation.

The Paradox

Some concessions to the imperfect market conditions apart, the current recessionary conditions in this country lend themselves to no simple explanation. These are complex indeed. With the fall in the demand for a few items, many engineering industries which had built capacities in anticipation of increasing Plan demands face the prospect of stock-piling. But rather than sell those items at lower prices, either within the country or abroad, most industrialists propose to seek the option of closure. In certain quarters an interesting argument is adduced to justify even a rise in prices. It is said that since the demand has fallen, due to rigidities of cost of production and to safeguard profitability of the enterprise, there is a case for putting up the prices of concerned products.

It is worth attempting to unravel this complex 'inflationary-recession' conditions, which on the face of it, appear a paradox. At the outset, it may be said that the view describing the current recession as a very short-lived phenomenon till we have a good harvest this year is wishful thinking. The seeds of the present difficulty are deep seated, and only a major change in economic policies including a fresh look on the planning process can relieve us of the malady. In this task the responsibility of the private sector is as vital as that of the public sector.

The causes leading to this economic malaise can be grouped as long-term and short-term causes. Taking the long-term causes first: we ventured to go in for a socialist type Plan from 1956 with emphasis on heavy industries without either rationalising existing capacities of consumer goods industries or even controlling distribution of necessities of life. We started with heavy dependence on foreign credits without putting our export-oriented industries on a competitive position internationally so as to facilitate clearance of foreign liabilities. And we operated a mixed economy without strictly defining the role and terms of cooperation with the private sector.

The result has been that compared to capital goods industries, the rate of growth of consumer goods industries has been unjustifiably low; and whatever of the latter was produced was decided by rich consumers rather than the masses. Today, while there is a fall in the demand for many capital goods and luxury consumer items, the demand for necessities is as clamorous as ever. The fall in the demand for capital goods and luxury items has short-term causes and will be discussed later.

The emphasis on heavy industries did not change the structure of the export trade. Here dependence has continued to be on traditional items, broadly grouped under agro-based industries and textiles. The reasons for our poor performance on the export front are three-fold; (i) debacle in agriculture immediately due to prolonged drought but basically due to ill-conceived production policies; (ii) out-dated machinery making products uncompetitive; and (iii) faddish outlook regarding location and scale of production of export items.

Devaluation of the Indian rupee went tangentially without promot-

ing the cause of exports. And currently a sluggish export trade is a contributory factor to the recessionary conditions developing in the economy.

The simple truth about exports is that in foreign markets, Indian products are neither of good quality nor cheap compared to similar products from elsewhere. One reason is that while even the country of small industries, Japan, is going fast towards changing to large-scale production in respect of export items, we continue to prepare dissertations on the export potentials of the small-scale sector. Again, in the case of a few items, sound principles of location are ignored to pamper certain regional interests. Among existing industries one may mention sugar.

There has been much mutual accusation by the private and public sectors but no healthy competition. At present both sectors appear in aggressive postures, of course for different reasons. Fourth Plan recess—one only hopes it is not holiday—as regards public spending in certain developmental schemes has put a number of private sector industries out of gear, showing the nature of dependence of the private sector on the public sector. And the private sector's answer to the concern of a few State Governments for Labour is "Capital on Strike".

Among short-term causes, the implication of failure of rains cannot be over-emphasised. In fact, it is the key to run-away prices of most consumer goods, both food items and manufactured goods. How can there be freezing of wages unless the cost of living, over half of which is based on food items, is controlled?

The possibility is that to cash in on the adversity caused by drought, black money circulating in the country changed its favoured items of investment from some manufactured goods and real estate to foodgrains. In the circumstances hoarding of foodgrains has aggravated the situation.

There is a strong view in certain quarters that the current recessionary situation is a very short-run phenomenon, and with better monsoons this year the economy will turn the corner. This appears

to be not only too optimistic a view but also too simplified and explanation of the slackness in the economy. There is a time-lag between a good harvest (after two to three bad ones) and the creation of confident condition in the economy. It is just possible that during the first one or two years an average farmer continues to feel a scare of drought and not dislodge his foodgrains stocks.

Although adverse weather had its effect on the size and shape of the Plan, it is improbable that, with the current thinking on the role of the Planning Commission, the revival of all investments including those having impact on the engineering industries which are dependent upon Government orders, will follow good harvests. In fact, these are independent decisions to a large extent. Only a deliberate Government policy in this direction will help.

There is urgent need for a new look at the country's industrial

structure. Our concern for dispersal of economic power notwithstanding, mergers in a number of industries should be encouraged, export items getting top priority.

Then, in the circumstances of shortage of capital, there is need for standardisation of many consumer items. This will not only cut down cost of production, but will also create an unutilised fund of saving, which can be diverted to fruitful uses. If recent proposals for diversification of production by industry mean more types and qualities of products rather than finding more than one or two purchasers of their products such a move should be strongly resisted.

Lastly, if the mixed economy has to continue, the public sector should soon attain a position in a few important consumer goods industries where the private sector cannot hold it to ransom. Some vital agro-based industries is one such case.

CACO Politics

T. D. S.

QUITE often captains of industry emerge from the ranks of traders. And having reached that stature they consider it unnecessary to have interests in business. Not so in India.

Currently it is believed by many a manufacturer that rather than production, distribution is the surest and more remunerative way of earning. The affairs of the Cement Allocation and Co-ordination Organisation (CACO) which have recently been brought to light by some members of Parliament should be read in this perspective.

Now for quite sometime cement interests in the country have not shown the required interest to increase production. Time and again they have raised the issue of revision of prices, and time and again they showed dissatisfaction with the present dispensation. Even the deliberations of the Tariff Commission could not set at rest this controversy.

The stock difficulties of the cement manufacturers have been

labour costs and inefficient technology. Dissatisfaction with local plants and machinery is another argument. The sum total of the entire controversy was that neither the production of the commodity rose sufficiently to meet increasing demand, nor did the prices come down. On account of large Plan demand for cement, the country has been almost living under conditions of cement rationing.

Meeting the demands of interested parties, about a year and half back, the Government decided to hand over the responsibility of distribution of cement to an association of producers themselves (CACO). At that time cement producers volunteered a number of re-assuring promises about the development of the industry with a view to increasing the supply of cement. One year past, the industry put up a well-worded case for the extension of distributional responsibilities. It was made out that since that assumption of these duties, an

(Continued on Page 38)

Ideation

GADFLY

AMERICA is rather immodestly frank about things, ranging from sophomore sex to spy-travel. She has given unimpeachable evidence of her frank desire for peace by bombing Vietnam, and for freedom by shooting Negroes. She is equally frank about her gifts or aid to nations.

In Prof. Benjamin Higgins' words, US Aid desires "to promote the economic stabilisation and development of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to do so in a manner contributing to the growth of representative, responsible and independent governments which will not be hostile to the West and which can be expected to support the United States or remain neutral in the event of a major war."

Whether the Professor intended it or not, he has formulated the US policy with utmost frankness and in all the equivocal verbiage the American government specialises in. The US aid is available to the aid-dependent countries only in lieu of both their independence in the management to their economy and their sovereignty in international affairs. In plain language, the US policy consists in the creation and sustenance, across three continents, of bigger Taiwans and Thailands, without economic independence, political freedom and national sovereignty.

The US carries out this policy in India on the economic plane by using food and similar other instruments of compulsive persuasion at the governmental level. On the intellectual plane, she employs her imperialist ideological

persuasion through a considerate bounty of books, learned journals and affluence-oriented scholars. She smuggles Ideation to Centralise these activities with Intelligence.

The general features of Ideation (The Drain and The Influx: *Mainstream*, July 15, 1967) do not sumptuously reveal its ubiquitous micro-morphological activities. Ideation operates with a thoroughness comparable to that of *The US Army Hand-book on India*. Its task in India is to weaken our secularism, wreck democracy, defeat socialism and destroy our sovereignty and non-alignment. It strives and seeks to fulfil the task by a stealthy distortion and misdirection of the popular aims, desires and aspirations. For example:

Three Birds

Having faced an officially unprepared for food-scarcity and the subsequent officially instalmented PL 480 humiliation called wheat, Indian people evince ever stronger desire for self-sufficiency in food. Ideation sympathetically encourages the desire. With the helpful co-operation of its minions and our Ministers, it hastens decisions on the allocation of priorities and on priorities of allocation and proves the inescapable need, firstly, for more persuasive propitiation of the US not only for present food but for collaborative future fertiliser; secondly, for more intensive concentration on agricultural development to the suspension or deceleration of industrial growth; and, thirdly, for a quick and effective family freeze *alias* family planning for population control.

Ideation has its way, with the result that the Fertiliser factory is gathered to private industry at a

humiliating cost, public sector industry is cut down, and the family-freeze gains unprecedented momentum. The proverb kills two birds with one stone. But Ideation kills three with food supply! However, it does never so much as touch on the need for radical land legislation and its immediate, effective implementation. It leaves private enterprise and land-holders happy, contented and receptive. If, for lack of proper land legislation, food production suffers, Ideation can win *encores* with better returns, assuming of course, no mass Naxalbaris to upset its apple-cart!

For the health and well-being of both parents and children alike, family planning is necessary in a country like ours with a high rate of fertility and early marriage. Ideation treats the health of families as secondary and their standard of living as primary. It assiduously fosters the illusion that a smaller family would automatically mean a better standard of living and more employment. By dangling this illusory hope, it deflects popular attention from the basic evil, the capitalistic mode of production and distribution. It even manipulates foot-note per capita income of 334 dollars in India,¹ perhaps, implying thereby that there is nothing wrong with the mode of wealth-distribution, but only with the 'population explosion'. To curry favour with the communalist section in India, it also propagates that family planning is a conspiracy of the minority communities.

Nevertheless, family planning suits the industrialists. They could claim income tax rebates on the amount shown to have been spent on the promotion and propaga-

Gadfly is the collective name of a few Delhi University teachers.

tion of family planning. They could get rid of the burden of maternity leave and other benefits without any trade union trouble. So, industry strengthens the hands of the ideationally inclined government in its move to castrate the nation in the prime of youth! Ideation, thus, through family planning, protects the present capitalist social order to its own satisfaction and to that of its friends, Indians and understudies.

Freezes

While securing agriculture and industry against any radical changes, Ideation propounds various freezes, like public sector freeze, wage and D A freeze and dividend freeze to 'stabilise' Indian economy. It does not, however, suggest expense-account freeze, company conveyance-and-luxury freeze. It, of course, talks about price freeze which the government, since it does not control trade, can not in any way implement, more so when the price freeze is combined with defreeze, that is, decontrol. When the Privy Purse freeze engages public attention, Ideation invokes superior *moral* grounds in defence of the princely purses, and wins free personal conscience vote on the matter in the collective responsibility cabinet.

Ideation is a great defender of fundamental rights. It equates individual liberty and democracy to the right of private property, and proves its inviolability on two *legal* grounds, namely, that only a fresh constituent assembly, but not the present parliament, can amend the constitution limiting the right of private property, and, secondly, that a fresh constituent assembly cannot be convened by any manner of means. In this manner, Ideation seeks to destroy all hope of an 'egalitarian society' that the Constitution arouses and the masses aspire for. Obviously, it does not care one bit for the standard of living of the people.

Ideation is a staunch upholder of ethics in *public* life. Indignantly, it upbraids private *individual* corruption as corruption in India and sets the tune for all political parties in India without exception. It proclaims the virtuousness of the Western democracies like America and England by disallowing

the unsigned vouchers of their corruption from its meticulous political audit! It regrets the deplorable *failure of democracy in India*, 'the world's biggest democracy'. Through Moral Re-Armament, it publicises the vices and failure of democracy in India.

Having discredited Indian democracy thus, it puts on the stage make-up of Sarvodaya type of disinterested political theory.

As cures for corruption and inefficiency it gives an either-or ultimatum of alternative prescriptions for a 'National Government': Either a government of talents: Or an Ayub-ian partyless democracy: Otherwise, a military dictatorship, so that the government then can be no longer unnecessarily saddled with corrupting responsibility like to the parliament and the people of India! Ideation-affected patients forget, as though they had bathed in Lethe that "We, The People of India" give ourselves a "Sovereign Democratic Republic."

Theory of Strong Government

When, ultimately, these unsold theories have to go as annual shop-soiled disposals, Ideation markets its new product, the theory of a *strong* government at the Centre and the States. To impress on us the need for a strong government, it engineers controversies like parliamentary *versus* presidential type of government, to prove the latter stronger, more efficient and more modern.

Thus, modestly intellectually, it tries to ship-wreck our democracy with the altruistic desire for autocart-dictator efficiency. Therefore, it humbly submits the 'concept' of strong president as an efficient alternative to the constitutional one we have now.

A curious but, of course, rationalisable fact, as all facts and acts usually are, is that even Marxists and Mao-cialists fell for the strong president concept, blissfully oblivious of its political content, undoubtedly, perhaps, in the interests of their personal view of proletarian democracy! The ideational prelude to defeating democracy through democratic processes, to bringing in an anti-democrat presi-

dent with ego-centrated power had all but succeeded!

Before and after the general elections, Ideation spread the polythene-sleek slogan of coalition governments, ostensibly to respect the popular will and anti-Congress mandate. It fabricated momentous discussions on Centre-State relations and the consequential technical *procedures* and procedural *techniques* of perfect parliamentarism. It refracted political and party attention from the more important economico-political substance to the procedural shadow of democracy. In consequence: party prestige now depended not on policy and programme but on numerical strength which had to be manoeuvred at any cost by temptation of office, by transmigration of souls modernly called walk-overs, and by caste, communal and party compromises named alliances.

Correspondingly, power became more important than principled struggle for people's interests: and, personal and/or party manoeuvred success more of moment than political outlook. Political conviction became pragmatically opportunist and hand-to-mouth anti-Congress operation. A Jan Sangh received the school-colours of radicalism and a Swatantra Party the citation as poor peasants' party. In the meantime, Ideations' *slogan* for coalition governments has become a *reality*. Politics of careerist alliance, Statism, and Zonalism in the guise of Centre-State relational tensions have weakened and relegated secularism and national unity not to the background but to oblivion. Linguistic and national chauvinism, pluralism, behaviouralism and a-politicalism have reduced class, political, national goals to the status of second class citizenship, if not to nought!

Nuclear Umbrella and VOA

Ever since Independence and particularly after 1962, self-reliance in defence has been the cherished goal of the Indian people. In the early days, Ideation discouraged our defence expenditure in the interests of our developmental welfare, and prescribed a compromise of appeasement with Pakistan. In order for us to fight the Chinese and defend freedom

and democracy for America, it offered, ever so helpfully, the Nuclear Umbrella and the Voice of America. Through Indo-West Pakistan war, it endeavoured to tame the Indian foreign policy into Western pact-beds. It has even piped forth, through prestigious voices and professional larynxes, the demand for an Indian A-bomb as an expedient measure to regain our lost prestige and to win greater prestige from smaller developing countries, in the interests of Asian ecology of capitalism otherwise known as balance of power in Asia. Through these meek and persuasive Ad-methods of appeal to sense of prestige, to 'national self-interest' and to international big-country snobbery, Ideation strives to send Indian people's non-alignment through the casualty ward to the crematorium!

Against Non-alignment

When Goa was liberated, Ideation had it that India *had given up* non-alignment. All the same, till today, literally till today, ideational experts, American and Indian alike, tell us that we should be realistic enough to *give up* non-alignment! Ideation is not one bit bothered by or about self-contradiction. Presently, it is trying to prove that India is *anti-semitic* because it does not support Israeli aggression, but *pro-Arab* because it is on the side of UAR. Ergo! India is racist and has become aligned. In almost the same breath, Ideation urges India to be with Israel on religio-communal grounds; for, the Arabs are Muslims, religious kins of Pakistan. Ideation is never consistent, has no fame, and no shame either! It just wants to turn everything to its own advantage.

Not so curiously as journalism is wont to wonder, Ideation kept the golden rule of mum i.e., silence when India, compelled by PL 480 methods of persuasion, agreed not to deal in some commodities with Vietnam and Cuba. Oh no, Ideation did not think it was hitting India's non-alignment and sovereignty below the belt because, after all, thinking i.e., Ideation makes things what they are. *Cogito, ergo est, non sum!*² (I think, therefore it is, not I am.)

The Indian Nationalist tradition

is seemingly quiet but flares in flames to the occasion. On questions like Lumumba, Ian Smith, or Aden, it has no two opinions, no prevarication or equivocation. It is frank and forthright in its condemnation of Imperialist-colonial oppression in any form anywhere. So, Ideation tries to win Indian friends and influence puerile opinion for Imperialism by a holy hymn of invocation to the eternall³ defender of usurped interests, the Law. The Ian Smith bluster is ideationally elevated to a *purely* 'constitutional' problem to the exclusion of its political, imperialist racial essence. Conversely, the political problem of Congo becomes a purely tribal racial issue. The scholastic Indian versions of Ideation work themselves to a feverish frenzy to save India and its foreign policy from anti-imperialist 'bias' in the interests of 'impartial' non-alignment! Ideation has been trying hard to extinguish the fiery Indian sympathy for national liberation movements by appeals to our 'national self-interest' and by deprecating Indian leaders' condemnation of Imperialism and their supposedly needless interference in world affairs as if India's national interest could ever be free from world affairs! Ideation takes it followers for granted. It never takes Indian history into account: Indian people do not always let themselves be guided by Ideation!

Distorting Positive Values

Ideation distorts all the positive values that emerged during our national liberation movement by impressively salivating in lippy admiration about Gandhi's spiritual punctuality in daily routine and Nehru's agnostic skepticism and naive political blunders. However, the leaders of our national movement linked mass action with mass socio-economic progress. They vidwed the economic development of the country not merely as a problem of economics but much more as a means to end the poverty of the masses through their organised collective action. This positive value is underlined in the Constitution and in the whole philosophy of our planning.

But Ideation affluently poses the problem of India's economic progress as a problem of developmental economics, concerned only with Research Growth Models based on capital-output and investment ratio magnitudes projectively imaginary and arbitrary. The models are preoccupied with growth rates and productivity, the purpose of which is neither specified nor built into the model. They leave the production relations and the systems of exchange and distribution of produced wealth safely alone in the hands of ideational political decision. Growth of productivity is supposed to improve per capita income which, of course, is again a mathematical manipulation of averages without reference to individual incomes. Per capita income, regardless of the cost of living, is again represented as an indicator of the living standard.

When inflation, unemployment and recession co-existently operate against the precepts of growth-model books, Ideation points out all the wrong emphasis and imbalances in the past Plans and controls, 'underwrites' the injurious absence of the compensatory operational efficacy of private entrepreneurial freedom, and, logically 'derives' doubts about the benefits of planning. The Indian intellectual model builders and models of built-in intellect discover to themselves the momentous truth that planning and public sector economy are injurious to economic growth! Ideation, thus, discredits planning and the philosophy behind it. Indeed, it has succeeded in mowing down the scope and magnitude of the still-born Fourth Plan; it has even contracted long-term planning to annual hand-to-mouth expedients!

Public Protests

Ideation sometimes does not take things lying down! It protests against the inquisitorial persecution methods of its vicious identifiers. On issues like the Indian support to UAR and condemnation of Israeli aggression, it articulates public protests by opinion polls. It takes the select enlightened urbo-cosmopolitan citizens' replies, processes them, computes them with variable multipliers to determine and de-

fine the ultra and infra patterns of opinion parameters, and, finally, proves, within the formulated framework of predetermined answer-built-in questions, that percentage co-ordinates disapprove the Indian foreign policy and its supporters in regard to Israel and UAR in identical consonance with the daily newspaper criticism!

Ideation dare not elicit public opinion from the politically conscious countryside on issues like the abolition of privileges, the need for radical land legislation, or, for that matter, even on UAR and Israel. It also caws a cacophony of protests at its identification in Indian scholars and produces protest articles and letters. In this matter, it invokes fundamental rights like freedoms of speech, opinion and of expression, and the more sacred ones, individual freedom and academic freedom. It uses these very freedoms for ideational liberty to destroy the Indian national interests.

Penetration into Education

To ideationalise the future leaders of the country, Ideation penetrates into school and college text books. These text books teach the young anti-national, anti-socialist, anti-scientific ideas. For three years, the graduate students of the Delhi University were taught by a book entitled *The Commonsense of Science* that "...in China and India and other countries with few machines... *sensibility is unknown*." (emphasis added). The ideational science it taught was that "the laws of gravitation have gone", that "casuality is a fiction" that the only reliable guide for action is a statistical calculation of Chance, and that all else is unknowable because of the built-in Heisenbergian uncertainty in everything! Although these and other ideas in this book are unscientific and irrational, they are presented in such an intimately persuasive style that even some Marxists seem to have succumbed to them. Such examples of text books teaching bilge in every subject are not rare. Ideation gets away with it, with the kind blind co-operation of text book committees at every level!

India has historically evolved four national goals. Secularism is

meant for the integration of the highly variegated Indian society into a harmonious, homogeneous nation for the consolidation and strengthening of the Indian people's sovereignty. Democracy is the method in which the people of India exercise their independence and sovereignty, to attain economic and social justice and political equality not just on paper but in actuality. Since full economic and social justice and therefore full political equality are possible and feasible only in a classless society, the Indian people have chosen socialism as yet another national goal. Although ideational scholars in books, papers and talks define socialism as social justice, and, then equate, it to procedural justice, socialism consists in socialising the means of production and distribution in order to end exploitation of man by man and of class by class so that each individual works according to his ability and shares the socially produced wealth according to his work. The fourth national goal, non-alignment, is only an extension and application of the other three at the level of nations. Even if the All India Radio and the leaders of the government, having been smitten by Ideation in various degrees, do but seldom talk on these national goals and their achievement, education, which is vastly responsible for the future well-being of the nation, must always keep them uppermost in the minds of the young.

Policy-makers Bitten

But Ideation has bitten even the Indian educational policy makers. The Education Commission Report makes the strident declaration that education "has to be used as a powerful instrument of social, economic and political change and will have to be related to the long term national aspirations" But, far from mentioning and defining the four national goals, it whimpers about "Some problems of National Development" like: self-sufficiency in food; economic growth and full employment to the people "and especially to the educated"; social and national integration for an "egalitarian society" (not secularism and socialism); and, finally, political

development through strengthening democracy, personal character and morals, through defence of freedom (not independence and sovereignty), and, through discovery of talent and creation of a few centres of excellence in higher education (creation of privilege in education).

None of these measures, singly or jointly, can usher in a new social order qualitatively different from that of today. Yet, the Report speaks with a straight (ideational) face about the need for "the co-operation and assistance of richer industrial nations which share India's faith in democratic socialism (!) and sympathise with her struggle to create a *new social order*." (emphasis added). The Report thus suddenly springs on us a new social order as an equivalent of that discredited-for-decades concepts, "democratic socialism" which, with the all Gaitskells and Wilsons, does not believe in the socialisation of the means of production and distribution or in classless society, but actually preserves democracy among the industrialist dinosaurs and establishes socialised poverty for the other classes.

Naturally, neither Ideation nor its unowned master, American Imperialist ideology ever objects to 'democratic socialism'. They advertise it, promote it and profit by it. Actually, Chester Bowles had crooned about it in almost the same manner as the Education Commission. In his book, *The Makings of A Just Society*, he scribbled that developing countries like India should take to 'democratic socialism' of the kind that obtains in Britain and Sweden which "having lost their doctrinal concern over private enterprise... have learned to encourage it to give it scope, while moulding it to the national objectives. In so doing, I believe, they have pointed the way for developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America" (p. 95). Imperialist ideology formulates the strategy: Ideation works out the tactics!

Dose of Ideation in ECR

The Education Commission Report had more than a moderate dose of Ideation. The reasons are obvious. The Commission's As-

sociate Secretary was UNESCO-routed. Out of the twenty foreign consultants, 9 were Americans and 7 British. Nearly a dozen other Americans worked in the Commission's Task Forces. Half of them hailed from American Foundations in India and the rest belonged to a project Columbia University Team then in India. Time was when the Indian people boycotted an oppressor White Commission called the Simon Commission. But Ideation has taken away all sense of shame from today's leaders and educationists. They have neither a sense of nationalism nor confidence in the people of India. They are now prepared to wear the sacred dust from off the holy American feet on their face!

The Education Commission's pattern of interviews also discloses Ideation at work. For example, not one of the mass opposition party members of parliament was interviewed; nor was, for that matter, any leader of any leftist opinion or party. But, the editor of *The Organiser*, the Jan Sangh weekly, was consulted. The E.C. Report has another ideational dimension to it. It is not an accident that its submission almost coincided with the wide epidemic publicity of the proposed Indo-US Education Foundation.

Day in and day out, Ideation theorises that, now, Russia and America have come closer, that the two of them have been actually collaborating and that Russia has at last learnt the Western wisdom about the efficacy of profit-incentive in industry and rejected Marx. It gives widest publicity to these theories through daily newspapers, ideational walkie-talkie scholars, both American and Indian, and through learned-paper discourses and seminarred intercourses. It does these things in order to weaken India's faith in Russia which together with other socialist countries has been a source of invincible strength to India's anti-imperialist pro-liberation oriented foreign policy.

In this manner, it seeks to enfeeble the Indian determination to pursue the policy of non-alignment. On the basis of its theory that Russia is collaborating with America, Ideation, most unobtru-

sively, urges India also to collaborate with America, giving up her anti-imperialist policy! Ideation's bull's eye is India's non-alignment! Since ideational theories so closely resemble those of China about Russian 'collusion' with America, Ideation gains the sympathy of some Marxists and insidiously convinces them of its 'objectivity'.

While propa-casting its theories about Russia, Ideation, again through the same channels of communication, appreciates the Chinese Cultural Revolution and establishes its absolute necessity for safeguarding the Chinese 'national self-interest'. Of course, it is intelligently reticent about the closure of educational institutions in China in the name of culture. It keeps revolutionary silence on the public disgrace inflicted on some Chinese leaders, writers, intellectuals, fathers and mothers, although it never loses one moment in denouncing Russia for judicially punishing a couple of writers. With such tactics, Ideation appeals to the already psychologically receptive minds of some Indian Marxists. It divides the Marxists, widens rifts among them and weakens left unity in India.

Ideation wants to destroy our non-alignment policy by weakening it in every way, in the interests of American Imperialism. China also wants to destroy it by discrediting it through all possible means in the interests of Sino-lutionary Mao-cialism that is just round the global corner! Both of them employ identical means to achieve their ends, namely, denigrating Russia on the one hand, and engineering and widening rifts among the Indian Marxists. The extremes always make good bed-fellows! And, sometimes each changes into

the other dialectically!

Ideation is a phenomenon! A mere sample survey like the present one does not do full justice to its ubiquity and its woman-like multi-local charm. Through a consistent policy of distortion, it ideationalises a consistent distortion of Indian policies. While its maximum programme is to destroy our national goals, its immediate minimum programme consists in frustrating even our Constitutional ideals like liberty, equality, fraternity, fundamental rights, egalitarian society, parliamentary democracy with a constitutional head of State, and so on. Ideation is opposed to even these bourgeois ideals which sanctified the Western countries as democracies. For, it knows that these very ideals through their inner dialectic will inexorably lead the Indian masses sooner or later to their cherished national goals. Ideation is not content with the devaluation of the Indian rupee. It wants a super devaluation of the Indian Constitution, democracy and national goals!

Imperialist ideology is the theoretical foundation of US policy. Ideation is the practical weapon that carries out this policy in the given local conditions. It is, so to say, tropicalised ideology. It is a weapon forged, tested and found fit by CIA.

Ideation is like atomic radiation. Both are unimaginably destructive. But atomic radiation destroys the body: Ideation blights the mind!

1. *Asia's Population Problem*; Ed. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar. p. 98. We hope Dr. Lohia will give his attention to Minister for Family Planning

2. Descartes said: Cogito, ergo sum: I think, therefore I am.

3. Deliberately spelt so after a French poet.

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Amendment of Fundamental Rights

M. M. SANKHDHER

IN view of the recurrence of the question of the legitimacy or otherwise of the Parliament's competence to amend Fundamental Rights (specifically, the right to property) in order to undo the effects of certain judicial decision it might be profitable to examine the question and the controversy that it has generated.

It would, then at once appear that the guidelines of constitution-making and operation as evidenced in the Constituent Assembly and Parliament's minutes as also in previous judicial pronouncements inhere a coherent philosophy espousing the cause of the 'common man' vis-a-vis that of the individual, assuming that there is a conflict between the two, sometimes.

Nehru, Ambedkar, B. N. Rau, among others can be quoted extensively in support of the theory postulating the primacy of the common man over the individual, especially when property becomes the bone of contention.

If this be accepted, the Supreme Court's judgement in the *Golaknath* case creates an unwarranted innovation, for no new facts have emerged justifying the reversal of the Court's earlier decision.

The split judgement by a majority of one subsumes an unprecedented tug-of-war between the

legislature and the judiciary—an unreal war. In fact, both the Parliament and the Supreme Court are limited in their respective powers by the Constitution and the conventions. The Supreme Court is supreme to the extent that Article 13(2) empowers it to reject an ordinary law that seeks to abridge any article on Fundamental Rights. Normally, its decision will be final and the Parliament has to respect it. The Supreme Court has also to see that the procedure of Article 368 is observed by the Parliament in the case of amendment not their content. Yet, whenever a question of policy is involved, such as, the promotion of general weal and the Parliament wants to intervene to limit Article 31 as it has done before it, should be made clear that it has the right to do so. The Parliament can and should remove the legal obstacles in the way for what it considers to be the right policy for social progress and economic advancement. That this type of legislative supremacy has been accepted in theory and in fact is unexceptionable. The majority judgement in this light is hostile to the well-established constitutional relationships.

Lacuna in Constitution

The present controversy stems from the perception of a lacuna in the Constitution. While Article 368 impliedly permits amendatory legislation in regard to Fundamental Rights, Article 13(2) forbids such a course. The dispute unnecessarily hinges on the interpretation of the word 'law' in Article 13(2).

The question for all intents and purposes had been settled previously when the Supreme Court acquiesced in the Parliament's autho-

rity to amend Article 31 in 1951 and 1955 and 1964; the revival of the issue by the overruling Court decision means not merely a spate of avoidable litigation but also a stop to ameliorative legislation.

If a corrective is to be provided to remove difficulties for future which lie in the judiciary's projective overriding authority and the transcendental nature of legislative power in a parliamentary democracy, it would be essential in the present context to amend the Constitution. Doubtless, in the ultimate sense, the interests of the people are represented in Parliament and however much we might sophisticate and twist facts, or quibble about legal niceties, our pattern of democracy cannot be belied. The absence of the 'due process' clause in the Constitution lends weight to this contention. Besides, the judiciary has not been invested with review of some cases relating to property.

It is, therefore, unfortunate that Article 31 should remain in Part III. It may, finally be suggested that the devices proposed by some, such as, the convening of a new Constituent Assembly or arranging a referendum are not only fantastic but also extra-constitutional. The sole remedy, it seems to me, lies in amending Article 368 which permits its own amendment in such a way that Article 31 is taken out of Part III and placed in Part IV where it ought to belong and is included in the entrenched provisions of the Constitution.

Thus, normally the right to property would be protected against legislative encroachment. But in exceptional situation, if the Parliament persists in curtailing it,

(Continued on Page 38)

In the wake of the Supreme Court verdict in the Golaknath case, Sri Nath Pai, M.P. has moved a Bill in Parliament to undo the effects of the judgement. Some of the issues, arising out of the case, are examined here. The author is a Lecturer in Political Science, Hindu College, Delhi University.

INDIA, ISRAEL AND WEST ASIAN CRISIS

MOHAMMED AYOOB

PROFESSOR S.A.H. Haqqi's article on "India, Israel and the West Asian Crisis" in *Mainstream* (July 29, 1967) has been very interesting and illuminating as far as the understanding of the historical background to the creation of Israel is concerned. However, the present author has failed to be impressed by the reasons and arguments marshalled by Prof. Haqqi in justification of the Indian stand on the recent West Asian crisis.

The present author, while sharing strongly Professor Haqqi's views about the injustice done to the Arabs as a result of the partition of Palestine, does not share his view that the present policy of the Indian Government is a logical outcome of Gandhiji's denunciation of the partition of Palestine, or the culmination of the Indian tradition of supporting the Arab cause in Palestine from the days of the Balfour Declaration. Had this been the case, the Government of India would have refused to grant diplomatic recognition to the State of Israel and would not have allowed a Consul-General of Israel to function in Bombay. But such a stand on the part of the Indian Government would have been, to say the least, unrealistic.

Irrespective of the nature of the historical background which led to the creation of Israel, the realities of the situation should be taken into consideration. As a result of the Arab-Jewish war of 1948, it was clear to all concerned that Israel had come to stay. The Indian Government adopted a very realistic attitude when it decided to accord recognition to Israel.

Our analysis thus shows that

the Indian policy on Israel does not in any way coincide with the Arab policy on this issue. The Arabs are bent—by words if not by deeds—on the annihilation of Israel. Since India has for nearly two decades recognized the right of Israel to exist, it must be conceded, at least in theory, that the Indian and Arab policies on Israel have differed radically as far as the fundamental issue of the existence *versus* the annihilation of Israel is concerned.

It was, therefore, all the more amazing to see India, in the present crisis, give all out support to President Nasser and his fellow-Arabs in their declared objective of annihilating Israel. A reference is being made here to the stand taken by India on the issues of the Gulf of Aqaba and the removal of the UNEF from Gaza, which appeared to the present author as the first move in a concerted plan of action against the territorial integrity of the State of Israel.

That the Arabs in general and President Nasser in particular precipitated the crisis cannot be denied by impartial observers. That it was a Himalayan blunder also became clear as the war proceeded. That the Israeli attack was more preemptive in nature than a pre-planned design for aggrandisement at the cost of the Arabs also stands to reason. This crisis has not only hurt the Arab cause and depicted Arab weakness but has also affected President Nasser's standing in the Arab world. The worst sufferer, unfortunately, was King Hussein of Jordan—the only Arab leader who accompanied his troops to the front line—who lost the Holy City of Jerusalem and the West Bank of Jordan in a war that was not of his own choosing.

We are not concerned here with Nasser's reasons for the precipitation of the West Asian crisis; but we are concerned with

the Indira-Chagla Government's stand on this issue. India has invited the criticism of many friendly countries in the world by its policy of being more pro-Arab than the Arabs themselves. Instead of advising caution in Cairo, the Indian ruling elite seems to have told Nasser only what he wanted to hear.

After the Arab debacle the Indian performance in the United Nations was no better. Instead of advising our Arab friends on the realities of the situation after the war, India was in the peculiar position of upholding the Arab stand of non-recognition of Israel and their right to belligerency *vis-a-vis* Israel.

The present writer is of the opinion that India's postures in the United Nations were the result not so much of a genuine sympathy for the Arab cause as the result of a competition with Pakistan for gaining the favour of the Arabs. As in every other sphere of foreign policy India has suffered once again from this constant preoccupation with Pakistan.

The Indian position on the West Asian crisis seems to have been a corollary of the Indo-Pakistani rivalry in the sub-continent and an extension of this same rivalry to the Middle East. If Pakistan was bent on lending all-out support to the Arabs, the Indian Foreign Office seems to have argued, then we must do the same or even better.

But Sri Chagla forgot a few important aspects of the problem. One of these was that, unlike Pakistan, we recognize the right of Israel to exist. Another important aspect that he ignored was that, once again unlike Pakistan, the Indian public opinion was not overwhelmingly in favour of our extremely pro-Arab stand on the West Asian crisis. He also forgot that Pakistan, unlike us, had to repay a debt of gratitude to the West Asian nations for their stand during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965.

Unfortunately, even in this pastime—competing with Pakistan—India has failed rather badly. After having supported the Arabs tooth and nail India, at the last moment, gave

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up its advantage by failing to get any India-supported resolution passed by the General Assembly. In contrast, the only substantive resolution passed by that august body was the one on the status of Jerusalem, whose principal sponsor was Pakistan. Again, in the last vote in the General Assembly, India voted in favour of sending the Arab-Israeli question back to the Security Council—a move that the Arabs opposed. Pakistan, incidentally, voted with the Arabs.

The question that does not cease to disurb the present writer is: Should we lose all sense of

proportion and world realities trying to compete with Pakistan for Arab favour? The Arab stand on the Indo-Pakistani War had proved the futility of our efforts. Moreover, as an Arab diplomat is reported to have stated on India: "It is useless for you to compete with the Pakistanis on the question of Palestine; the Pakistanis will refuse to recognize Israel even if the Arabs decided to do so."

As a *Postscript*, India also forgot that her support for an Arab-created crisis would have serious repercussions on that lifeline of India—the Suez Canal.

IN INDIA'S BEST INTEREST

N. LAHIRI

PROFESSOR Haqqi's excellent article on India, Israel and the West Asian Crisis (*Mainstream*, July 29, 1967) has brought out very clearly that India's self-interest converged with international ethics when the Government came out in support of the Arab cause in the recent conflict in West Asia. I would like to point out two more points which strengthen Professor Haqqi's thesis.

Handsome Reciprocation

During the Indo-Pak conflict in 1965, we found to our dismay that Pakistan had been able to mobilise the overwhelming majority of Arab States in her support. If President Nasser had not firmly stood by India's side, the Casablanca summit of the Arab States would have surely passed a resolution in support of Pakistan. This would have done irreparable damage to our case in Kashmir; such a precedent coming from the Arab States would have been pounced upon by the Western powers who have always shown partiality for Pakistan over Kashmir.

Thus, President Nasser's stand against such a move in support of Pakistan in 1965 helped India a great deal. Instead of bringing a chorus of support for Pakistan

over Kashmir, President Nasser helped to neutralise the Arab world, at least on official level, in the Indo-Pak conflict. In that background, it was Pakistan which had a lot to grumble about Nasser's stand, and not India. In a way, Nasser reciprocated handsomely in 1965 for what India had done for him in 1956, at the time of the Suez crisis.

At the same time, the experience of 1965 was an eye-opener for us. Shorn of emotions, it was clear to the Government that there was a big lag in our approach to the Arab countries and it was this lag which could be exploited by Pakistan. The fact that barring UAR (and perhaps Algeria) there was no Arab country which was prepared to accept India's stand was itself a challenge to our diplomacy.

Good Reward

And this challenge we have met this time. With our unequivocal support for the Arab cause against Israeli aggression, we have been able to strengthen our position in the Arab world. This will undoubtedly pay us rich dividends in any future confrontation with Pakistan. Diplomacy in a sense ensures more than half of a country's defence; in this sense, our present West

Asian policy has contributed in a very big way to our sense for security.

The second point which I would like to emphasise with regard to our West Asian policy is that our strong support for the Arab countries has opened up significant possibilities for our export trade. In normal times, the volume of our trade with Arab countries is far in excess of what our trade with Israel would fetch. The present stand of full-throated support for the Arab cause will no doubt help us to strengthen these trade links of ours with the Arab countries.

In fact, this trade has vast possibilities particularly now. The antipathy that has been generated against the Western nations, particularly against USA in the Arab countries after the Israeli aggression, has hit the West's trade with this region: and India with her uninhibited support for the Arab cause can very easily take over a large chunk of that trade. This itself can be a very fruitful source of foreign-exchange earning for this country.

Our foreign policy stand in the West Asian crisis is thus very correct from all aspects of national self-interest.

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Investigation : Light and Dark

THE Prime Minister desires to know how far behind will light be if darkness comes. Home is requested to make necessary investigation and report back findings which are urgently needed here. Treat this as top priority.

sd/ Cabinet Secretary,
16 Aug '67

Noted. Dep. Secy., Home, is hereby instructed to proceed with the investigation.

sd/ Secy., Home,
28 Sept '67

To under Secy. Top priority.

sd/ Dep. Secy., Home,
3 Nov '67

Darkness comes every day, depending on sunset or night whichever is earlier. Department of Meteorology has been instructed to furnish statistical data through the proper channel.

sd/ Section Officer,
25 Dec '67

It is regretted that the Home Minister has not been able to provide the information sought by the Prime Minister, vide my communication dated 16 Aug '67. The Prime Minister is anxious to know further if darkness will set in when the Privy Purses are stopped, and if so, how far behind will light be. Please expedite.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
2 Jan '68

Submitted to the Home Minister for instruction.

sd/ Secy., Home,
5 Jan '68

No investigation need be undertaken regarding the second query.

sd/ Home Minister,
7 Jan '68

What about the light?

sd/ Under Secy., Home,
12 Jan '68

We are asking Irrigation and Power for a comprehensive report on electrification under the Fourth Plan.

sd/ Section Officer,
23 Jan '68

Under Secy., on the margin :
What Fourth Plan ?

Investigations have led to the

discovery of a document circulated by one V.I. Lenin (nationality Chinese ?) which says that electrification of the countryside will lead to Communism. Irrigation and Power may be advised to go slow on any expansion of the power grid.

sd/ Director, Central Bureau
of Investigation,

18 Feb '68

We now have evidence to show that V.I. Lenin was a Soviet citizen. This information was furnished by our Third Secy. in Moscow who actually saw a mausoleum where the mortal remains of Lenin are embalmed and preserved. We have further learned that the said Lenin had something to do with one Krupskaya, who figures in certain files of External Affairs.

sd/ Director CBI,
2 Mar '68

Chase the files.

sd/ Secy. Home,
25 Mar '68

Documents of the Ministry of External Affairs record a question by the then Minister, Ext. Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh, addressed to Soviet political officers, 'Who is Kruskaya ?'. The Russians were so taken aback that they were unable to answer. The Minister later noted with satisfaction that a great diplomatic victory was scored on behalf of our country, which was even more significant coming in the wake of a series of diplomatic and political debacles suffered in international encounters by the previous incumbent.

Dep. Secy., Ext. Aff.,
7 Apr '68

Information regarding Krupskaya is being gathered. Meanwhile instruction is sought.

Dep. Secy, Home,
4 Oct '68

Noted. The file to lie over until further orders.

sd/ Secy., Home,
16 Nov '68

Read the correspondence relating to the Prime Minister's proposition *If darkness comes can*

light be far behind? with interest. I would suggest that there has been a red herring somewhere, because the proposition itself is a misquote. It ought to have been *If winter comes can spring be far behind?* and is a quote from Keats, which I learned in my Higher Secondary class last year.

sd/ Special Advisor to PM.
20 Dec '68

Noted. Submitted to the Prime Minister. The misquote is from Shelly, not Keats.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
20 Dec '68

Investgate Shelly and report. Top priority.

sd/ Prime Minister,
29 Dec '68

It has been confirmed that the postulation *If winter comes can spring be far behind?* has been inadvertently misquoted in the Prime Minister's I-Day speech, '67. Await instructions.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
28 Mar '69

Apologise to the British Council for the misquote.

sd/ Prime Minister,
1 Apr '69

The British Council requests to be left out of the affair. They suggest we directly approach Commonwealth Secy., London.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
5 Aug '69

We have had no response from London.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
7 Nov '69

London maintains silence.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
18 Dec '69

Repeat Apology.

sd/ Prime Minister
20 Dec '69

There is no response from London regarding the first and the second apologies.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
7 Oct '70

Noted. Pursue file as top priority.

sd/ Prime Minister.
5 Nov '70

Noted. File to lie over until further orders.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
10 Nov '70

(Continued on Page 38)

Lest We Forget

THROWN TO THE WOLVES: ABDUL GHAFAR by Pyarelal
(Publishers : Eastlight Book House, Calcutta : 1966) pp 164;
Rs 10.

MORE than any other follower of Mahatma Gandhi, it is Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who has held steadfastly to Gandhian methods and ideals and has on that account been subjected to suffering that seems to have no end. He met Gandhiji for the first time in 1931 but more than a decade before that had begun converting the fierce warlike Pathans to the path of non-violent resistance to evil and tyranny. Considering the character and background of the human material which he shaped into soldiers of non-violence, his achievement was in a sense even more striking than that of Gandhiji.

The Khudai Khidmatgars (the Servants of God) became the symbol of the striving for freedom of the brave Pathans of the Frontier. As such, all the anger of the British Raj was let loose against them. But under the gravest of provocations the Red Shirts stood loyal to their pledge to their leader and did not lift a hand to strike anyone. In a community where the slightest provocation could lead to a blood feud and plain murder the message of love and humanitarianism had been made to permeate to the farthest corners. The credit goes to Ghaffar Khan, endearingly known all over the country as Badshah Khan and Frontier Gandhi.

In the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1919-22 came the first indication of the mighty weapon Badshah Khan had forged for his people: it meant a great deal of suffering and humiliation, but it also meant a forging of unity and patient determination to shake off the foreign yoke. At Peshawar the British ordered wanton firing on a huge concourse of peaceful Pathans — Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Several hund-

reds were killed; even brave women who stepped forward with heads high to face the bullets were not spared. The saga of courage had its impact: "Two platoons of war-hardened Garhwalis,.... being ordered to open fire upon the unresisting crowd, were so moved by what they saw that they refused to obey. They were courtmartialled and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 10 to 14 years."

Sri Pyarelal records that one of these men, Chandra Singh, on the expiry of his term in 1942, came to Gandhiji and stayed for a time at the Sevagram ashram. No wonder that C.F. Andrews described the giant who had brought about this magic transformation among the Pathans "a king among men by stature and dignity of bearing."

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact marked a victory for the Pathans, and the British officials in the Frontier Province did not like it at all. They decided to crush the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This was in 1931. But oppression led to contrary results: in 1930 the Red Shirts numbered about 500; in 1938 they totalled over one hundred thousand. Badshah Khan spent much of his time during the struggle for independence in various British jails; for quite some time he was externed from his home province. The last time he went to jail in British India was during the Quit India movement: he was released in 1945.

Then came the talks for transfer of power. Badshah Khan opposed the two-nation theory tooth and nail, and refused to accept the division of men on the basis of religion. "I believe India is inhabited by one single nation—Hindus and Muslims included," he declared. Despite him the

Muslim Leaguers were able to introduce the flame of communalism into the NWFP, abetted by British officialdom bent upon crushing the Frontier Gandhi and his non-violent army. And during the communal strife the Khudai Khidmatgars courageously defended and protected the minorities, often at the cost of their lives. Governor Olaf Caroe attempted to discredit the Khan Saheb Ministry on the strength of disturbances which he and his henchmen had helped the Muslim League to start. Ghaffar Khan exposed the Governor's double game in a powerful indictment. He appealed to the Muslim League not to play the British game but to settle all differences with the Congress. The appeal went unheard.

Partition came as a great blow to this mighty freedom fighter. He says he was not informed of the Congress decision to accept partition even though he had been in Delhi at that time. The decision broke his heart, even as it did Gandhiji's. The Muslim League with British connivance sent a large number of Punjab Muslims to the Frontier when there were indications that a referendum might be suggested.

Ghaffar Khan opposed a referendum of this kind in which the Pathans' view would not prevail; but Mountbatten persuaded the Congress leadership to accept the plan. What the Frontier Gandhi wanted was a three-way referendum—whether to join India or Pakistan, or *be independent*. This was not acceptable to the British rulers and their henchmen in the Muslim League.

So when British rule ended, a new battle for the freedom of the Pathans began for the Khan Brothers. Dr Khan Saheb was still at the head of the Ministry, and finding no constitutional way of getting rid of the Congress Ministry, Governor-General Jinnah dismissed Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry.

Ghaffar Khan offered to co-operate with Pakistan provided the Pathans were left free to shape their own destiny. Jinnah, it appears, was half-inclined to accept autonomy for the Frontier

Province; but he was prevailed upon by his colleagues and British officials still serving in Pakistan against any such idea. Jinnah allowed himself to be persuaded by these, and the result was repression reminiscent of the worst period of British Raj—in some respects it was even worse.

Fifteen of the twenty years of freedom Ghaffar Khan has spent in Pakistani prisons; and for two years and more he has been an exile living in Kabul. But his spirit is undaunted, at 77. He is sad that those who had fought shoulder to shoulder with the Pathans for independence should have let them down when free-

dom was in sight. In spite of all his suffering and the apparently insurmountable obstacles in the way of the Pathans achieving their dreams, he has not lost faith in God and man.

He is disappointed with the change that has overtaken the Congress organisation after the attainment of independence: he feels that the Congress had lost the faith of the masses only because Congressmen had become enamoured of office and had forgotten the teachings of Gandhiji. There is certainly a great deal of truth in this assessment.

Among the appendices is included Ghaffar Khan's written

statement before the High Court of West Pakistan: it was the most powerful indictment of Pakistan ever, and concluded with these words: "Nothing can prevent me from demanding that whatever injustices the Britishers have done to Pakhtoons must now be undone."

The volume also contains the gist of the conversations Sri Pyarelal had with the Frontier Gandhi in Kabul two years back. This saga of one of the greatest men of our times deserves to be cherished. And as one reads it, the prayer will go up that the great man's noble cause must win.
—C. N. C.

CACO POLITICS (Continued from Page 27)

average consumer has been more satisfied than before. The Government readily agreed to this proposition and another lease of life was given to the Cement Allocation Co-ordination Organisation.

What factors went into the examination of the case of the CACO are now known. It appears that the concerned interests have been working more on gathering political manoeuvrability rather than promoting the cause of production and consumers. If the distribution and availability of cement fared well during the last year, the credit does not belong so much to the association as to the fortuit-

ous circumstances of the Plan recess. But even then the production hardly matched the demand. Among consuming sectors debacle in agriculture took away not less than 10 to 15 per cent of the demand.

In the process of CACO operations, the country has lost two more valuable years to step up—or to create conditions for stepping up—the production of cement. This presents another case spotlighting that an objective short of attaining a commanding position by the public sector in the

production of a necessary commodity can lead the country to distress.

The Cement Corporation of India, a public sector undertaking is still in infancy. While the progress of this venture will be watched with interest, what one expects is an unequivocal statement by the Government that a position will soon be reached by the public-sector units from where they can influence the pattern of production and prices. And it is only then that vulgarisation of political life in the country in the manner the CACO has done recently can be avoided.

AMENDMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS (Continued from Page 33)

it might well do so by resort to a difficult process of amendment rendered more difficult by the considerable reduction in one-party majority at the Centre and the existence of non-Congress Governments in several States. The Directive Principles of State Policy can be given a meaning in case the

Government is able to muster sufficient strength. The people as final judges of the acts of the Parliament can give their verdict at the poll. The legal hurdles will not be there.

The doctrine of the inviolability of property rights has been consistently exploded by the new con-

cept of social justice. To obviate it in the conditions of seething poverty in India is to invite bloodshed and disorder. That, I believe, is the danger inherent in the Supreme Court Judgement and can be warded off by the remedy proposed above.

TANGENT (Continued from Page 36)

What is the response from Commonwealth Secy?

sd/ Prime Minister,
8 Dec '71

Communications of the last two years to London regarding the apology has failed to elicit response.

sd/ Cabinet Secy.,
17 Jan '72

This is an unfriendly act on the part of the United Kingdom.

sd/ Prime Minister,
20 Jan '72

External Affairs please note.

sd/ Dep. Secy.,
Prime Minister's Sectt.

Immediately after the '72 polls:

The file may be closed, torn to bits, and burned along with rubbish. Stupids, don't I know all about the light now, and the darkness?

sd/ Prime Minister,
1 Mar '72
—Charvaka



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